

1913

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR

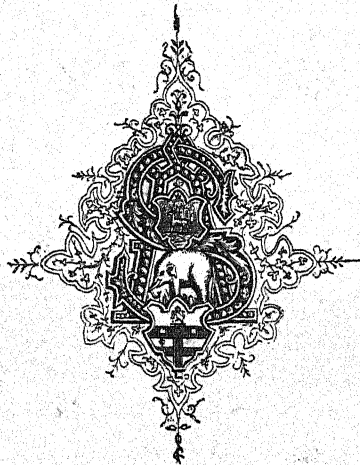
1913
24635



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

M DCCCXIII

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LIMITED



PRINTERS, HERTFORD

CONTENTS FOR 1913

ARTICLES

	PAGE
I. The Mahābhārata in Mediaeval Javanese. By D. VAN HINLOOPEN LABBERTON	1
II. The Significance of Cairo. By ERNEST RICHMOND	23
III. Further Notes on "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves". By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD	41
IV. The Goal of Muḥammadan Mysticism. By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON	55
V. Western Manichæism and the Turfan Discoveries. By F. LEGGE	69
VI. The Question of Kanishka. By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.	95
VII. Tokharian Prātimokṣa Fragment. By Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI	109
VIII. The Prithvirāja Vijaya. By HAR BILAS SARDA, B.A., F.R.S.L., F.S.S.	259
IX. The Origin of the Āhoms. By Colonel P. R. GURDON, C.S.I.	283
X. Notes on the Language of the Dvāvimśatyavadāna- kathā. By R. L. TURNER	289
XI. The Delta in the Middle Ages: An unpublished Tenth Century Account of the Nile. By A. R. GUEST	305
XII. Notes on the Numeral Systems of the Tibeto- Burman Dialects. By T. C. HODSON	315
XIII. Note on a Tamil Inscription in Siam. By E. HULTZSCH	337
XIV. Al-Qūḥāif al-'Uqailī: his poetical remains col- lected and translated. By F. KRENKOW	341
XV. Contributions to Singhalese Chronology. By E. HULTZSCH	517

	PAGE
XVI. Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's Notes on Bengali Grammar. By J. D. ANDERSON	538
XVII. Dragon and Alligator: being notes on some Ancient Inscribed Bone Carvings. By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.	545
XVIII. On the Origin of the Dative and Genitive Postpositions in Gujarātī and Mārwarī. By L. P. TESSITORI	558
XIX. Documents sanscrits de la seconde collection M. A. Stein. Par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN	569
XX. Sargon's Eighth Campaign. By T. G. PINCHES	581
XXI. Jewish Knowledge of the Samaritan Alphabet in the Middle Ages. By M. GASTER	613
XXII. The Date of Kanishka. By F. W. THOMAS	627
XXIII. Sumerian and Georgian: a study in Comparative Philology. By M. TSERETHELI	783
XXIV. Abbasid Administration in its Decay, from the Tajārib al-Umam. By H. F. AMEDROZ	823
XXV. Nouveaux Fragments de la Collection Stein. Par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN	843
XXVI. Accent and Prosody in Bengali. By J. D. ANDERSON	857
✓XXVII. Stress and Pitch in Indian Languages. By J. D. ANDERSON	867
- XXVIII. Apabhramśa according to Mārkaṇḍēya and "Dhakkī" Prakrit. By Sir G. A. GRIERSON	875
XXIX. Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. By F. E. PARGITER	885
XXX. A Chinese Pedigree on a Tablet-disk. By L. C. HOPKINS	905
✓XXXI. The Date of Kanishka. Discussion: Professor RAPSON, Dr. J. F. FLEET, J. KENNEDY, VINCENT SMITH, Dr. L. D. BARNETT, Lieut.-Colonel WADDELL, M. LONGWORTH DAMES, Dr. HOEY, Dr. THOMAS	911

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

	PAGE
Kanishka's Greek. By J. KENNEDY	121
Heraus <i>ó túpannos</i> . By J. KENNEDY	124
A Passage in the <i>Periplus</i> . By J. KENNEDY	127
✓ Proposed Identification of two South-Indian Place-names in the <i>Periplus</i> . By WILFRED H. SCHOFF	130
Is the <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> of Tulasi Dāsa a Translation? By G. A. G.	133
On the Phonetics of the Wardak Vase. By G. A. G.	141
Alopen and Śilāditya. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON	144
<i>Kaṇamōkṣa</i> : A Query. By G. A. GRIERSON	144
The Origin of the Kṛṣṇa Cult. By N. MACNICOL	145
A Copperplate discovered at Kasiā, and Buddha's Death- place. By F. E. PARGITER	151
The Aṅgula of Six Yavas. By R. SHAMASASTRY	153
—The Vratyas. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	155
Some Bengali Verbs. By J. D. A.	160
The Bengali Passive. By J. D. A.	163
Some Remarks on Chau Ju-kua's Chu Fan Chi. By C. O. BLAGDEN	165
Some Śūfi Lives. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	169
A supposed Missing MS. of the Arabian Nights. By H. BEVERIDGE	170
La Fondation de Goeje	171
Sidelights on Kanishka. By J. KENNEDY	369
The Dates in the Burmese Inscription at Bōdh-Gayā. By J. F. FLEET	378
The Purāṇic Order of the Planets. By J. F. FLEET	384
Identification of Asoka's First Buddhist Selection. By ALBERT J. EDMUNDS	385
Āndhradrāviḍabhāṣā. By P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR	387
Some more Verses relating to Gifts of Land. By R. NARASIMHACHAR	388
— An Old Sanskrit Version of the Brhatkathā. By R. NARASIMHACHAR	389
— The Brhatkathā in Mārkaṇḍeya. By G. A. G.	391
— The Pronunciation of Prakrit Palatals. By G. A. GRIERSON	391

	PAGE
Vṛṣākapi and Hanumant. By F. E. PARGITER . . .	396 ✓
Inscription on a Painting at Tarishlak. By F. E. PARGITER . . .	400
The "Authenticity" of the R̥tusamhāra. By J. NOBEL . . .	401
Authenticity of the R̥tusamhāra. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH . . .	410
The Birth of Purūravas. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH . . .	412
Buddhacarita, i, 30. By LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN . . .	417
Angkor-Vat. By F. W. THOMAS . . .	419
"A Passage in the Periplus." By F. W. THOMAS . . .	420
The Borobudur Restored. By J. PH. VOGEL . . .	421
The use of Roman Characters for Oriental Languages. By O. HANSON . . .	423
The Classification of the Annamese Language. By C. O. BLAGDEN . . .	427
A Missing MS. of the Arabian Nights. By D. B. MACDONALD . . .	432
Note on Coinage of Ḥusayn Baikara. By O. CODRINGTON . . .	432
The Caves of the Thousand Buddhas. By F. DENISON ROSS . . .	434
Aśoka's Fourth Rock-Edict and his Minor Rock-Edicts. By E. HULTZSCH . . .	651
New Readings in Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. By E. HULTZSCH . . .	653
The Last Words of Aśoka. By J. F. FLEET . . .	655
Two Coins of Soter Megas, the Nameless King. By R. B. WHITEHEAD, I.C.S. . . .	658
The Nameless King. By J. KENNEDY . . .	661
Fresh Light on Kanishka. By J. KENNEDY . . .	664
Ājivika. By JARL CHARPENTIER . . .	669
Imprecations in Indian Land Grants. By J. JOLLY . . .	674
The Alcmænic Figure. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH . . .	677
Buddhist Monastic Terms. By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE . . .	681
Kaṇamōkṣa: An Answer. By K. R. V. R. . . .	682
Yāska's Dātra. Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehrā Phonetics. By G. A. GRIERSON . . .	682
Duryōdhana and the Queen of Sheba. By G. A. G. . . .	684
The Queen of Sheba. By W. CROOKE . . .	685
The Use of Roman Characters for Oriental Languages. By C. O. BLAGDEN . . .	686
The Takōpa Tamil Inscription. By G. E. GERINI . . .	689

	PAGE
Ti-ma-sa. By G. E. GERINI	690
The Caves of a Thousand Buddhas. By H. F. AMEDROZ	694
Western Manichæism and Turfan Discoveries. By F. LEGGE	696
Notes on the Hittite Language of Boghaz Keui. By A. H. SAYCE	1043
A Servian Embassy to Egypt in the Fourteenth Century. By A. R. G.	1047
The Queen of Sheba. By C. H. T.	1048
Coinage of Husain Baikara. By M. LONGWORTH DAMES	1048
The Delhi Elephant Statues. By H. BEVERIDGE	1049
The Later Kushans. By J. KENNEDY	1054
Numeral Systems of the Tibeto-Burman Dialects. By T. C. HODSON	1064
The Vishnu-Purāṇa and the Planets. By J. F. FLEET	1066
Proposed Presentation to M. Barth	1066

NOTICES OF BOOKS

R. W. FRAZER. The Southern Dravidians (<i>Encyclopædia of Religion</i>). Reviewed by GEORGE A. GRIERSON	173
E. HULTZSCH. Kālidāsa's <i>Meghadūta</i> . By A. A. MACDONELL	176
Three Plays of Bhāsa in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. By A. A. MACDONELL	186
GEORGE C. O. HAAS. The Daśarūpa, a Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy by Dhanamjaya. By L. D. BARNETT	190
HEINRICH LÜDERS. Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen. By L. D. BARNETT	192
OTTO STRAUSS. Ethische Probleme aus dem "Mahābhārata". By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	194
HERMANN OLDENBERG. Rgveda, VII-X. Textkritische und exegetische Noten. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH	197
Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. Buddhism: a Study of the Buddhist Norm. By M. H. BODE	201
The Journal of the Burma Research Society. By C. O. BLAGDEN	209

Renward Brandstetters Monographien zur Indonesischen Sprachforschung. IX. Das Verbum dargestellt auf Grund einer Analyse der besten Texte in Vierundzwanzig Indonesischen Sprachen. By C. O. BLAGDEN	211
H. H. JUYNBOLL. Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek. Deel II. — Supplement op den Catalogus van de Sundaneesche Handschriften en Catalogus van de Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek. By C. O. BLAGDEN	213
Some Recent Arabic Literature. By D. S. M.	214
BERTHOLD LAUFER. Jade. By L. C. HOPKINS	220
I. G. GENÄHR. A Chinese-English Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect (by Dr. E. J. Eitel). Reviewed by J. DYER BALL	223
BERTHOLD LAUFER. Confucius and his Portraits. By J. DYER BALL	224
CHARLES BUDD. Chinese Poems. By J. DYER BALL	225
W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D. Chinese Legends and Lyrics. By J. DYER BALL	226
ELIZABETH LEE. A History of Japan (by Hisho Laito). Reviewed by J. DYER BALL	227
W. N. PORTER. The Tosa Diary. By J. DYER BALL	228
DAVID W. MYHRMAN. University of Pennsylvania: The Museum: Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. I, No. 1: Babylonian Hymns and Prayers. By T. G. PINCHES	228
ALBERT T. CLAY. Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur. By T. G. PINCHES	230
ALBERT T. CLAY. Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur dated in the Reigns of the Kassite Rulers. By T. G. PINCHES	233
H. I. BELL and W. E. CRUM. Greek Papyri of the British Museum. Catalogue, with Texts. Vol. IV: The Aphrodito Papyri. By A. R. G.	437
REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D. Tarjuman Al-Ashwâq, by Muhyi'd-Din ibn Al-'Arabi. By A. R. G.	447

	PAGE
HERMANN GOLLANCZ, D.Litt. The Book of Protection. By M. GASTER	452
ALFRED FORKE. Lun-Hêng. Part II: Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung. By L. C. HOPKINS	454
Dr. L. WIEGER, S.J. Taoïsme. Tome I: Bibliographie Générale. By J. DYER BALL	457
CHEN HUAN-CHANG, Ph.D. The Economic Principles of Confucius and his School. By J. DYER BALL	458
Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera, 1909, 1910, 1911. By C. O. BLAGDEN	463
W. A. GRAHAM. Siam: A Handbook of Practical, Commercial, and Political Information. By C. O. BLAGDEN	464
Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indo-chine.— E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE. Inventif descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge. Tome troisième. By C. O. BLAGDEN	465
JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S. The Chronology of Modern India: 1494 to 1894. By J. F. FLEET	468
JAMES BURGESS and R. PHENÉ SPIERS, F.S.A. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by the late James Fergusson, C.I.E. By M. LONGWORTH DAMES	470
DON MARTINO DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE. Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Part VI. By E. MÜLLER	474
NAGENDRA NATH BASU. Baṅger Jātiya-Itihās, or the Castes and Sects of Bengal. By F. E. P.	477
Dr. M. WINTERNITZ. Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, Vol. II, Pt. I. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS	479
W. RICKMER RICKMERS. The Duab of Turkestan. By H. B.	483
ALBERT T. CLAY. Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan. Part I: Babylonian Business Transactions of the first millennium B.C. By T. G. PINCHES	488
ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. Indian Drawings. By LAURENCE BINYON	491
E. BLOCHET. Histoire des Mongols. By LAURENCE BINYON	495

	PAGE
Dr. A. F. R. HOERNLE. The Bower Manuscript. By F. E. PARGITER	699
E. P. HORRWITZ. The Indian Theatre. By L. D. B.	705
P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M.A. Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras. By J. KENNEDY	706
Rev. THOMAS F. CUMMINGS and the Rev. T. GRAHAME BAILEY, B.D. Panjabi Manual and Grammar. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON	711
W. S. MILNE, I.C.S. A Practical Bengali Grammar. By J. D. A.	714
J. F. SCHELTEMA. Monumental Java. By R. SEWELL	717
Renward Brandstetters Monographien zur Indonesischen Sprachforschung. X. Der Artikel des Indonesischen verglichen mit dem des Indogermanischen. By C. O. BLAGDEN	721
The Burney Papers. By C. O. BLAGDEN	722
AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN. The Temple of Dendûr. By H. R. HALL	726
C. W. MITCHELL. S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan. Vol. I	729
HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D. Sketch of Hebrew Grammar. By M. GASTER	731
H. G. RAWLINSON, I.E.S. Bactria: the History of a Forgotten Empire. By J. K.	733
Dr. GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄSSER. Hunain ibn Ishāk und seine Schule. By H. F. A.	736
LEONE CAETANI, Principe di Teano. Chronographia Islamica. By D. S. M.	1067
A. G. ELLIS and E. EDWARDS. A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894. By H. F. A.	1068
EUGEN GÄRTNER. Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit. By H. HIRSCHFELD	1069
FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN. Une Relation de la huitème Campagne de Sargon (714 av. J.C.). By T. G. PINCHES	1071
L. LEGRAIN. Les Temps des Rois d'Ur. By T. G. PINCHES	1072

	PAGE
MARY INDA HUSSEY, Ph.D. Sumerian Tablets of the Harvard Semitic Museum. By T. G. PINCHES .	1074
F. E. PARGITER. The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age. By J. F. FLEET	1076
J. F. BLUMHARDT. A Supplementary Catalogue of Hindi Books in the Library of the British Museum acquired during the years 1893-1912. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON	1084
KARL EUGEN NEUMANN. Die letzten Tage Gotamo Buddhos. By E. MÜLLER	1087
JADANATH SARKAR, M.A. (1) History of Aurangzib. (2) Anecdotes of Aurangzib, and Historical Essays .	1092
EDWIN F. ELWIN. India and the Indians	1093
Oriental Congress, 1915	1094

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY	
	235, 497, 743
Anniversary Meeting	743
Presentation of the Public Schools' Medal	763
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS .	236, 498, 773

OBITUARY NOTICES

Sir RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E., LL.D. By WILLIAM LEE-WARNER	245
JULIUS EUTING. By Sir C. J. LYALL	505
THOMAS HENRY THORNTON, C.S.I. By H. M. DURAND .	739
Sir ROBERT KENNAWAY DOUGLAS. By F. LEGGE . .	1095
JOHN WATSON MCCRINDLE, LL.D. By J. B. . . .	1100
HARRY CAMPBELL NORMAN. By A. A. MACDONELL .	1101

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY	251, 511, 777
------------------------------------	---------------

INDEX FOR 1913 1109

TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT, ARABIC, AND ALLIED
ALPHABETS.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

TITLE-PAGE AND CONTENTS FOR FIRST HALF-YEAR.

TITLE-PAGE AND CONTENTS FOR SECOND HALF-YEAR.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS FOR THE YEAR.

TITLE-PAGE AND CONTENTS FOR THE YEAR.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



1913

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS

	PAGE
AMEDROZ. Abbasid Administration in its Decay, from the Tajārib al-Umam	823
ANDERSON. Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's Notes on Bengali Grammar	533
— Accent and Prosody in Bengali	857
— Stress and Pitch in Indian Languages	867
FLEET. The Question of Kanishka	95
GASTER. Jewish Knowledge of the Samaritan Alphabet in the Middle Ages	613
GRIERSON. Apabhraṃśa according to Mārkaṇḍeya and "Dhakkī" Prakrit	875
GUEST. The Delta in the Middle Ages: An unpublished Tenth Century Account of the Nile	305
GURDON. The Origin of the Āhoms	283
HODSON. Notes on the Numeral Systems of the Tibeto- Burman Dialects	315
HOPKINS. Dragon and Alligator: being notes on some Ancient Inscribed Bone Carvings	545
— A Chinese Pedigree on a Tablet-disk	905
HULTZSCH. Note on a Tamil Inscription in Siam	337
— Contributions to Singhalese Chronology	517
KREMKOW. Al-Quḥāif al-'Uqailī: his poetical remains collected and translated	341
LABBERTON. The Mahābhārata in Mediaeval Javanese	1
LEGGE. Western Manichæism and the Turfan Discoveries	69
LÉVI. Tokharian Prātimokṣa Fragment	109
MACDONALD. Further Notes on "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves"	41

	PAGE
NICHOLSON. The Goal of Muhammadan Mysticism	55
PARGITER. Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha	885
PINCHES. Sargon's Eighth Campaign	581
POUSSIN. Documents sanscrits de la seconde collection	
M. A. Stein	569
— Nouveaux Fragments de la Collection Stein	843
RICHMOND. The Significance of Cairo	23
SARDA. The Prithvirāja Vijaya	259
TESSITORI. On the Origin of the Dative and Genitive	
Postpositions in Gujarāṭi and Mārwārī	553
THOMAS. The Date of Kanishka	627
— Discussion on the above	911
TSERETHEL. Sumerian and Georgian: a study in	
Comparative Philology	783
TURNER. Notes on the Language of the Dvāvimśatyava-	
dānakathā	289

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	ब b
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

◌̣ (Anusvāra) . . . m

◌̤ (Anunāsika) . . ṁ

◌̥ (Visarga) . . . ḥ

◌̦ (Jihvāmūlīya) . . ḥ̣

◌̧ (Upadhmanīya) . . ḥ̤

◌̇ (Avagraha) . . . ' .

◌̈ (Udātta) ˆ

◌̉ (Svarita) ˜

◌̊ (Anudātta) ˘

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit ;	ك k	آ ā
elsewhere َ or ِ	ل l	آي ī
ب b	س s	وُ ū
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	ن n
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ص . s or <u>z</u>	و . w or v
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or <u>z</u>	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ z	و au
د d	ع ʿ	wasla ʿ
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	VOWELS.
ر r	ف f	hamza َ or ِ
ز z	ق q	silent t . . . h
		letter not pronounced . . َ

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ك when pronounced as g k	ت or پ . t	خ ts
چ . c or <u>ch</u>		ڌ or ڍ . . d	ڍ g
ڙ . z or <u>zh</u>		ڙ or ڻ . . r	ڻ n
گ g	گ ñ		ش <u>ksh</u>

itself the tradition nearly died out; only fragments of the old tongue survived the rise of a new literature in a language differing as much from the Old Javanese, or Kavi, as the English of to-day does from the older Saxon. So much was this the case that Sir T. S. Raffles, in his well-known History of Java, written under the guidance of the most learned Javanese and Madurese of the beginning of the nineteenth century, could only venture on some quite unsatisfactory renderings of inscriptions, etc., preserved in the Old Javanese. Since then much work has been done, for the greater part by Dutch scholars, who published in their own tongue the results of their studies. This was quite natural; but it meant that most of their work remains for the time being a closed book to the general European philological world. Amongst those few but untiring Dutch workers we may name the late Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, who, during a long stay in the island of Bali, living as a Balinese amongst the Balinese, made a most valuable collection of the sacred and partly secret old manuscripts. Two elaborate catalogues of these collections are appearing, founded on different principles, one prepared by the late Dr. J. Brandes,¹ the other by Dr. H. H. Juynboll, who is editing a descriptive catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Leyden University Library, to which institution van der Tuuk's collections were bequeathed. During his stay in Bali Dr. van der Tuuk prepared a voluminous *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, which has appeared at the Government Press (Landsdrukkerij), Batavia, under the superintendence of Drs. Brandes and G. A. J. Hazeu, with the collaboration of Dr. A. Rinkes and the present writer, in four volumes, each containing some 800-900 big quarto folios.

¹ The premature death of this keen and assiduous scholar was the reason why only two (out of three) parts have as yet appeared. The work bears the title: *Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche, en andere Handschriften*, etc. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1903.

A grammar of the Old Javanese language has not yet been written ; but interesting contributions to it appeared ¹ from the pen of the late Leyden Professor, Dr. H. Kern, who has rightly been called *facile princeps* as regards these matters. Among the larger publications we may mention a metrical *Rāmāyaṇam* edited (in modern Javanese characters) by the same, and a glossary (in Roman characters) to this work by Dr. Juynboll. A metrical *Bhāratayuddha*, containing the war episode of the *Mahābhārata*, was published (in modern Javanese characters) by Dr. J. G. H. Gunning. Dr. E. C. G. Jonker edited a *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (in Roman characters, with translation), a work based on the *Manusmṛiti* and still used in Bali as a law-book.

Buddhistic writings are fewer in number. They offer, however, remarkable contributions to the study of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, the essential unity of which with Śaiva teachings is nowhere so unmistakably proclaimed as in Java. There both these forms of Āryan thought must have existed side by side on friendly terms, as they still continue to do in Bali, where, however, the Buddhists form a small minority. Of the edited Buddhist works we may here mention the *Kuñjarakarma* (in modern Javanese characters and with translation) by Professor Kern and the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (with translation) by J. Kats.

The influence of the Āryan civilization has been so deep and lasting in Java that even now, though Islām has held undisputed sway during four centuries, yet the old Āryan teachings, though clad in Mohammedan garb, are as vivid as ever, and the heroes of the *Mahābhārata-khyāna* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, upheld by the fathers as examples of social and religious virtue, are quite familiar to, and revered and beloved by, the village children. In the remnants of the older literature this Āryan influence

¹ In the *Bijdragen*, published by the Royal Institute, The Hague.

itself the tradition nearly died out; only fragments of the old tongue survived the rise of a new literature in a language differing as much from the Old Javanese, or Kavi, as the English of to-day does from the older Saxon. So much was this the case that Sir T. S. Raffles, in his well-known History of Java, written under the guidance of the most learned Javanese and Madurese of the beginning of the nineteenth century, could only venture on some quite unsatisfactory renderings of inscriptions, etc., preserved in the Old Javanese. Since then much work has been done, for the greater part by Dutch scholars, who published in their own tongue the results of their studies. This was quite natural; but it meant that most of their work remains for the time being a closed book to the general European philological world. Amongst those few but untiring Dutch workers we may name the late Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, who, during a long stay in the island of Bali, living as a Balinese amongst the Balinese, made a most valuable collection of the sacred and partly secret old manuscripts. Two elaborate catalogues of these collections are appearing, founded on different principles, one prepared by the late Dr. J. Brandes,¹ the other by Dr. H. H. Juynboll, who is editing a descriptive catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Leyden University Library, to which institution van der Tuuk's collections were bequeathed. During his stay in Bali Dr. van der Tuuk prepared a voluminous *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, which has appeared at the Government Press (Landsdrukkerij), Batavia, under the superintendence of Drs. Brandes and G. A. J. Hazeu, with the collaboration of Dr. A. Rinkes and the present writer, in four volumes, each containing some 800-900 big quarto folios.

¹ The premature death of this keen and assiduous scholar was the reason why only two (out of three) parts have as yet appeared. The work bears the title: *Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balinesche, en Sasaksche Handschriften*, etc. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1903.

A grammar of the Old Javanese language has not yet been written ; but interesting contributions to it appeared ¹ from the pen of the late Leyden Professor, Dr. H. Kern, who has rightly been called *facile princeps* as regards these matters. Among the larger publications we may mention a metrical *Rāmāyaṇam* edited (in modern Javanese characters) by the same, and a glossary (in Roman characters) to this work by Dr. Juynboll. A metrical *Bhāratayuddha*, containing the war episode of the *Mahābhārata*, was published (in modern Javanese characters) by Dr. J. G. H. Gunning. Dr. E. C. G. Jonker edited a *Mānavadharmasūtra* (in Roman characters, with translation), a work based on the *Manusmṛiti* and still used in Bali as a law-book.

Buddhistic writings are fewer in number. They offer, however, remarkable contributions to the study of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, the essential unity of which with Śaiva teachings is nowhere so unmistakably proclaimed as in Java. There both these forms of Āryan thought must have existed side by side on friendly terms, as they still continue to do in Bali, where, however, the Buddhists form a small minority. Of the edited Buddhist works we may here mention the *Kuṇḍarakarṇa* (in modern Javanese characters and with translation) by Professor Kern and the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (with translation) by J. Kats.

The influence of the Āryan civilization has been so deep and lasting in Java that even now, though Islām has held undisputed sway during four centuries, yet the old Āryan teachings, though clad in Mohammedan garb, are as vivid as ever, and the heroes of the *Mahābhāratā-khyāna* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, upheld by the fathers as examples of social and religious virtue, are quite familiar to, and revered and beloved by, the village children. In the remnants of the older literature this Āryan influence

¹ In the *Bijdragen*, published by the Royal Institute, The Hague.

plays, indeed, a large part, but the literary activity of the Javanese was by no means restricted to it. Side by side with it goes a national literature of legends and chronicles loosely connected with the former by localizing the events of Bhāratavarṣa in their own homes and by tracing the ancestors of the Javanese dynasties to the heroes of yore.

Old accounts of Java's history in the famous days of Daha, Singhasari and the Majapahit Empire were edited by Dr. Brandes: a prose work called the *Pararaton* (in Roman characters, with translation and most valuable notes) and a poem styled the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (in Balinese characters). A translation of the last by Professor Kern has since appeared in the *Bijdragen*.

Returning to the *Mahābhārata* as preserved in the Old Javanese language, we can state that only eight out of the eighteen parvas were found in Bali, to wit: the *Ādi*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīṣma*, *Virāta*, *Āśramavāsa*, *Mausala*, *Prāsthānika*, and *Svargārohaṇa* parvas. The four concluding parvas, with the exception of the *Svargārohaṇa*,¹ were the subject of a dissertation by Dr. Juynboll (Leyden, 1893). The texts were edited in Roman characters and translated into Dutch. In 1906 the same scholar published the complete *Ādiparva* text, with the different readings in Roman characters, in order, as his preface runs, to make the work more easily accessible for general study. With a view to promoting this aim, I propose to give here some extracts from it in English, in order to show how the *Mahābhārata* appeared to Java in the eleventh century A.D.

As yet, of the Old Javanese *Ādiparva*, only a few episodes have been translated, namely, the *Parvasaṅgraha* (enumeration of contents, with number of *ślokas*, etc.) and

¹ Only lately, after the recent subjection of Bali by the Dutch forces, another copy of this was obtained, which is now in the collections of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences.

the *Pausyacarita* by Professor Kern,¹ the *Amṛtaman-thana* (churning of the ocean) by Dr. Juynboll,² Parikṣit's death by Dr. Hazeu,³ and the *Garuḍa-samudbhava* by the present writer.⁴ For the text we may rely upon Dr. Juynboll's very accurate edition, based upon eight MSS., most of which belong to the v. d. Tuuk collections. I have occasionally compared the text with the MSS. in possession of the Batavian Society, which showed but slight differences. Throughout the text are spread Sanskrit quotations, which only served as landmarks for writer and hearers or readers, and will be retained in the original in the translation wherever they occur, as they may throw some light on the actual wording of the *Mahābhārata* of the eleventh century in India. Some of these are preserved literally in the published Calcutta, Bombay, and Kumbhakonam Sanskrit texts, but some are now missing.

The character used in the Old Javanese original, styled the Balinese character, is one of more than a dozen varieties (and all varying very much indeed) of the Āryan script adopted in the Archipelago. The alphabet must have contained originally all the fifty-one *akṣaras* required for the transcription of Sanskrit. The sound-system of the Old Javanese being much simpler than that of Sanskrit, there must soon have been a tendency to drop the *akṣaras* not distinguished in pronunciation.

Apart from these orthographic peculiarities our text shows some differences in the proper names, which prove that the tradition preserved in the published Sanskrit

¹ The first in *Bijdragen*, ser. III, vol. vi, pp. 92-5, the last in the *Verhandelingen* of the Royal Academy, 1877.

² In *Bijdragen*, ser. vi, vol. i, p. 79 seq.

³ In *Bijdragen*, ser. vi, vol. v, p. 187 seq. From the same hand appeared a scholarly paper in *Tijdschrift* of the Batavian Society, vol. lxiv, which goes far to prove a great similarity between the Old Javanese *Ādiparva* and Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*.

⁴ In *Tijdschrift* of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences, 1908.

texts does not wholly coincide with the eleventh century text which came to Java.

The frequency of the differences may be seen at a glance by comparing, e.g., the genealogy of the Pūru dynasty given on pp. 89-91 with that in the extant Sanskrit versions.

(In the list marriage will be denoted by \times ; offspring by $+$; d. means "daughter of" or "princess from". The names peculiar to the Javanese text are printed in italics.)

1. Pūru \times *Kośalyā*.
2. $+$ Janamejaya \times Anantā (*Magadha's* d.).
3. $+$ *Pracinvan* \times *Aśvatī*.
4. $+$ *Sampāyanī* \times *Parudhvanī* (*Varāṅgī*).
5. $+$ *Gārhaspati* \times Bhānumatī (*Kārtavīrya's* d.).
6. $+$ *Sarvabhauma* \times *Sarvajñānī* (*Prasenajit's* d.).
7. $+$ Ayutanāyī \times *Campā*.
8. $+$ *Hṛdhva* \times *Dhvānā* (*Aṅga's* d.).
9. $+$ Rkṣa \times Jvālā (*Takṣaka's* d.).
10. $+$ *Matināra* \times Sarasvatī-nadī.
11. $+$ *Trasnu* \times *Kaliṅgī*.
12. $+$ *Īlina* \times *Upadānavī*.
13. $+$ *Duśvanta* \times Śakuntalā.
14. $+$ Bharata \times *Vatsā*.
15. $+$ Suhotra \times *Savarṇā* (*Ikṣvākukula's* d.).
16. $+$ Hasti \times Yaçodharī (*Trigarta's* d.).
17. $+$ Vikunṭhana \times Sudevī (*Darśanā's* d.).
18. $+$ Ajamīdha \times (a) *Ailā*.
 \times (b) *Dhūrmīṇī*.
 \times (c) *Keśinī*.
19. $+$ (b) *Dhūmrākṣa* \times *Vimalā*.
20. $+$ Saṃvaraṇa \times Tapatī (*Āditya's* d.).
21. $+$ Kuru \times *Yamadhī*.
22. $+$ Parīkṣit \times *Udayinī*.
23. $+$ *Suyasā* \times *Suyasīnī*.
24. $+$ Bhīmasena \times Kumārī.

by the editor "very, very old", its age being nearly 194 years.¹

If we now compare the Old Javanese list with the account in the Bombay edition, 95th adhyāya, we find these differences:—

1. × Kauśalyā; 2. (Mādhava's d., but K. has Magadha's d.); 3. Pracinvat² × Aśmakī (Yādava d.); 4. Samyāti × Dṛṣadvata; 5. Ahamyāti; 6. Our Sarvabhauma × Sarvajñāni (Prasenajit's d.) is extended in the Sanskrit editions to five successive rulers, to wit: *Sarvabhauma* × Sunandā (Kakeya's d.) + Jayatsena × Suśravā (Vidarbha's d.) + Avacina × Maryādā (Vidarbha d.) + Ariha × ŀngi + *Mahābhauma* × Suyajñā (Prasenajit's d.); 7. × Kāma (Pṛthuśravas's d.); 8. Instead of Hṛdhva × Dhvānā (Aṅga's d.) the S. ed. have three rulers, to wit: Akrodhana × Karambhā (Kalinga's d.), Devātithi × Maryādā (Videha's d.), Ariha [K. has Rca] × Sudevā (Aṅga's d.). 10. The Mātinara of our edition corresponds closely to the Bombay text Matināra; cf. the different readings of this name given in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*³; 11. Bombay text and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* have Tamsu instead of our 'Trasnu'; still, that this is no clerical error of the Javanese MSS., but the (or a) genuine name, is proved by the South Indian *Mahābhārata* editions both in Nāgarī and Grantha characters, which also read Trasnu.⁴ At least one of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* MSS. compared by Fitzedward Hall has Trasnu⁵; 12. Rathantari is given as ŀlīna's wife (K. reads Ilīla) instead of Upadānavī, which name we meet with in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, iv, p. 132, note 1. 13. The name Duśvanta is written in different ways, the Bombay

¹ See the list of manuscripts in the prospectus of the work.

² The correction of "Prācinvat" to "Pracinvat" by the editor of Wilson's *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (iv, p. 127, note) is corroborated by the Old Javanese MSS.

³ Loc. cit., iv, ch. xix.

⁴ K. 63. 27; Gr. 78. 15; K. has in 88. 14, again Tamsu!

⁵ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, loc. cit., iv, p. 129, n. 2; this is the Arrah MS. : see p. 130, n. 2.

edition has Duṣyanta, besides which Duṣmanta and Duṣvanta are met elsewhere.¹ All these seem to be variations of an original Duḥ-ṣanta. 14. As Bharata's wife, whose child continues the dynasty, the B. and K. texts give Sunandā (Sarvasena's d. from Kāçī). They add as Bharata's son Bhūmanyu × Vijayā (Daçārha's d.²) and give 15. Suhotra as Bharata's grandson. 18. To Ajamiḍha are given four wives named (a) Kāikeyī, (b) Gāndhārī, (c) Viśālā, (d) Rkṣā, and, omitting our No. 19, we proceed with 20. Saṃvarana as Ajamiḍha's son. 21. Kuru's wife is named Śubhāngī (Daçārha's d.) and between Kuru and 22. Parikṣit are added two generations, to wit, Vidūra (K. Vidūratha) × Sampriyā (Mādhava's d.) and Anaśva × Amṛtā (Magadha's d.). As Parikṣit's wife the Bombay edition gives Suyaśā (Bahuda's d.),³ who is Parikṣit's son in the Old Javanese text, making Bhīmasena Parikṣit's grandson. Between him and 25. Pratīpa the Bombay edition puts Pratiśravas⁴ × ?, and so both texts agree in making 26. Śantanu Parikṣit's descendant in the fourth degree.

Śantanu's wife (b) is called in the Bombay edition Satyavatī or Gandhakālī, which denote the same person as our descriptive "Sayojanagandhā", but though the birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu is stated in both texts in a similar fashion, there is some difference as regards No. 27, both Ambikā and Ambālikā being given as Vicitravīrya's wives.

For the sake of completeness I add here the genealogy of the Pūru descendants as given in *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, iv, ch. xix, which runs: Pūru—Janamejaya—Pracinvan—Pravira—Manasyu—Abhayada—Sudyumna—Bahugava—Samyāti—Ahamyāti—Raudrāśva—Rteyu—Rantināra—Tamsu

¹ The uncertainty between *y* and *w* is well known; see for the derivation Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, vol. i, p. 42.

² K. has Parīśravas, but identifies him with Pratīpa.

³ K. has Suveśā (Magadha's d.).

⁴ K. has Parīśravas, but identifies him with Pratīpa.

(Trasnu)—Anila—Dusyanta—Bharata—Bharadvāja—
 Vitatha—14—Bhavanmanyu—Nara—Bṛhatksattra—
 Hasti—Ajamidha—Rkṣa—Samvaraṇa—Kuru—Parikṣit¹
 —Janamejaya—?—Pratipa—Śantanu.

Now turning from these genealogies to the text, in order to show the wording of the Old Javanese version, I will choose the Śakuntalā episode (Dr. H. H. Juynboll, *Ādiparwa*, pp. 65-72), a legend which Kālidāsa has made famous. A comparison of his play with the story as preserved in the *Mahābhārata* shows clearly that this prince of old Indian poets has dealt quite freely with the subject-matter in hand. Though his famous work preceded by centuries² the Old Javanese translation as well as the (much younger) Sanskrit *Bhārata* MSS., still neither of these seems to be influenced by his way of putting the story, which fact again may prove that it was not permitted to individual genius to alter the ancient lore, faithfully and reverentially handed down from generation to generation.

To sum up the principal differences between Kālidāsa's play and our Old Javanese text, we may mention the introduction of Śakuntalā's handmaids and the king's fool, the story of the wedding-ring as a token of recognition, the transfer of the child's birth and youth to a heavenly hermitage after Śakuntalā's disappearance, etc.

Kālidāsa's play may be divided into seven *Aṅkas* (to pass by the *Viṣkambhakas*) as follows:—

1. King Dusyanta arrives in the hermitage and meets the girls watering the flowers.
2. Talk with the Vidūṣaka, the king's fool.
3. The king and Śakuntalā in the *latāmaṇḍapa* (bower of creepers).
4. Kaṇva and Śakuntalā.

¹ Vol. iv, p. 148, n. 2.

² Kālidāsa's date (fifth century A.D.) is discussed in JRAS. 1909, p. 731 seq. A Dutch translation of his *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam*, by Dr. H. Kern, appeared in 1862. Haarlem.

5. Śakuntalā goes to the king's palace, is rejected, and vanishes into the heaven-world.

6. The king painting Śakuntalā's image.

7. King Duśyanta ascends to heaven and finds in the hermitage of Hemakūṭa his wife and child.

In our Old Javanese text we may distinguish these different scenes (*praveśas*)—

1. The king meets Śakuntalā inside the hermit's house.

2. The king hears the tale from the Brāhmaṇa guest.

3. The Gandharva marriage consummated.

4. Śakuntalā and Kaṇva.

5. Birth and youth of Sarvadamaṇa.

6. Śakuntalā and her son go and meet the king.

7. The voice of heaven justifies Śakuntalā.

These events are related in a short and graphic way which I shall try to follow as closely as the English idiom permits.

Śakuntalā or Bharata's History

At King Janamejaya's request to relate to him Bharata's history, the wise Vaiśampāyana spoke as follows :—

(Once) there was a king, Mahārāja Duśyanta by name पृथिव्याः सागरान्तायाः ॥ (a).¹ He ruled over an empire stretching unto the four oceans. Nobody committed evil during his reign, everywhere righteousness and duty prevailed, because of the example of righteousness given by the king at all times. (Once) he went hunting in a forest at the foot of the Himavān, many beasts he hunted, going ever farther and farther. He discovered a hermitage, most lovely with all its flowers, with fruit of every season, adorned by a holy and stainless stream of limpid water. Here all kinds of animals of the forest had gathered. Even lions and tigers seemed to dwell together in love and sympathy with one another, calmed by the anger-quelling force of the holy hermit's thoughts, which turned all fierceness to friendliness. The birds were singing

¹ These letters refer to the end of this article.

पुष्पस्वाध्यायसंघुष्टां वानरर्क्षनिषेवितां ॥ (b). The mingling cries of monkeys and bears were heard as if they were reciting the Vaidic mantras; so their voices rang. The king's heart was quite astonished when he heard the voices of the birds. He entered the *āśrama*, wishing to see the *tapa*.¹ He ordered all his companions to stay behind, so as not to disturb the *āśrama*. Having entered the house he did not find the *tapa*, the *āśrama* being empty. He seated himself and looked inside the house. There he saw a damsel of perfect beauty, like a nymph (*vidyādhari*) descended on earth, who came to bid him welcome, and who offered the king water to wash his feet and rinse his mouth पादार्घ्याचामनीय ॥ (c), and who performed all the duties of hospitality that hermits, whether man or woman, usually show to a guest. The king said: "May I ask you, O recluse! whose hermitage is this, and where has the owner gone, that I find it empty?" The hermit-maiden answered: "At your orders, O Prince! I ask Your Highness' pardon,² the owner of this *āśrama* is called *bhagavān* Kaṇva. He went in search of fuel (for the holy fire), but he will be back in a minute मुहूर्ते ॥ (d). Be so kind as to wait here, O Pāduka Śrī Mahārāja." As the maiden thus spoke, love filled the Mahārāja's heart, as though it was wounded; he felt Kāma's arrow कामशर ॥ (e) at the sight of this hermit-maiden's beauty; and again he said: "Excuse me, my fair mother,³ I have heard about *bhagavān* Kaṇva, who is,

¹ *Tapa* (from तपः) is the most common term in Java to denote: (1) any kind of mental exercise, *yoga*, etc.; (2) every hermit, *yogi*, etc.

² Superfluity of polite expressions is still common among the Javanese, who may indeed be styled one of the most polite and well-mannered peoples in the world.

³ It is the custom among the Javanese to accost one another, even strangers, with an appropriate designation of relationship: "younger brother," "older brother," "father," "uncle," "grandfather," etc. "Mother" (*ibu*) is used here even to a young maiden as a token of respect to her ascetic garb. "Fair one" (*yu* or *ayu*) has become a common word to address any housewife or elderly lady not belonging to the Javanese nobility.

they say, a *brahmacārī*, who might not mix with woman-kind. If you stay here with him, in what relation do you stand to him? Be so kind to tell me the truth about this!" Thus spoke the king. The hermit-maiden answered: "At your orders, O Prince! He is my father, and as to the way in which he became so, there is here a Brāhmaṇa guest; please ask him about my birth." King Duśvanta went and questioned the Brāhmaṇa guest. He answered: "Once there was a king, Mahārāja Viśvāmitra by name. He renounced his kingly state, wishing to obtain the greatness of soul¹ of *bhagavān* Vasiṣṭha. Therefore he went for *tapa* to a place not far east from here. He performed *nirāhāra*, neither drinking nor eating anything, until his body became powerful. For a long time he thus continued his *tapa*. Indra himself became afraid that he might wrestle his kingdom from him. Now there was a nymph named Menakā, a jewel among the Apsarases. To her Indra spoke: 'O Menakā! my child, I have a request to make of you. There is a holy man² doing *tapa*, his name is Viśvāmitra. Go and tempt him, in order that his *tapa* may bear no fruit.' The *vidyādhari* answered: 'At your orders, my lord! But remember his tremendous power (*kamāhātmyan*) कोपनश्च ॥ (f). How much force क्रोध ॥ (g) he has developed! Supernatural powers, indeed सिद्धिमन्त ॥ (h). He would be able to burn up the three worlds. I am afraid of being touched by his curse. If there should be, however, a device to tempt him, tell me in what way to act, my lord! that my undertaking may prove successful!' Bhaṭāra Indra answered: 'Have no fear, O Menakā! God Vāyu will be your companion and blow the perfume of your cloth to

¹ With a Javanese prefix and suffix used to form abstract nouns: *kamāhātmyan*.

² *Viku!* This word, used indiscriminately with *tapa*, *yogi*, *vipra*, etc., is a Prākṛtic transformation of *bhikṣu*, and may be a Buddhistic reminiscence. The original sense of living on begged food has wholly disappeared, and only the connotation of holiness and wisdom is left.

Viśvāmitra's seat. God Kāma will direct his arrow and pierce the *tapa's* heart, and love for you will rise in it. In this way his *tapa* may be broken by you.' Thus spoke Lord Indra, and Menakā went. Arrived at the *āśrama* she pretended to be sporting there, gathering the young leaves of the *nāgapuspa* trees.¹ A soft breeze came मन्दमारुत (i) and lifted her cloth, which Viśvāmitra happened to see and love rose in his heart, being shot by God Kāma's arrow. His love arrow मदनास्त्र ॥ (j) struck, and Viśvāmitra longed for union with the Apsarī, and in the end they were united. There by कामरस ॥ (k) Menakā became pregnant. She thought herself to have reached her aim and fulfilled Bhaṭāra Indra's order to break Viśvāmitra's *tapa*. She might now return to heaven, so she thought. Now there was a river called Mālinī, sprung from the Himavān foot. She followed it upwards, and on its bank she bore a child—a girl—which she left to the care of the river bank. Away went Menakā, returning to her heavenly home. Mercilessly the child was left alone in a most pitiful state, attended only by the birds. As regards *bhagavān* Viśvāmitra, he had already left the hermitage. Now it happened that *bhagavān* Kaṇva went to gather flowers (for *pūjā*) along the Mālinī's banks. He found there a child attended to by (strong) birds शकुनि ॥ (l). The *bhujāṅga*² took the child in his arms and performed the necessary sacraments,³ naming it Śakuntalā in remembrance of her being attended upon by *śakunis*. And so the *bhujāṅga*, O Prince! obtained this child." Thus spoke the Brāhmaṇa guest to the Prince: "This Śakuntalā is the young hermit-maiden who

¹ *Acacia farnesiae*. In modern Javanese generally called *nagasari*, the young leaves of which resemble locks of hair.

² *Bhujāṅga* = serpent, is still in use in Java to denote accomplished doctors.

³ With Javanese infix *sinangaskāra* to denote a passive mood of *samskāra*, which may mean here performing the birth-rite (*janma-karma*), cleansing the child, etc.

welcomed Your Majesty." Having thus been told the whole story by the Brāhmaṇa guest, love arose in King Duśvanta. "An excellent birth is yours, O hermit-girl," he thought, "being the child of a nymph from heaven and a holy sage with supernatural powers, worthy to be my queen." Thus thinking, he proposed to Śakuntalā to become his bride. But Śakuntalā refused, wishing to wait for her father. On the king's insisting upon his proposal, Śakuntalā spoke to him: "At the orders of Your Majesty, but under the condition—and do not break your promise—that my child will be your successor on the lion-seat **सिंहासन ॥** (m) and will have your kingdom." The king replied: "Have no fear about the fulfilment of my word; your child will succeed to my kingdom." Thus the king spoke, confirming his words by consummating the marriage according to the Gandharva rite. Then he took leave and returned home. Afterwards he would send for Śakuntalā, said the king. Soon after his departure *bhagavān* Kaṇva returned home from the forest, carrying fuel and flowers. Śakuntalā, however, did not come to meet him, being ashamed at what she had done. Because of his omniscience *bhagavān* Kaṇva knew all her doings. He spoke: "Śakuntalā, my child! do not vex thyself, thou wilt bear an emperor **चक्रवर्ती ॥** (n). I know that you did not forget your filial duty towards me, and only gave in to King Duśvanta's insisting on your love, and that this was your object in permitting him to take you as his wife according to the Gandharva rite. You have done well, my child!" Thus spoke *bhagavān* Kaṇva. Śakuntalā made *namaskāra*, and washed the Rṣi's feet. After a long pregnancy, she bore a child, a boy of perfect beauty. Immediately the holy man performed the sacraments according to the Kṣatriya rites. Afterwards the boy attended the hermit at his meditations (*samādhi*), and so he became at last very powerful, subduing all the wild animals, to begin with

the lions, the tigers, and the elephants—all these were under his sway **स सत्त्वानि वशयन् ॥** (o).¹ All the animals were in his power, and he was given the name of All-subduer (*Sarvadamana*). Having reached the age of 6 years, the beauty of his form shone forth still more. The palms of his hands were marked by a *cakra*, foretelling his future imperial dignity (*kacakravartyan*) (p). Meanwhile no summons came from the Mahārāja Duśvanta. Sorrow filled Śakuntalā's heart, bewailing her son's fate. *Bhagavān* Kāṇva knew the emotions which filled Śakuntalā's heart. He ordered some pupils to accompany Śakuntalā to Mahārāja Duśvanta, in order to take his son to him. They went, and arriving in Hastinapura they came before Mahārāja Duśvanta, who was just giving audience to his people. Śakuntalā spoke: "At your orders, O King! some time ago we agreed that, if I should bear you a child, he should be the successor to your throne. To this Your Majesty consented,² pledging yourself to fulfil this condition. Having this in view, I submitted to Your Highness. Here is what was deposited by Your Majesty in my womb. His name is Sarvadamana **भोः यौवराज्ये ऽभिषिच्यतां ॥** (q). It will be beseeming now to anoint him **यौवराज्येन³ सुपुत्रकः ॥** (r), after having proclaimed him as heir apparent." Thus Śakuntalā spoke. Mahārāja Duśvanta answered **कस्य त्वं दुष्टतापसि ॥** (s): "Who married thee, O wicked recluse! claiming me as thy husband, me who know not thy form, forsooth. Could an emperor ever have married a low-born hermit-girl? Is this *kraton* (royal town and palace) bereft of choicest damsels? Away, thou *mūr*!⁴ away from here! Do not hope to be made an emperor's wife!" Thus spoke Mahārāja Duśvanta. Śakuntalā wept with

¹ So I propose to read instead of Dr. Juynboll's **वाशयन्**.

² The verb *umom* means "by uttering *om*" = yes.

³ Dr. Juynboll has **यौवराजन**.

⁴ An exclamation to drive away a blackmailer.

shame. Still she spoke: "O Mahārāja! how great your pride! But listen to my words: acting thus is worthy of a man of low birth, but not of one like you, O King. As regards your thought, O King, एकोऽहमस्मीति ॥ (t) you think: 'I was alone, nobody saw my actions when I married Śakuntalā. Who was there to observe me?' Such was your device, O King. But let not Your Highness persist in this course. Remember the divine *Ātman*, who lives in your heart साक्षात्पश्यति कर्माणि ॥ (u). He sees all your actions, good or bad. This God is not to be deceived.

आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलानली च द्यौर्मूमिरापो हृदयं यमश्च ।

अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभे च संध्ये धर्मश्च जानाति नरस्य वृत्तं ॥ (r)

Āditya the divine Sun, and *Candra*, the divine Moon, *Anila-Anala*, the divine Wind and Fire, next the divine *Ākāśa* (Sky), *Prthivī* (Earth) and *Toya* (the Waters), besides the divine *Ātman* (the Self) and the divine *Yama*, these, indeed, are present everywhere. Besides the Day and the Night and the two Twilights, together with God *Dharma*, numbering thirteen in all. These are the witnesses of human actions all the world over, they cannot be blindfolded, and they know all that goes on in the world. Is it possible to think that indeed you doubt me to be your wife as a consequence of my bad *karma*? हीनपुण्य ॥ (w). And here is your son, so perfect after his *tapa*; but no father to make him happy!¹

प्रतिपद्यदा सूनुर्धरणीरेणुगुण्डितः ।

पितुराश्लिष्यते ऽङ्गानि किमिहास्त्वधिकं सुखं ॥ (x)

As stated in the *Āgama* प्रतिपद्यदा सूनुः ॥ the boy just beginning to walk; रेणु dust; गुण्डितः ॥ his body covered with dust, enjoying himself, sporting on the ground, when he sees his father पितुराश्लिष्यते ऽङ्गानि । he rushes to him,

¹ I offer this translation tentatively, some words in the text being not quite certain. The Old Javanese sentence runs: *nāhan tīnakta juga prasiddha sariba nin tapa tan hana manide sika.*

putting his arms round his legs, and, from love for his child, the father embraces him and carries him round in his arms **किमिहास्त्यधिकं सुखं** १. There is no joy surpassing this. However great the pleasure¹ of one's embracing a beloved wife, when you are longing for the pleasure of holding a child in your arms, to kiss the child is a still greater enjoyment. Does Your Highness feel no love seeing this Sarvadamana, your own flesh **साक्षादौरसपुत्रं** ॥ (y). He is not lacking in lucky marks, and takes after Your Majesty in all respects. Ah ! Your Majesty's heart (*manah*) is too wicked indeed." "Ah ! Śakuntalā, who would not agree with your words, that a son gives joy, and supposing this Sarvadamana really were my son, would not I be glad to embrace him ? Could it possibly be otherwise ? **अतिकायश्च पुत्रस्ते** (z). But see his form ; is not he too big indeed (for his years) **बालोऽतिबलवानयं** ॥ (aa). He seems gifted with most extraordinary powers. If I had a son, could he be like this ? **कथयन्ती न लज्जसे** (bb). In short, are you not ashamed of pretending him to be my son ? **यथेष्टं गम्यतां त्वया** (cc). Go wherever you like, and don't pretend that I am your husband." As Śrī Mahārāja Duśvanta thus spoke, a voice came from heaven, audible to the King and all his officers. This voice spoke **परिष्वजस्व पुत्रं दुश्शन्त** ॥ (dd) : "Ho ! Mahārāja Duśvanta, embrace your child without any doubt ; indeed, it is your son **सत्यमाह शकुन्तला** ॥ (ee). Śakuntalā has spoken the truth ; it is you who begot her child" (ff). As the voice from heaven thus spoke, Mahārāja Duśvanta came down from his lion-seat (throne) and embraced Sarvadamana. Then he said in tears to Śakuntalā : "Mother Śakuntalā ! I was indeed glad at your arrival. Still, my kingly state prevented me from acknowledging it, since much gossip would have arisen

¹ Read in the Javanese text *suka ri* for *sakari*. The following *ng we* is probably a clerical error.

by the supposition that, you not being my wife, I was going to foist your son as my heir upon the people. Since the voice from heaven has asserted Sarvadamana to be really my son, and such in the presence of all the world, I feel very happy, and I will have him to sit on my lion-seat, that he may become my successor as protector of the world. Let him no longer be named Sarvadamana, 'Bharata' henceforth will be his name, since the Divine voice spoke **भरस्व पुत्रं दुश्मन्त ॥** (O Duśvanta, rear your child!).” Thus spoke King Duśvanta, and he asked Śakuntalā to forgive him for having abused her before all his *mantrins* (ministers).

On a favourable day Bharata was anointed and succeeded as protector of the world. He made war upon the neighbouring kings, who submitted to him from fear of his great power. As an emperor, he tried to promote the welfare of the world. He ordered a sacrifice to be performed at which the holy Kanva acted as priest **येनेदं भारतं कुलं (gg)**. Bharata's greatness was the reason that there is now a Bhārata-kula.

Here our Śakuntalā episode ends. Striking a balance between this version in Old Javanese and the extant Sanskrit editions, we find our present version much shorter, approximately only one-third of the B. and C. editions, which in seven chapters number more than 300 ślokas. The K. and Gr. editions are longer still, in twelve chapters numbering more than 600 ślokas. Nevertheless, our tale is complete in itself, and seems decidedly the better for being more concise. The detailed descriptions which make the extant S. versions more bulky are to a large extent quite superfluous to the general trend of the story and partly out of place as well—mere accretions due to the wish of later copyists to work out more completely some of the original scenes, or to add some more “wise sayings” or *logia* in *anustubh* metre for the benefit

of the reader. In this way the one Brāhmaṇa host and the few pupils of Kaṇva of our narrative have not only increased to a large colony of saints, whose doings fill a whole *adhyāya*, where all kinds of knowledge about the different parts of the holy scriptures is displayed, but, after the king has heard them reciting all the Vedas simultaneously, they are disposed of quite easily and nothing is heard about them. The half-śloka in the Javanese text, *Puṇyasvādhyāyasamghuṣṭam vānararṣa-niṣevitam*, is in this respect significant. The same words occur in the S. editions (B. 70. 25, 26; K. 91. 27); but the pādas follow in reversed order and are divided over two ślokas. Taking our Javanese version, the holy sounds are produced by monkeys and bears, and we can easily see how an orthodox copyist might take exception to these animals even imitating the recital of the holy Vedas and might go so far as to work out the theme into such a complete teaching-body of holy hermits as might do honour to an indigenous university. We miss, however, in the published S. version the finer feeling which makes the young maiden cause her tale to be told by a Brāhmaṇa guest. In the S. versions she herself bluntly tells the whole intimate story of her mother. Kālidāsa had the good sense to introduce some of Śakuntalā's playmates in order to save her the shame of telling the story herself. The hunt is worked out with much detail in the B. text, a whole army taking part in it, which army again is described at length. In the Javanese the whole thing is dealt with in a few words, which are quite sufficient for the purpose, and the impression which our narrative leaves is much simpler and much more natural.

Most of the Sanskrit quotations of the Javanese text are found both in the B. and the K. editions, as the following enumeration will show. They go to support the supposition of an older version, represented by the

Javanese text, which served as a common basis for the extant S. editions.

- a. C. 2801 ; B. 68. 3 ; K. 89. 2 पृथिव्याश्चतुरन्तायाः ॥.
- b. C. 2868 ; B. 70. 25, 26 ; K. 91. 27, 28 (in reversed order).
- c. B. 72. 5 ; K. 92. 7 पादेनार्घ्येण चैव हि । पप्रच्छानामयं राजन् ॥.
- d. B. 72. 9 ; K. 92. 13.¹
- e. Wanting.
- f. C. 2926 ; B. 71. 27 ; K. 92. 39.
- g. Wanting.
- h. Wanting.
- i. Wanting.
- j. Wanting.
- k. Wanting.
- l. B. 72. 12 ; K. 93. 19 शकुना.
- m. Wanting.
- n. B. 73. 30 ; K. 94. 64.
- o. Wanting.
- p. C. 2991 ; B. 74. 4 ; K. 75. 19 चक्राङ्कितकरः ॥.
- q. B. 74. 17 ; K. 97. 28 तस्मात्पुत्रस्त्वया राजन्यौवराज्ये ऽभिषिच्यताम्.
- r. B. 74. 126 यौवराज्ये ऽभ्यषेचयत् ॥ .
- s. C. 3006 ; B. 74. 19.
- t. C. 3015 ; B. 74. 28 ; K. 98. 8.
- u. C. 3018.
- v. C. 3017 ; B. 74. 30 ; K. 98. 11 (in K. the first pada : आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलो ऽनलश्च ॥).
- w. Wanting.
- x. C. 3040 (last pada : किमस्यभ्यधिकं सुखं ॥) ; B. 74. 53 ;

¹ The Javanese text says here that Kaṇva has gone out in search for fuel (*samidāharaṇāya*). Now in the S. *Mahābh.* the ṛṣi is said to have gone out in search for "fruits". In Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam* the expression *Samidāharaṇāyaprasthītā vāyam* = "we went out to fetch fuel", occurs (ed. Böhtlingk, p. 7) ; but Kaṇva himself is said to have gone to Somatīrtha to neutralize a bad fate threatening his daughter.

K. 98. 45 (K. reads: परिसृत्त यथा मूनुर्धरणीरेणुकुण्डितः ।
पितुरालिङ्गने ऽङ्गानि किमस्त्यभ्यधिकं ततः ।).

y. Wanting.

z and aa together. B. 74. 79; K. 98. 86.

bb and cc. I. 3064; B. 74. 77; K. 98. 97 (यथेष्टं
गम्यतामितः ॥).

dd and ee. C. 3102, 3103; B. 74. 111, 112; K. takes
them together, 100. 2 भरस्व पुत्रं दौष्यन्ति सत्यमाह शकुन्तला ॥.

ff. K. 100. 9 तस्माद्भरस्व दुष्यन्त पुत्रं शकुन्तलं नृप.

gg. C. 3112; B. 74. 131; K. 100. 12.

From our few analytical remarks it will be seen that more material must be brought forward before anything can be done towards finding a conclusive answer to the interesting question: From which part of India, the north or the south, was the eleventh century *Bhāratam* brought to Java? ¹ This much, however, seems certain, that this Old Javanese text may prove useful in the verification of several details which embarrass the students of the *Bhāratam*.

If their interest in the text published by Dr. H. H. Juynboll is aroused, the chief aim of the present contribution will have been attained.

¹ After due consideration of argument I cannot quite agree with my learned friend Dr. Hazeu, who tries to prove in his paper on "The Old Javanese *Ādiparva* and its Sanskrit Original" (Tydschrift Batav. Soc., vol. xlv, cited above) that the Old Javanese version must have come from Kashmir, or at least from North-West India, because a certain number of similarities are proved to exist between the Old Javanese *Ādiparva* and the *Bhāratamānjari* of the quasi-coeval Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, since we have no proof whatever that about the eleventh century in other parts of India the *M.Bh.* text differed in these points from the Kashmir traditions.

II

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAIRO

By ERNEST RICHMOND

AMONG the many peculiarities of Egypt, not the least notable is her instinct for rejecting the foreign influences which her position at the gates of three continents renders exceptionally numerous. This power to repudiate what is alien seems to belong to the very genius of the land. It is, perhaps, a sign of the sufficiency and adequacy of Egypt for herself; an indication that within herself she finds what she needs for her existence and for her development, and that the outer world and its gifts are not required. Her ancient history is an eloquent witness of her own peculiar power; a power to achieve, to develop, and to realize the highest that is in her, only under conditions of comparative isolation, or under such conditions of contact as leave her full freedom of choice; and her less ancient, as well as her modern, history no less eloquently testify to the deadening effects of contact with the outer world.

It would be a fascinating, though highly speculative task, to trace the gradual change in the outward and visible manifestation of Egypt's spirit; the change from the days of comparative seclusion, accompanied by slow though positive development towards, and ultimate achievement of, a unique civilization, to those of free and unrestrained contact with the outer world, culminating in a short-lived empire, followed by conquest and apparently permanent collapse and stagnation.

To give, but not to receive, seems to describe the function of Egypt since she became a part of the rest of the world. The foreign element, which must be present in all countries, being unable, in the case of Egypt, to fuse

effectively with what is native, concentrates itself at a point whence it dominates the whole country and takes what Egypt has to give. During the thousand years previous to the Arab invasion, when Egypt was ruled by powers from the northern shores of the Mediterranean, Alexandria, representing ancient Europe, formed this point of foreign concentration. After the Arab invasion, and for another thousand years, Asia took the place of Europe, and the chief result was the city of Cairo. And now that the whirligig of time has once more placed the produce of Egypt in Europe's hands two points of foreign activity exist, the one Cairo and the other Alexandria.

It is the purpose of this paper to emphasize the foreign character of Cairo; to show that between it and the rest of Egypt there not only is to-day, but always has been since its foundation in the seventh century, a marked line of cleavage; and to indicate how, in the buildings of Cairo, we are able to trace, not any part of the story of Egypt, but rather that of a continuous stream of rulers and workers which has flowed from many sources, and has given to Cairo architecture a curiously mixed character, a character that reflects change and variety of origin instead of local development, accretion from without rather than growth from within.

Those who have lived in Egypt or have studied the history of its people know how the character of the land, where nature is herself unvarying, has moulded a people whom, in essentials, no changes of state have for at least 5,000 years succeeded in altering. However great may be the Egyptian's power of outward adaptation to or imitation of foreign modes of expression, he seems to reject, apparently instinctively, the central idea which gives vitality and meaning to the outward form or custom he assumes, and to give his assent rather to a formula than to a truth. The steadfast and unalterable nature of

the Egyptian should not be lost sight of if we wish to form a clear conception of the results which would probably arise from such an irruption into Egypt as that which took place in the seventh century, when, round the fortress of Babylon, the Arab invaders pitched the camp destined to develop into the city we now call Cairo.

What did the Arabs then find? They found a country overspread by the products of Byzantine civilization, and a people who, having in their long-secluded past evolved a civilization peculiarly their own, had, for more than ten centuries, been dominated by powers which had risen to greatness in an environment as different as it is possible to imagine to that from which the civilization of ancient Egypt had sprung; so different, indeed, that fusion of ideas was difficult; and, when it did take place, was of a one-sided character; the foreigners rather than the natives being the gainers. The Greeks and the Romans may have borrowed, learnt, or absorbed much from Egypt, but Egypt, it would seem, had already fulfilled her task. She took nothing in return, and the Egyptians, as we know from Diodorus, still remained foreign to the new civilization, rigidly themselves, a people apart, with a power perhaps of imitation but not of assimilation. The conditions, at the time of the Arab conquest were, in essentials, very much what they are to-day; but it is probable that they presented even greater contrasts than now exist between the appearance of a European civilization on the one hand, and on the other the essentially unchanging character of the Egyptian. How unchanging may partly be appreciated when it is remembered that the language of the country (a characteristic easily lost) still found a speaker in the seventeenth century and to-day, in church services, if not understood it is at least still used. But this idea will best be illustrated by a reference to the buildings of Egypt, which reflect more clearly perhaps than any other medium the genius of the

land, and the deep-seated differences between it and the outer world, whether the latter be represented by ancient Byzantium or by modern Europe.

The original building material of Egypt is mud; and on the lines originally laid down by the limitations of this material did the gigantic Egyptian architecture slowly evolve. But it never lost the character given to it by its origin, and, although the Egyptians employed stone, they did so in a manner that showed how far they were from an appreciation of its structural possibilities, and how deeply ingrained in their nature was the memory of the ages when they had toiled in mud alone. There is little, if any, difference structurally between a stone and a mud brick pyramid. The walls and gateways of many a stone-built temple might have been built in mud brick and palm-trees, without altering either their shape or dimensions; and the columns are copies, as it were, in stone of others of which the original conception in mud, reinforced with reeds, seems to have been indelibly stamped in the memory of the Egyptian architect.

To this mud ancestry, as much as to any other cause, does Egyptian architecture owe its immense proportions. A mud wall, to be stable, must be massive, and of a thickness compared to its height, which would be disproportionate if applied in stone. Egyptian stone masonry, however, follows, in its proportion of voids to solids, dimensions which would be suitable in mud; and owes its stability, not to method, but to mass.

The same absence of method characterizes really Egyptian work of all ages. We trace it through the Coptic period to our own day; and in the more remote parts of the country where Egyptians still work in comparative isolation we find them engaged on buildings the forms of which recall those of ancient Egypt; while, in the less remote places, the Egyptian conception of masonry construction tends to exasperate those foreign

builders to whom experience has not yet taught an appreciation of its strictly local merits.

The merits of a really Egyptian building lie in its suitability to the purpose for which it is intended, and in its harmony with the physical conditions of its environment. In the first place it must be remembered that the meaning of a house to an Egyptian is little more than a place in which he may store his possessions and pass the night. The Egyptian's business and life are in his fields by day, and indeed often even by night. The problem before him in his house building is not to produce a place of business or comfort, but a place of comparative privacy, capable of offering what he considers an adequate resistance to the two great forces which tend, in the Nile Valley, to disintegrate structures, the sun and the annual rise and fall in the water levels.

The thick and loosely built walls of an Egyptian house aim at adaptation to the movements brought into play by these forces. The mud of the Nile provides an admirable material for such a purpose. A building of sun-dried bricks laid in mud mortar, and strengthened, as is often the case, with timber laid in the walls, is sufficient for the needs of the Egyptian, as well as fitted to its peculiar environment.

This mud architecture is the architecture natural to Egypt. It is the architecture of the present and of the past; and although in ancient Egypt the great permanent buildings of state were executed in stone, it is clear, as has been said, from their forms and dimensions that they were not only conceived in an ineradicable mud tradition, but also executed on lines which bear a structural affinity rather to mud than to stone.

A marked tendency of modern European building is towards rapidity of construction, rigidity, a high standard of comfort and low maintenance charges. The Egyptian climate, the Egyptian's manner of life, and his conception

of its object are such as to make these aims for the most part either meaningless or undesirable. Hence arises a source of profound misunderstanding between Egyptians and foreigners. When the European begins to feel bound to dispel the ignorance or to contradict the superstitions of natives, he is apparently prompted by the curious assumption that it is the Egyptian's ultimate destiny to resemble the European. When for example he undertakes the enterprise of teaching the Egyptian how to build, he means, of course, though he may not always appreciate it, that it is his intention to teach the Egyptian how to build in a manner capable of fulfilling, not the Egyptian's but the European's needs. The Egyptian already knows how to meet, structurally, the requirements of his own manner of life, and the task of teaching him to build with the object of providing wants, the outcome of a conception of existence and of ambitions to which he is a stranger, results, not unnaturally, in little lasting profit either to the pupil or to his self-constituted teacher. Another and more notable instance of the process referred to is, of course, the evergreen attempt to teach Egyptians—a people hermit-natured, unaggressive, and agricultural in a complete and unique sense—to rule themselves in a manner agreeable to the commercial and trading requirements of modern Europe and the Levant. Time does not allow a reference in greater detail to these differences in aim. It is sufficient for the present purpose to add that, as in the field of building, so it is in most other fields in which Europe takes up the position of teacher, especially if the subject taught is something not even remotely connected with anything the Egyptians have been in the habit of doing; of something strange to all local association and all hereditary skill; of something therefore which the pupil has neither intelligible reason to learn nor visible object in assimilating.

Though the ideals and needs of the foreigner in Egypt during the Byzantine period may have differed from our own, there is no reason to suppose that they approached more nearly to Egyptian needs and ideals than do those of the modern European. Hence it is probable that this contact of foreigner and native, of Greek and Egyptian, produced when Egypt was a Byzantine Province, results analogous to those with which we are familiar to-day. As to-day we see among a small proportion of Egyptians a process of outward imitation of Europe, in dress, in expression, in political catchwords, and even in architecture unaccompanied by any signs of inward Europeanization, so in the Byzantine period we are able to trace through the architecture an imitation of the foreign features—Basilican or Byzantine—introduced by foreigners from the northern shores of the Mediterranean; features which clothe and are supported by structures undeniably Egyptian in their innocence of outline and external architectural form, negative qualities which are the direct outcome of traditional Egyptian methods and materials of construction. How persistent are these traditions may be gauged by an examination of the fourth century monasteries near Sohag in Upper Egypt, in the structure of which there is much which not only recalls ancient Egypt, but also bears unmistakable affinity to the work of modern Egyptian peasants. The thick walls of these monasteries rise with the batter characteristic of the mud traditions perpetuated in all Egyptian work, and are crowned with the familiar ancient Egyptian cavetto cornice of which we see the embryo to-day in the capping of reeds given by peasants to their mud brick walls. And in the same buildings which possess these typically Egyptian characteristics we find Byzantine frescoes, Byzantine capitals, and a foreign apsidal arrangement of plan. The interest of these buildings cannot be overstated, exemplifying as

they do that though an ancient monumental architecture, born and nurtured in an immemorial tradition of mud, was still of use in the fourth century in respect of those parts of a building where its heavy masses were applicable, yet it was incapable of complete adaptation, within a reasonable compass, to the monumental needs of a Christian ritual which called for a certain complication of plan, a richness of detail, and a comparatively small scale of execution; requirements which, taken in conjunction, were incompatible with an architecture so deeply rooted in its mud ancestry as is that of Egypt. Hence, contact with the outer world, bringing as it did new economic conditions as well as a new religion, caused the gradual abandonment, for monumental purposes, of the local architecture and its relegation to its original purpose, the fulfilment of peasants' needs, and brought into use in its place an imitation of foreign forms which had, and could have, no root in the country. Coptic art being, then, no more inherent in the people or natural to the country than are the forms of modern European art, it is not surprising that it should totally disappear after the Arab invasion had brought about an upheaval of established order. This supposition, that it did so disappear, is, as will be seen, borne out by evidence which will be adduced from the Moslem buildings of Cairo. The Arabs, in the first instance, brought of course nothing with them except Islam; but subsequently, as a result of the worldwide power of Islam, came in course of time a conglomeration of the arts of conquered peoples. Familiar as were the Moslem occupiers of Egypt with the architectural splendours of Mesopotamia, Syria, and other conquered countries, it is not surprising that they should have found little to satisfy their aspirations in the architectural skill of Egypt, represented as it was on the one hand by a local architecture now debased to the fulfilment only of peasants' needs; and, on the

other, by a fashion already moribund, since the power which had maintained its vitality had disappeared.

It is unfortunate that we have no monument remaining to us in Egypt representative of the first two centuries of Moslem rule. The mosque of Amr, the Arab conqueror, has been so altered and added to, as to provide no safe guide to an appreciation of the character of the early Moslem buildings. The earliest authentic Moslem building in Egypt is the famous mosque built in Cairo by Ahmed Ibn Tulun in the last quarter of the ninth century.

This mosque contains no trace of Coptic art. It is hard to imagine more decisive evidence of the superficial character of Byzantine influence in Egypt than the total disappearance of its outward manifestation in architecture, only two centuries after the collapse of Byzantine rule.

If the art which we call Coptic had in any deep sense been Egyptian, the new requirements of Islam would have found in it a powerful means of expression and a vehicle which, being endowed with the vitality of a local growth, would have produced in Egypt a Moslem architecture tinged with an Egyptian character; just as, in other lands conquered by Islam, the architecture which sprang into being not only provided the requirements of the new religion but also reflected something of the technical traditions and of the physical character of its environment. For instance, in the Mohammedan buildings of Asia Minor are continued the splendid stone traditions of that country; and many mosques in the more westerly parts are absolutely Byzantine; while in India the local and traditional skill which had produced the Jaina temples contributed an important element to the Moslem architecture. But the first Moslem building in Egypt is not Egyptian, not even Byzantine: it is Mesopotamian.

The plan of Ibn Tulun is simple. It consists of a large rectangular open court surrounded by arcades. Brick piers carry the arches of the arcades. A plain wall

pierced high up at intervals by small arched windows encloses the whole area. A flat timber roof supported partly by the outer walls and partly by the arcades, gives ample shelter for a very considerable number of worshippers. In the necessity for securing by simple means seclusion and shelter for a large number of people, we find a sufficient reason for the development of this plan. It is the character and the material of the ornament rather than the plan which guides as to ascertaining the ancestry of this mosque. The stucco capitals of the engaged corner columns of the brick piers belong, as Miss Gertrude Bell has shown, to the same Mesopotamian family as the mosques at Samarra and at Rakka. No Egyptian stucco work of this character is known. Another feature which connects this mosque with Mesopotamia is the spiral minaret, the last descendant of the Babylonian Zigurrat. There can be no doubt that this mosque is the work of artists imported from Mesopotamia.

For the next 250 years, that is, until the beginning of the twelfth century, Cairo mosque builders seem to have followed pretty consistently the Mesopotamian tradition of brick ornamented by stucco; or, as it would probably be more correct to say, Mesopotamian workers found Cairo during that period a favourable and profitable field for the exercise of their arts. Both the mosques of Al Azhar and of El Hakim belong to the same school of workers as that of Ibn Tulun.

In the mosque of El Hakim, built 120 years later, we find the same solid brick piers and engaged corner columns, pointed arches of the same shape, and the same method of stucco decoration; and, in the mosque of Al Azhar, which is somewhat earlier than El Hakim, is found the flat-haunched and pointed arch, a shape of arch of which the earliest example is, I believe, found in the Bagdad Gate of Rakka.

As Cairo gradually grew, owing to its position, to be

the richest Mohammedan city in the Near East, it drew to itself from other Mohammedan lands an ever-increasing stream of workers. Cairo, judged by its architecture, does not seem to have been invaded, to any appreciable extent, by the building traditions of Egypt.

Though Egyptian labour was probably used, as it is now, for carrying out excavation and other earthworks, or in the rougher forms of walling, the evidence afforded by the buildings themselves leads to a belief that the main body of workers were foreign, or of foreign origin. If, as has been shown, the earlier Cairo mosques are far from being Egyptian, the mosque of Al Akmar, built about 150 years after that of Al Hakim, is no less so. The "façade", found for the first time in this mosque, is not a characteristic of Egyptian building of any period. The breaking of external wall surfaces by blind niches, a treatment which is the basis of the architectural theme in the façade of Al Akmar, is, however, immemorial in Oriental Asiatic brickwork, and in Central Asia Minor we find the same idea, though here it is almost always in stone.

We see, then in this mosque a repetition of an ancient Asiatic, not Egyptian theme. It is unnecessary to speculate on the circumstances which brought it to Cairo, which, as a rich and important city of the Moslem world, was able to command architectural skill and knowledge from far beyond the boundaries of Egypt. This is another point of interest in the mosque of Al Akmar. It represents not only the outer world, but a new importation from the outer world; not a development from previous buildings in Cairo, but a product of a new group of workers from abroad. Except in respect of plan, which, as requirements have not changed, remains in its broad principles similar to those of earlier mosques, there is no point of likeness between it and previous buildings.

The mosque of Sultan Kalaun, built a century and

a half later than Al Akmar, presents, in a striking manner, the two most salient characteristics of Cairo Moslem architecture, its foreign character on the one hand, and on the other its variety and its deficiency in evidence of any growth, traceable from building to building and progressing steadily towards a definite architectural object.

Between the mosque of Sultan Kalaun, built about 150 years later than Al Akmar, and any earlier building there is little, if any, architectural affinity. The motive of the façade has nothing in common with that of Al Akmar or even with that of Nigm ed Din, which is only forty years earlier. The façade of S. Kalaun does not consist of a wall decorated with niches, but rather of a wall fortified by buttresses, the heads of which are connected by arches; or, in other words, of well-defined groups of masonry in the form of piers, the wall spaces between the piers being pierced by windows. As there is nothing in the plan to account for this, one is tempted to explain it as a transcription of Crusaders' work in Syria. The accent, also, given by the vertical lines, and the division of the windows into lights, make this building reminiscent, though feebly so, of a character belonging to Mediaeval European architecture. We know that the Saracens were impressed by the beauty of the architecture they found in Syria during the Crusades. Mohammed en Nasir even took the trouble to transport bodily to Cairo and set up in his mosque a Gothic doorway taken from the Cathedral of Acre.

The mosque of Sultan Hasan is a witness even more eloquent than that of S. Kalaun of the character of Cairo architecture, and indirectly, of the significance of Cairo. Although only seventy years separate these mosques there is little if any architectural resemblance between the two buildings. Apart from its immense size (nothing built since the Arab invasion can compare to it in this respect) it is peculiar in the arrangement of its plan. The tomb

is usually placed at one angle; here it is placed axially with the mosque. The great portal and the four great spaces roofed by barrel vaults and surrounding an open court suggest a conception originating in a mind familiar with Asiatic traditional forms: while, in the naturalistic carvings, the broad bands of ornament, the use of stalactites without structural meaning, we feel the presence of a fresh importation of foreign workmen. Whence did the master builder and the workmen come? Herz Bey, in his monograph on this mosque, has pointed out that in the buildings of Ak Khan, Sirtchelli Medressa, and Energhé Djama, of Konia in Asia Minor, we find many features found also in the mosque of Sultan Hassan, such as wide bands of ornament and stalactites used in no structural sense. It is possible that the builders of Sultan Hassan's mosque were sent to Cairo by arrangement with the Seljukian ruler. We have seen similar incidents in more modern days. We know that Sultan Hassan was ambitious that his mosque should excel all other buildings, and he could hardly have done better than import masons from Asia Minor, where their skill was part of a tradition which went back to a period considerably anterior to the beginnings of Islam.

Up to and including the time of Sultan Hassan we see then that Cairo has been continually flooded by foreign workers. A great body of craftsmen of all sorts and from many lands is continually coming to Cairo and carrying with them a wonderful variety of tradition, experience, and knowledge, brought mostly from Asia, but also, possibly directly and certainly indirectly, from Europe. This concourse of workers, always refreshed from abroad, gave expression to its artistic instincts under a variety of forms, such as I have attempted, though summarily, to indicate. It is not until we reach a period subsequent to the middle of the fourteenth century that we find evidence of any process which can

be called development towards a distinct style of architectural expression. The best example of this phase is afforded by the mosque of Kait Bey built rather more than one hundred years after Sultan Hassan's mosque. The seeds sown by previous inroads of foreign workers and ideas seem, in the fifteenth century, to have succeeded in taking some root. But here, again, it is impossible to doubt a continued inflow in this century of considerable numbers of foreign workers, more particularly perhaps from Anatolia or from Armenia, or from some country of established stone-building traditions, to the skill of whose masons Cairo probably owes the unparalleled series of stone domes which form her crowning architectural glory.

This period was not, however, to last long. In the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, events occurred which robbed Cairo of her power to attract the skill and intellect of foreign countries. In the first place, when the Cape route was discovered in 1498, Cairo lost a great source of her wealth. Europe's Eastern trade was diverted, and the goods upon which the masters of Syria and Egypt had levied customs dues no longer came from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf for transfer to the harbours of Alexandretta and Alexandria. In the second place, Cairo gave place to Constantinople as the chief Moslem city in the Near East, and the Ottoman Turks annexed both Egypt and Syria, and, just as many centuries earlier the rise of Constantinople had contributed to the decay of Alexandria, Egypt's Greek capital, so now the passing of Constantinople into Asiatic and Moslem hands promoted the decay of Cairo, Egypt's Asiatic capital. For it was natural that the superior prestige of Constantinople as a Moslem centre should attract to that city the best technical and artistic skill of the neighbouring Moslem countries; and indeed, as El Garbartee tells us, Sultan Selim II took away with him to Constantinople so many masters of crafts

that fifty manual crafts ceased to be practised in Cairo. It must not be supposed that these events, disastrous though they were to the city of Cairo, meant to the rest of Egypt and to the Egyptians anything more than a shuffling and a changing among the foreigners in the alien city which happened to exercise its power over them. Egypt lives its agricultural life apart from vicissitudes in the fortunes of Cairo. Such a change in the central administration as that which took place when the country came under Ottoman rule in the beginning of the sixteenth century was not likely, in comparison with former days, to be either beneficial or the reverse to the inhabitants of Egypt. What has been termed the discovery of economic man had not been made, that is to say, the material blessings which accrue, not only to the ruled, but also to the rulers, as the results of what we call good administration were not, perhaps, at that time appreciated as they are to-day in the Eastern Mediterranean, and subject peoples were, more than is the case now, expected to make bricks without straw, and their countries were strained to produce without the necessary manure, to which efficient machinery of government may be likened. Though there was a great reduction in the wealth and power of Cairo her essentially foreign character, as reflected in her architecture, remained unaltered and has continued unaltered to the present day.

New architectural forms came into use with every change in the source of the representative foreign power. Under the Ottomans we find the Constantinople type of mosque derived from the Byzantine Church; and, under modern Europe, Cairo's hotels, business houses, and barracks reflect a spirit no more and no less removed from all that is Egyptian than does the mosque of Ibn Tulun or any other of the buildings constructed since the foundation of Fustat and of the various foreign towns which, now amalgamated, form the City of Cairo.

It is, then, unprofitable historically to consider Cairo architecture of any period from a point of view similar to that from which we examine the architecture of any town in Europe. Whether its buildings are Gothic or of the Renaissance period, a town in England is, architecturally, primarily of an English character, and one in France of a French character. Cairo, however, is not Egyptian, but represents different parts of the world at different periods; and, although one might expect a town fed from so many sources of architectural splendour to produce a growth not only distinguished in form, but also, elementally, local and indigenous in character, yet this is not the case with Cairo architecture, for the reason that the necessary local vitality to sustain and develop such a growth is absent; and it is not possible to discover in the architecture of Cairo the existence of any native Egyptian stock upon which foreign influences were grafted, nor any Egyptian element supplying vitality and continuity of development. Practically the whole of the architectural energy which has gone to the building of Cairo has come from abroad; but, owing in part to the wide area from which this foreign energy was and is always flowing and passing into Cairo, and, in part, to the fact that the climate of Egypt is not favourable to a continuance of vigour among foreigners, the tree of Cairo architecture is not seen to develop from seed to flower, but rather to come fully grown from abroad, to be planted, to decay, and to be replaced by another.

In the minor crafts and smaller details of architecture, as for example in joinery, plaster-work, mosaic or marble work, something in the nature of a tradition no doubt established itself in the town among those of the poorer imported craftsmen and their descendants who happened to be strong enough to survive for more than a few generations, possibly by mixing to some extent with natives of Egypt, just as happens now among the poorer

foreigners. But such a body of workers would not, in the past, any more than in the present, produce a master capable of any big conception; hence it is that all the larger architectural themes or forms, all big initiations, and new ideas come without exception from abroad. The blood of foreigners in Cairo may be compared to water in a tank. It will stagnate unless continually refreshed from without. Happily for the future of Cairo, and even, perhaps, of Egypt, it may be hoped that increasing ease of communication with the outer world, may, though at a distant date, by counteracting to some extent adverse climatic conditions, give to this process of refreshment a power to endow the thought and work of this alien city, if not with the sturdy character we associate with local development, at any rate with greater unity, stability, and continuity than has been the case in the past or is the case in the present.

It is not unnatural that the foreign visitor to Egypt should be inclined to regard Cairo as a town bearing the same relation to the rest of the country as that borne by any other important city to the country of which it is the capital, and to assume that in Cairo we see concentrated, to a large extent, the tendencies and ambitions of Egypt as a whole, and the developing seeds of its life, moral, intellectual, and material; in a word, that Cairo represents the central welter of Egyptian life. Nothing could be further from the truth. The significance of Cairo lies in its being representative, not of Egypt, but of the outer world. It is a point towards which through more than ten centuries the geographical position of Egypt, and the nature of the country and of its inhabitants, have made it possible and indeed inevitable that a continual stream of foreigners should flow, sometimes, as now, abundantly, and at others less so, from north and west and east.

It is here at the point of the Delta, at the end as it were, of a funnel whose mouth is open to the world, that

we see concentrated, not the people of Egypt, but rather the forces which are contending for the spoils of Egypt. In the buildings of Cairo the history of this continual struggle can be traced : in the political propaganda which emanate from Cairo it is further illustrated, and in the people of Cairo we see, for the most part, the deposited residuum of a continual inflow of aliens, Asiatic, European, and African, whose sympathies, occupations, traditions, and aims are as widely different from those of the true Egyptian as are the modern buildings of Europe and the Levant from the buildings of Egypt, whether she be represented by the temples of Karnak and Luxor or by the mud dwellings of the present-day peasant.

In conclusion it may be said then that Cairo is to be identified with the spirit of change ; Egypt with that of stability. Cairo looks always to the outer world for her life and her inspiration, while Egypt looks solely to what her river brings. In Cairo we see, not perhaps always in their most attractive form, something of the eager ambitions and devouring anxieties of the outer world ; and it is to these foreign ambitions or to these foreign anxieties that Cairo gives expression in a variety of ways and by a variety of cries ; cries which, so far as can be observed, affect the indwelling character of Egypt, expressed as it is by the unchanging rhythm of her rural life, much as the Sphinx is affected by the suppression of a Cairo newspaper or by a regimental change in the army of occupation.

III

FURTHER NOTES ON "ALI BABA AND THE FORTY THIEVES"

By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

IT is now possible for me to supplement my Arabic text of *Ali Baba* by printing in full the only other original version so far known. I shall add some further information which I have gathered on the identity of the scribe of the Bodleian MS. and various notes on the text of that version. Besides the criticisms of Professor Torrey, printed in this *Journal* for 1911 (pp. 221 ff.), I have had the advantage of privately communicated suggestions from Professor Goldziher, Artin Pasha, and Joseph Gabriel, Esq., a native of Haşbaya in the Lebanon, but now for many years in business in Manchester. His communications have been of especial interest.

In his *Histoire d'Alá al-Dín Zotenberg* gives various extracts from Galland's diary, including abstracts of different stories. But unfortunately among these are only two or three lines from the beginning of the abstract of the story of Ali Baba. I now give it entire, preserving Galland's orthography and even the passages which he himself had struck out. In a case such as this absolute exactitude and completeness are called for.¹

[Bibl. Nat., MS. fr. 19277, p. 140.]

LES FINESSES DE MORGIANE OU LES QUARANTE VOLEURS EXTERMINÉS PAR L'ADDRESSSE D'UNE ESCLAVE

Dans une ville de la Perse vers les confins des Indes il y avoit deux frères, l'un fort riche, gros marchand bien

¹ I am indebted for this transcript to the kindness of Miss Maud Temple, M.A., of Radcliffe College, Harvard, and to the care and skill of M. Max Courtecuisse, of the Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève. Galland's hand, in his diary at least, is a most lamentable scribble and calls for patient decipherment. M. Courtecuisse added modern punctuation.

logé, et l'autre pauvre païsan gagnant sa vie à aller couper du bois dans une forest voisine : l'un (le premier, *var.*) se nommait Cassem et l'autre (*var.* celui-ci) Hogia Baba. Hogia Baba se trouva un jour à son ordinaire dans la mesme forest avec trois asnes, et il apperçut de loin une grosse troupe de gens qui excitoient un nuage de poussière à cheval et qui venoient droit à lui. Il monta sur un gros arbres. La poussière à leur approche se dissipa et il vit quarante cavaliers, grands, bien armés ; ils mirent pied à terre, lièrent (*var.* laissèrent paistre) leurs chevaux aux environs à des bras du gros arbres. Il y avoit un grand rocher : les voleurs s'avancèrent jusqu'à une porte cachée, etc. . . . si près de l'arbre que Hogia Baba entendit celui qui estoit le premier prononcer ces paroles : Sésame, ouvre-toi ! Aussitost la porte s'ouvrit ; ils y entrèrent, la porte se ferma, ils y demeurèrent un long espace de tems, ils en sortirent. Quand ils furent tous dehors, le dernier se retourna et en se retournant il prononça ces paroles : Sésame, ferme-toi ! et la porte se referma. Ils remontèrent à cheval. Quand ils furent éloignés, Hogia Baba descendit, se présenta devant la porte, prononça les mesmes paroles : la porte s'ouvrit, la porte se ferma et à la chance de la lumière qui venoit d'une chambre il trouva la table mise et beaucoup de provisions, de vivres, des amas de riches choses, etc. . . . et surtout de l'argent et de l'or par tas, etc. C'estoit une retraite de voleurs depuis un très long tems . . . ils alloient voler au loins, venoient apporter leur butin de tems¹ et s'abstenoient de faire aucun mal aux environs, etc. . . . Le bûcheron charge ses trois asnes d'or et de bois par dessus dans des sacs qu'il trouva parmi les meubles et il retourne à la ville ; il rentre chez lui dans une petite cour, ferme la porte et décharge les asnes, porte les sacs dans la maison ; sa femme vient toute estonnée, soupçonne que son mari est un voleur ; . . . Hogia Baba lui impose

¹ De temps en temps (?).

silence et lui raconte le fait. La femme veut compter l'or. Le mari lui dit qu'elle est une sottie, que cela ne sert de rien; elle veut au moins le mesurer. Le mari cède, la laisse faire, elle va chercher une mesure chez Cassem frère du mari; la femme de Cassem lui en preste *une surprise*.¹ Comme elle savoit leur pauvreté, curieuse de savoir quel grain elle vouloit mesurer, elle frotte le dessous de la mesure, de graisse. La femme va mesurer l'or, elle sçait le nombre de la mesure qu'elle avoit posée sur le tas d'or. Pendant que son mari enfouit l'argent dans un endroit de la maison, elle reporte la mesure à sa belle-sœur qui regarde le dessous et y trouve une pièce d'or attachée. Le soir, au retour du *mari* Cassem, elle lui fait le récit. Le lendemain, Cassem avide, qui ne se contente pas de, va trouver son frère, veut savoir où il a pris tant d'argent, le menace de le dénoncer. *Le frère fait tout ce qu'il peut pour l'appaiser, il offre de lui en faire part; il veut sçavoir.* Il lui raconte la chose comme elle est et il offre de lui en faire part. Le frère veut sçavoir l'endroit, les enseignes. Hogia Baba fait difficultés: il est contraint de le satisfaire. Cassem le lendemain va à la forest avec dix mulets, il trouve *la forest* l'endroit, prononce les paroles; la porte s'ouvre, il entre, elle se referme, il voit le . . . Quand il veut sortir pour charger ses mulets, il ne se souvient plus des paroles, tant it estoit occupé de ce qu'il venoit de voir, il trouve plusieurs sortes de grains, etc. . . . Les voleurs surviennent, ils sont estomnés et ne peuvent comprendre: ils le mettent par quartiers et chaque quartier d'un costé et de l'autre de l'escalier par où l'on descendoit . . . et tronc du corps. Ils sortent après avoir mangé et ferment la porte. Le soir quand la femme de Cassem voit que son mari n'est pas revenu, vient à Hogia Baba, redemande son mari, crie, etc. . . . Hogia Baba l'appaise, lui disant qu'il peut revenir la nuit, etc. . . . Le lendemain elle fait plus de bruit. Hogia

¹ Words in italics are struck out in the text.

Baba reprend ses trois asnes, retourne à la forest, etc. . . . ; il arrive à la grotte, il prononce les paroles, la porte s'ouvre et il voit l'estat où est son frère : il charge son asne d'or, du corps en plusieurs sacs avec de l'or, couvre le tout de bois, revient, raconte à sa belle-sœur : *elle se met a faire des cris* la prévient pour empêcher ses cris en lui offrant de la prendre pour femme avec la sienne ; elle y consent. Pour cacher la chose, Morgiane dès le même jour va demander des tablettes propres pour les malades qui sont en danger, dans le voisinage. Le lendemain elle fait la mesme chose pour demander d'une essence pour dernier remède. Le soir elle fait la pleureuse. Le jour d'après, de grand matin, elle va à la place et elle s'adresse à un vieux savetier qui avoit ouvert avant les autres, commence à lui donner une pièce d'or : Bonne estraine ! que voulez-vous de moi ? Elle lui dit qu'elle veut lui fermer les yeux à un certain endroit. Il fait le difficile. Elle lui donne une autre pièce d'or : il se laisse mener, elle lui ferme les yeux et elle le meine chez son maistre, elle lui montre quoi il s'agit. Il fait difficulté, elle promet une autre pièce d'or : il coud, etc. . . . Elle le ramène les yeux bandés, elle lui oste le bandeau et il retourne chez lui. On va avertir à la mosquée pour l'enterrement et ce pendant Morgiane ensevelit le mort. Les ministres de la mosquée en arrivant veulent laver le corps, Morgiane dit que la chose est faite ; on conduit. Morgiane suit devant [*sic*] en s'arrachant les cheveux, etc. . . . Le frère suit le corps, les voisins l'accompagnent en criant à la mode du pays, etc. . . . *Le frère* Hogia Baba va demeurer dans la maison de son frère, transporte son argent pendant la nuit, etc. . . . Il avoit un fils qui ocupe la boutique de son oncle, etc. . . . Les voleurs reviennent quelque tem après. Estonnés de ne plus trouver le corps et le tas d'or plus diminué qu'auparavant, le capitaine les excite à la vengeance et propose récompense ou la mort à celui qui découvrira la demeure. Un se présente, il

change d'habit, il va à la ville et il s'adresse d'un (?) grand matin au savetier. Il lui demande, le voyant si vieux s'il voit encore clair et s'il pourroit bien coudre : "J'ai bien cousu un mort !" Le voleur se resjouit, il lui donne une pièce d'or, il demande l'adresse. Il lui marque qu'il ne le peut à cause de *ses yeux* qu'on lui avoit bandé les yeux. "Vous pouvez bien vous souv. [*sic*] souvenir du chemin que vous avez fait ; venez je vous banderai les yeux, etc. . . ." Argent mis en main il accompagne le voleur et trouve la maison. Le voleur marque la porte de craie, etc. . . . Morgiane sort de la maison ; en revenant elle apperçoit la marque, elle prend de la craie et marque de même les autres portes de l'un et de l'autre costé, à droite et à gauche. Le voleur cependant va avertir les voleurs, etc. . . . ; ils viennent à la ville, ils se dispersent, le voleur et le capitaine passent . . . de jour pour reconnoître ; il voit plusieurs portes marquées de mesme, etc. . . . ; il s'en retourne avec les autres voleurs et celui qui avoit mal réussi est puni. Un second se présente, etc. . . . ; il va s'adresser au mesme savetier qui lui fait connoître la maison de la mesme manière, il *la* marque la porte de rouge en un autre endroit moins apparent. Morgiane s'en apperçoit et marque les autres portes au mesme endroit. Le voleur est puni comme l'autre. Le capitaine se charge de la chose lui-mesme : il vient à la ville *déguisé en marchand, loue une boutique. Il apprend du mesme savetier la maison et le nom de Hogia Baba, et il se trouve que sa boutique est vis à vis du fils. Il fait amitié avec le fils, il le régale plusieurs fois, familiarité. Le fils veut le regaler à son tour.* Il apprend la maison par le mesme savetier : il la remarque bien et retourne à la forest, et à la grotte ; il fait provision d'autant de grands vases de cuir à mettre de l'huile qu'il a d'hommes, il les enferme *dans* chacun dans un de ces vases qu'il frotte d'huile, et il en emplit un d'huile. Il les charge sur des mulets, il se met en chemin, et il arrive

devant la maison d'Hogia Baba, sur la bonne. *Le matin* il estoit à sa porte où il prenoit l'air après le soupé. Le capitaine des voleurs le prie de vouloir bien lui donner entrée dans sa cour pour passer la nuit. Non seulement il l'accorde, il ordonne qu'on mette les chevaux dans l'écurie, qu'on leur donne orge, foin. Les vases sont deschargés dans la cour, on fait souper le capitaine. Après le souper il va à chaque vase et il avertit les voleurs *que quand il* de fendre les vases avec les couteaux dont ils estoient munis, quand il jetteroit de petites pierres pour les avertir. On lui donne une chambre pour se coucher. Hogia Baba avant de se coucher recommande à Morgiane de lui tenir son linge du bain prest pour y aller avant le jour et de lui préparer un bouillon pour son retour. Morgiane met le pot au feu et la chandelle manque. Un domestique lui dit de prendre de l'huile dans un des vases qui estoient dans la cour, etc. . . . *Elle* Au premier vase le voleur qui estoit dedans demande en parlant bas s'il estoit tems. Par sa pénétration elle repond que non, mais bientost. Elle va à tous et elle trouve la mesme chose. Le vase d'huile estoit le dernier en rang ; elle prend de l'huile pour allumer la lampe et elle en rem. [*sic*] remplit une chaudière qu'elle fait bien bouillir avec de la poix ; elle en verse dans chaque vase de la toute bouillante et fait périr tous les voleurs, etc. . . . Le capitaine jette des pierres, personne ne répond ; il descend et il trouve tous les voleurs ; il se sauve de maison en maison. Hogia Baba revient du bain, il apprend ce qui s'est passé, il fait enterrer les voleurs dans son jardin, trouve le moien de vendre les mulets, etc. . . .

Le capitaine des voleurs demeuré seul se déguise en marchand ; il loue une boutique vis à vis de celle d'Hogia Baba, il fait amitié avec lui, grande familiarité : il le régate plusieurs fois. Le fils veut avoir sa revanche, il en parle à son père qui y consent. Morgiane prépare le soupé. Le fils arrive, le faux marchand, on se met

à table. Le Cap. s'excuse de manger en s'excusant sur ce qu'il ne mangeoit ni pain ni viande ni ragout où il y eût du sel. Baba Hogia *tient* fait venir Morgiane, il lui commande de faire incessamment du pain et quelque ragoust sans sel. Morgiane se doute de la méchanceté, à cause que le sel est marque d'amitié et qu'on ne fait aucun tort dès qu'on en a mangé. On soupe; après le soupé, danseurs, etc. . . . Morgiane prend un masque, le baïonnette au costé, danse la dernière et se fait admirer. A la fin, elle s'approche de Hogia Baba qui lui donne un nombre de pièces d'or, elle s'approche de mesme du fils qui fait la mesme chose. Elle enfonce le poignard dans le sein du faux marchand. Hogia Baba s'écrie, elle l'apaise en faisant voir de quelle manière le Cap. des voleurs estoit armé. Louange de Morgiane, il la donne en mariage à son fils. Le bruit se respand de la mort, il fait connoistre en déguisant ce qu'il falloit déguiser. A différent fois, il tira tout ce qu'il y avoit d'or et d'argent, hardes, etc. . . . en cachette. Ils vivent heureux et contents, etc. . . .

Probably no one who reads the above will have any question that Galland, when writing his *Ali Baba* two years and three months after this entry in his diary, must have had some other written source. But what was that source, and what relation did it bear to the Bodleian Arabic version? Some of Galland's MSS. must have gone astray after his death—that, for example, containing Hanna's transcript of *Aladdin*. Among these might easily be a form of *Ali Baba* which, like Hanna's *Aladdin*, has not yet turned up. But from the other end I can now go a step further back and fix the scribe of the Bodleian MS. I have already noted in this *Journal* (April, 1910, p. 328) that Yūḥannā is a Christian form, but that the wording of the colophon is Muslim, or, at any rate, not specifically Christian. There is also the *Basmala* at the beginning, which a native Christian would not have used. The

suggestion of a European scribe therefore rises at once. The only other occurrence of وارسى which I can find is in Pertsch's Gotha Catalogue, vol. v, p. 32, where a MS. is described bearing the same stamp (V.L.) and a note

ملك هذا الكتاب بلمشتري [sic] التقير الى ربي [sic] التقدير عبده
 حنا وارسى سنة ١٢٠٨

The two *sic*'s were inserted by Pertsch—who also notes that he knows no other case of وارسى—but Artin Pasha suggests to me that the first word means “by purchase” and that *alif* and *lam* have come together being looped above. This volume was bought from the same bookseller, Franck, from whom the Bodleian procured its MS., and was No. 458 in his catalogue.¹ That catalogue, here inaccessible to me, would be well worth looking up, but, in the meantime, I do not hesitate to guess that يوحنا وارسى is Jean Varsy, of whom there are traces as a pupil of de Sacy's. In the library of the École des langues orientales there is a copy by him, finished in December, 1807, of the first redaction of de Sacy's Arabic grammar. See a note on p. xvi of the biography of de Sacy by Hartwig Derenbourg prefixed to the collected edition of de Sacy's papers, the publication of which was begun by George Salmon, Cairo, 1905. Further, de Sacy refers to him in his *Chrestomathie arabe* (2nd ed., i, pp. 176, 195) as in business at Alexandria and Marseilles. He contributed scattered notes also to the *Journal Asiatique*, the last apparently in 1850.

This identification seems sufficiently to rule out Professor Torrey's suggestion (this *Journal*, 1911, p. 222) that the scribe was also the author of this recension. No pupil of de Sacy's would have so jumbled *nahwī* and *dārij* together, but might easily have transcribed them.

¹ A. Franck, *Catalogue d'une belle collection de manuscrits et livres arabes* . . . Paris, 1860.

Of course, I do not think that the original of the recension is many removes from this MS., but I feel compelled to posit an educated native Arabic speaker as its author. Such a one would make grammatical slips and drop into *dārij* exactly as in this MS. He would be capable of writing البسوا البشوا (p. 359, l. 5 from foot) and لم دخل, something inconceivable in any one who had gone through the school of de Sacy. For it should be remembered that even the educated Arabic speaker cannot write faultless *nahwī*. Even—so far is *nahwī* from any living form of language—a practised author will seek the assistance of a professional grammarian to revise his work. And, further, in spite of Professor Torrey's remarks (this *Journal*, 1911, p. 226) I still hold that he prided himself on his *irāb*. He was writing, it should be remembered, before the *modern* popular story literature had appeared. His models were, on the one hand, current MSS. of the *Nights* and the like, and, on the other, such works as Ibn 'Arabshāh's different treatments of the *Marzubān Nāma*. As for MSS. of the *Nights* and the like, no one who has not worked at them can have any idea of the corruptness of their style.¹ Our printed editions, with the exception of Habicht's, have all been carefully grammaticized by learned editors, and the same holds in great part even of the MSS. which Habicht used. Ibn an-Najjār and his other copyists touched them up. It is in Ibn 'Arabshāh and his *Fākihāt al-khulafā* that we find the real models for our present writer. Let the two different treatments by Ibn 'Arabshāh of the stories of the *Marzubān Nāma* be compared, the simple translation (lithographed at Cairo, A.H. 1278) and the ornate, rhetorical amplification in the *Fākiha*, and the kinship of our MS. with the second will at once stand out. Our author wished

¹ From this must be excepted the Galland and the Vatican MSS. and two or three other old MSS., such as those at Tübingen. These rest on a true literary tradition which, apart from them, has long been lost.

to write *naḥwī* and so had to *i'rāb* as far as was in his power, and the mere fact that he attempted such a redaction shows that he thought such a style and learning within his reach. The difference between the language and manner of the ordinary story and the literary *genre* which he was attempting must have been clear to him. On that account I altered بکایکی (p. 340, l. 4 from foot). The form would have been normal in an ordinary MS. of the *Nights*, and should be retained in an edition of the *Nights*, but in this MS. it is the one occurrence and as much to be corrected, as a scribal slip, as if it occurred in the *Fākiha* or in *Ḥarīrī*. On the other hand, I retained that impossibility فقط (p. 352, l. 12; p. 357, l. 12) because it occurred twice and seemed explicable as an attempt at i'rābing, perhaps on the so frequent analogy of ابدأ. Professor Torrey (p. 226) calls فقط "a characteristic vulgarism". If he means that it is a characteristic grammatical slip I agree with him. But if he means that it actually occurs in the colloquial, then I have no knowledge of such usage, and I have looked carefully for it. I understand further from him by letter that he can quote no occurrence of it.

The same method had to be applied to all the other slips and usages in the MS., such as the orthography of *hemzu* and of the verbs final *wāw* and *yā*, the confusion of ج and ذ, etc. In each case the question had to be asked, was such and such a usage thinkable in the case of this redactor or must it be a transcriber's blunder? The MS. was evidently very careful and correct, and to be followed wherever any excuse was possible. Thus I retained (p. 353, l. 19) بالعش for بالنحش, as ع and ح are liable to confusion in the dialects, and حرم (p. 377, l. 4 from foot) for the more usual محرم, as it was a possible form. Similarly, I retained إفشا for افشى (p. 339, l. 14),

for it was quite conceivable to me that the original redactor had so written, and استبطه (p. 340, l. 14) for the same reason. Why Professor Torrey objects (p. 223) to my *noting* that the classical root is بطأ I do not understand. Similarly, on p. 348, l. 15, I have followed the MS. with سوداء for سوداء.

I add now a list of misprints, more numerous than I care to think of. Some of them may easily be slips in my "printer's copy"; in any case I am responsible for them. The most of the corrections I owe to Professors Goldziher and Torrey.

P. 341, l. 6, read بسعادة; p. 346, l. 2, الملعون; p. 347, l. 9, الجيران; p. 351, l. 8, الشيخ; p. 352, l. 10, فرايصه; p. 356, l. 12, الجاسوس; p. 358, l. 10, للص (للص in MS.); p. 359, l. 2, محتاج; p. 360, l. 4 from foot, عجز عن; p. 361, l. 2 from foot, وسكتت; p. 361, l. 14, اوضح; p. 362, l. 3 from foot, تشربها; p. 364, l. 11, عرفه; p. 367, l. 8, والاضطجاع; p. 372, l. 10, الورطة; p. 374, l. 6, الكبار; p. 375, l. 3 from foot, فاكلوا; p. 381, l. 1, وبطش; p. 384, l. 5, فيقتضى.

I now enter on some more dubious corrections. P. 344, last line, the MS. reads كلما twice, and, though the reading is hard, the general care of the MS. seemed to require its retention. P. 347, l. 16, the manuscript reading is المانع as I printed, and I can see no reason for changing it to المانع as Professor Torrey suggests. Something evidently *had* hindered Qāsim. P. 358, l. 12, the manuscript reading is المحروم as I printed; I take it to mean "unhappy". Of course, المرحوم would be an "easier" reading. On p. 359, last two lines and note, the 2nd person suits the context as well as the 1st, and I am afraid I must ask Professor Torrey for some occurrences of وا as a termination to a 1st person plural imperfect in eastern Arabic.¹

¹ Of course, *ā* is a common termination in Maghribi Arabic from Tripoli westward.

On p. 363, l. 4 from foot, the MS. reads ضروب as printed. It is good Arabic for "kinds, species", and, though أبواب follows, is quite defensible. Dogmatism is hardly in place. Similarly, on p. 366, l. 14, I read with the MS. وخلق, and understand it to mean that he hung *alīqas* or fodder-sacks on the necks of his beasts (Lane, 2136c). On p. 382, l. 3, it is certainly alluring to read, as Professor Torrey suggests, حزها for حزها. But the MS. reads clearly as I printed, and there are so many possibilities in the word—time, condition, dress (Lane, Dozy)—that I hesitate to change.

On the other hand, I have no question that in the following cases Professor Torrey is right. P. 361, l. 15, pronounce يَنَالُكَ; p. 358, l. 10, خطي is a verb; p. 370, l. 11, read (with the MS.) فعند قربه. As to the meaning of على حال (p. 367, l. 10) I am still in doubt.

Of the curious usage on p. 354, l. 1, Professors Goldziher and Torrey and Mr. Gabriel hold each a different view. Professor Goldziher (by letter) suggests the reading واستنفض. My difficulty lies in the tenth stem and the construction with ب; also she was a widow. Professor Torrey suggests (this *Journal*, 1911, p. 228) واستنفضي بها, translating "and he appeared with her before the qāḍī" and comparing p. 384, l. 21. Mr. Gabriel (by letter) retains the manuscript reading and connects the usage with فائس, "an empty place," and renders "he cohabited with her".

Mr. Gabriel has further given me some very interesting notes on the dialect lying behind this, which I must still call a pseudo-grammatical retelling of a *Märchen*, and on its actual occurrence as a *Märchen*. To his mind it is "in correct Arabic, but with a good many slang words and some mistakes". The dialect is Syrian; against that view he does not give any weight to its occasional use of د for ذ. But there are two curious exceptions. On

p. 342, l. 1, *مننا* is certainly Egyptian, and on p. 382, l. 9, *ماسكاد* is Egyptian or Bedawi. On these and other points he had consulted a native Egyptian.

As to the *Märchen*, he remembers hearing it as a boy at his native place Ḥaṣbaya in the Lebanon before 1860, the year in which he left home. Both parts of the story were told to him there, and he remembers the following details: (1) The name Ali Baba; contrast Hogia Baba in Galland's diary. (2) The forty thieves were called *أربعين أزعر*. (3) They were not concealed in skins (*قرب*) but in *خوابي*, jars (sing. *خابية*). For a man concealed in a water-skin see Bayle St. John's *Two Years in a Levantine Family*, ch. xxi, and for soldiers hidden in jars Moret's *In the time of the Pharaohs*, p. 97.

Artin Pasha (by letter) lays stress upon Baba as indicating ultimate Turkish origin, and points out that Ali Baba must have been a dervish. All the Bektashite dervishes are called Baba. In this sense the word is the equivalent of the Greek *πάππας*.

Finally, Ali Baba has returned to the East, translated from some form of Galland, in *كيف تصحك أوروبا*, Cairo, 2nd ed., pp. 69-91.



IV

THE GOAL OF MUHAMMADAN MYSTICISM¹

By REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON

THE title of this paper suggests a definite answer to a definite question. I do not think that such an answer can be given except in very general terms. The mystics of Islam, like all other mystics, recognize that the object of their search cannot be apprehended by knowledge, much less described by words. The goal is ineffable: all that can be done is to describe the journey from beginning to end. This is no easy task, and would assuredly be a long one if we accept the view of a celebrated Persian theosophist that the ways to God are in number as the souls of men. It is possible, however, to reduce to a system the main features, both theoretical and practical, of any mystical type, and with the help of a highly developed symbolism to indicate in some degree what is the nature of those experiences which lie beyond thought and knowledge. My present purpose is to discuss the meanings attached by Šúfis to certain metaphorical terms which are used in reference to the state of union with God. A Moslem, as well as a Christian, might speak of union with God, but the former would be more likely, perhaps, to describe the consummation of the mystic life as "extinction in the Real" (*faná fi 'l-ḥaqq*). The term *faná*, which has been rendered by "passing away" or "annihilation", plays a great part in Šúfí literature, and

¹ This paper was read at the Fourth International Congress for the History of Religions held at Leiden, September 9-13, 1912. I have added the original text of the passages quoted in translation.

is familiar to European students, but its history has not yet been sufficiently investigated. Fresh light is thrown upon it by texts which have recently been discovered or made accessible. The first Persian manual of Sufism, the *Kashf al-Mahjúb*, can now be read in an English translation, and two copies have come to England of an earlier work that was believed to have been lost, probably the oldest surviving treatise on the subject in Arabic, the *Kitáb al-Luma'* by Abú Naṣr al-Sarráj, who died in 378 A.H. (988-9 A.D.). As I am preparing an edition of the *Kitáb al-Luma'* for publication in the Gibb Memorial Series, I need only say that it contains much valuable information which is not to be found elsewhere and that it especially adds to our knowledge of the pantheistic and ecstatic aspects of Sufism. The author in several places explains his conception of *faná*, and I will now quote some of these passages, which are important both on account of their early date and because the book is often cited as an authority by Qushayrî and subsequent writers. Explanations of mystical terms are hard to understand and still harder to translate, so I must claim your indulgence if I have failed in either respect. In choosing an English phrase equivalent to *faná* one has to consider its correlative term, *baqá*, which expresses just the opposite meaning. *Baqá* signifies "continuance", and the opposite of "continuance" is not "extinction" or "annihilation", but "transience" or "passing away". Therefore, although *faná* does imply the meaning of annihilation and extinction, "passing away" would seem to be a more exact rendering of the term.

According to the author of the *Luma'*, the original meaning of *faná* and *baqá* is the passing away of ignorance through the continuance of knowledge, the passing away of disobedience through the continuance of obedience, the passing away of forgetting (God) through the continuance of remembering (Him), the passing away of regarding

human actions through the continuance of regarding God's providence in His eternal foreknowledge.¹

In another place he says: "The meaning of *faná* is the passing away of the attributes of the lower soul (*nafs*) and the passing away of repugnance to, and reliance on, anything that may happen. *Baqá* denotes continuance in this condition. Again, *faná* is the passing away of a man's regarding in his actions that which he does, through God's taking his place therein."²

The term *dhaháb*, "going away," is nearly synonymous with *faná*, and signifies, our author says, "the going away of the mind from perception of sensible objects through the contemplation of that which it beholds; then the mind goes away from its going away, and this is infinite. To one in this state all things are non-existent and nothing is perceived by the senses."³

Al-Sarráj describes *faná* as a gradual process. He enumerates the following five steps:—

1. The vanishing of his consciousness of the present life and the future life through the coming over him of the thought of God.

2. The vanishing of his consciousness of thinking of God in his consciousness of God's thinking of him.

¹ *Luma'*, 96b: ومعنى الفناء والبقاء في أوائله فناء الجهل ببقاء العلم وفناء المعصية ببقاء الطاعة وفناء الغفلة ببقاء الذكر وفناء رؤيا حركات العبد لبقاء رؤيا عناية الله تعالى في سابق العلم.

² *Luma'*, 151a: ومعنى الفناء فناء صفة النفس وفناء المنع والاسترواح إلى حال وقع والبقاء بقاء العبد على ذلك وإيضاً فناء هو فناء رؤيا العبد في أفعاله لأفعاله بقيام الله له في ذلك.

³ *Luma'*, 153b: وهو ذهاب القلب عن حس المحسوسات بمشاهدة ما شاهد ثم يذهب عن ذهابه والذهاب عن الذهاب هذا ما لا نهاية له . . . يعني قد غابت المحاسن وتلفت الأشياء فليس يوجد شيء ولا يحس.

3. The passing away of regarding God's thought of him, so that only his consciousness of God remains.

4. The vanishing of his consciousness of God through regarding his consciousness.

5. The vanishing of his consciousness of regarding his consciousness through the passing away of passing away and the continuance of continuance.¹

Although these definitions are expressed in technical language, I think their purport will be tolerably clear to anyone conversant with other forms of mysticism. But not only does our author explain what *faná* is, he also tells us what, in his opinion, it is not. In two chapters headed respectively "the passing away of qualities" and "the passing away of humanity" he criticizes theories of *faná* which were current in his time.

"Some mystics of Baghdád," he says, "have erred in their doctrine that when they pass away from their qualities they enter into the qualities of God. This involves incarnation (*ḥulūl*) or leads to the Christian belief concerning Jesus.² The doctrine in question has been attributed to some of the ancients, but its true meaning is this, that when a man goes forth from his own qualities and enters into the qualities of God, he goes forth from his own will, which is a gift to him from God, and enters into the will of God, knowing that his will is given to him by God and that by virtue of this gift he is severed from regarding himself and becomes entirely devoted to God; and this is one of the stages of Unitarians. Those who

فأول علامة الفانى ذهاب حظّه من الدنيا والآخرة : *Luma'*, 97a: بورود ذكر الله تعالى ثم ذهاب حظّه من ذكر الله تعالى عند حظّه بذكر الله تعالى له ثم يفنى رؤية ذكر الله تعالى له حتى يبقى حظّه بالله ثم ذهاب حظّه من الله تعالى برؤية حظّه ثم ذهاب حظّه برؤية حظّه بفناء الفناء وبقاء البقاء.

² Cf. my translation of the *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, p. 244.

have erred in this doctrine have failed to observe that the qualities of God are not God. To make God identical with His qualities is to be guilty of infidelity, because God does not descend into the heart, but that which descends into the heart is faith in God and belief in His unity and reverence for the thought of Him.”¹

It will be noticed that the author does not condemn the doctrine of the passing away of human qualities, which, indeed, forms part of his own explanation of *faná*: he only rejects what seems to him a dangerous interpretation of the doctrine.

The second heresy, “the passing away of humanity,” is criticized as follows:—

“Some have abstained from food and drink, fancying that when a man’s body is weakened it is possible that he may lose his humanity and be invested with the attributes of divinity. The ignorant persons who hold this erroneous doctrine cannot distinguish between humanity and the

¹ *Luma'*, 192a: وقد غلطت جماعة من البغداديين في قولهم انهم عند فنايهم عن اوصافهم دخلوا في اوصاف الحق وقد اضافوا انفسهم بجهلهم الى معنى يؤذيهم ذلك الى الحلول او الى مقالة النصارى في المسيح عم وقد زعم انه سمع بعض المتقدمين او وجد في كلامهم انه قال في معنى الفناء عن الاوصاف والدخول في اوصاف الحق فالمعنى الصحيح من ذلك ان الارادة للعبد وهى من عند الله عطية ومعنى خروج العبد من اوصافه والدخول في اوصاف الحق خروجه من ارادته ودخوله في ارادة الحق وبمعنى ان يعلم ان الارادات هى عطية من الله تعالى وبمشيئته شاء وبفضله جعل له ما بعطية ذلك قطعه عن رؤية نفسه حتى ينقطع بكنيته الى الله تعالى وذلك منزل من منازل اهل التوحيد واما الذين غلطوا في هذا المعنى انما غلطوا بدقيقة خفيت عليهم حتى ظنوا ان اوصاف الحق هو الحق وهذا كله كفر لان الله تعالى لا يحل في القلوب ولكن يحل في القلوب الايمان به والتوحيد له والتعظيم لذكره.

inborn qualities (*akhlāq*) of humanity. Humanity does not depart from man any more than blackness departs from that which is black or whiteness from that which is white, but the inborn qualities of humanity are changed and transmuted by the all-powerful radiance that is shed upon them from the Divine Realities. The attributes of humanity are not the essence of humanity. Those who inculcate the doctrine of *fanā* mean the passing away of regarding one's own actions and works of devotion through the continuance of regarding God as the doer of these actions on behalf of His servant."¹

We are now in a position to formulate the notion of *fanā* as explained by the author of the *Kitāb al-Lumā'*. Substantially the same explanation is given by Qushayrī,² whose classical apology for Ṣūfism was published sixty years after the death of al-Sarrāj, and also by the author of the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*,³ a contemporary of Qushayrī. All these writers endeavour to show that Ṣūfism is thoroughly orthodox, and assert that its doctrines, rightly understood, are nothing but the true esoteric science contained in the Koran and the Traditions of the Prophet. The following summary of their *fanā* theory represents the views of a large and influential party which, ever

¹ *Lumā'*, 189a: فمنهم من ترك الطعام والشراب وتوهم ان البشرية هي القلب والجثة اذا ضعفت زالت بشريتها فيجوز ان يكون موصوفاً بصفات الالهية ولم تحسن هذه الفرقة الجاهلة الضالة ان تفرق بين البشرية وبين اخلاق البشرية لأن البشرية لا تزول عن البشر كما ان لون الاسود لا يزول عن الاسود ولا لون الابيض عن الابيض واخلاق البشرية تبدل وتغير بما يريد عليها من سلطان انوار الحقايق وصفات البشرية ليست هي عين البشرية والذي اشار الى الفناء اراد به فناء رؤيا الاعمال والطاعات ببقاء رؤيا العبد لقيام الحق للعبد بذلك.

² *Risalat* (Cairo, 1318 A.H.), 43, 13-45, 1.

³ pp. 242-6 of my translation.

since the time of Ghazālī, has been the driving religious force in Islam.

Fanā, then, involves—

1. A moral transformation of the soul through the extinction of all its passions and desires. The passing away of evil qualities and of the evil actions which they produce is said to be brought about by the continuance of the corresponding good qualities and actions. This means that when ignorance, for example, passes away, knowledge remains, and that when a man ceases to forget God he necessarily continues to remember Him.

2. A mental abstraction or passing away of the mind from all objects of perception, thoughts, actions, and feelings through its concentration upon the thought of God. Here the thought of God signifies contemplation of the Divine attributes.

3. The cessation of all conscious thought. The highest stage of *fanā* is reached when even the consciousness of having attained *fanā* disappears. This is what Ṣūfīs call “the passing away of passing away” (*fanā al-fanā*). The mystic is now rapt in contemplation of the Divine essence.¹

Often, though not invariably, *fanā* is accompanied by loss of sensation. Sarī al-Saqatī, a famous Ṣūfī of the third century, expressed the opinion that if a man in this state were struck on the face with a sword he would not feel the blow.² Abu 'l-Khayr al-Aqṭa' had a gangrene in

¹ Qushayrī, 44, 12, distinguishes three stages of *fanā* similar to those described above. The *first* is “passing away from the ‘self’ and its qualities through continuance in the qualities of God”; the *second* is “passing away from the qualities of God through contemplation of God”; and the *third* is “passing away from the contemplation of passing away through annihilation (*istihlāk*) in the being of God”. The last words are remarkable as showing that a comparatively orthodox Ṣūfī could use the language of pure pantheism, but they show, too, the danger of understanding mystical expressions in their literal and obvious sense. Qushayrī refers to the unconscious absorption of thought and will in contemplation of the Divine being.

² *Luma'*, 192b.

his foot. The physicians declared that his foot must be amputated, but he would not allow this to be done. His disciples said, "Cut it off while he is praying, for at that time he is unconscious." The physicians acted on their advice, and when Abu 'l-Khayr finished his prayers he found that his foot had been amputated.¹ It is difficult to see how anyone far advanced in *faná* could be capable of keeping the religious law—a point on which the orthodox mystics lay great emphasis. Here the doctrine of saintship comes in. God takes care to preserve His favourites from disobedience to His commands. We are told that Báyzíd, Shiblí, and other saints were continually in a state of rapture until the hour of prayer arrived; then they returned to consciousness, and after performing their prayers became enraptured again.²

It has been said that all thinking Moslems are pantheists, though some do not know it.³ This paradox is the logical consequence of their Unitarianism. The absolute unity of Allah, which had to be maintained at all costs, swallowed up everything else. But the mystic theologians were well aware of the danger to which the doctrine of absolute unity exposed them. Islam would become a mere empty name if the Moslem profession of faith—"there is no god but Allah"—were openly admitted to be a religious statement of the fact that nothing except Allah really exists. To proclaim that bare fact is to sweep the whole fabric of positive religion off the face of the earth. Accordingly we find in the early Šúfí textbooks repeated warnings that God is essentially different from His creatures, and that any union based on identity of substance is a blasphemous dream. Hujwírí, for example, defines *faná* as the passing away of man's will in God's will—not

¹ *Kashf al-Mahjúb*, 304.

² *Ibid.*, 257.

³ See "One phase of the doctrine of the unity of God", by D. B. Macdonald in the *Hartford Seminary Record*, vol. xx, No. 1, p. 36 (January, 1910).

of man's being in God's being—and, using an illustration which occurs in the *Enneads* of Plotinus, he likens it to the melting of iron in fire: fire, he says, affects only the quality of iron without changing its substance.¹

The contradiction, though disguised by scholastic subtleties, goes fatally deep, and it is not surprising that in their extremity the theologians should have turned to philosophy. The results of this alliance have been set forth with admirable clearness by Mr. Whinfield,² and I need not dwell upon them here. Neoplatonism supplied the metaphysical foundation of the new system. Allah was identified with the Neoplatonic One, in which all real being is included. On the other hand, all unreal being—the world of phenomena and man—is “matter” or “not-being”, which only appears to exist through reflecting real being and thereby borrowing a sort of phantasmal reality. Man belongs to both worlds. On one side the baser elements of his nature attach him to the shows and apparitions of this life, but his true being is the divine spark in the ground of his soul, in virtue of which he is essentially one with God. Is he not, then, above law and religion? The answer is, that law and religion are necessary bonds, so long as man is associated with not-being, which is the source of evil.

While the older theory of *faná* depended on the theological conception of God as absolute will, the theory which we are now considering starts from the philosophical idea of God as absolute being. That from which the mystic of this school strives to pass away is the phenomenal universe, including all that is unreal in himself. Probably, however, his aspirations will not be expressed with such cold propriety. Mysticism is neither philosophy nor

¹ *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, 245.

² See the introduction to his edition of the *Gulshan-i Râz*, by Maḥmûd Shâhîstârî, and compare my *Selections from the Divân-i Shams-i Tabriz*, pp. 31-6 of the introduction.

theology nor both together. It can turn these sciences to account, as we have seen, but no sooner has it absorbed them than they suffer, like Alonso in Ariel's song,

"A sea-change
Into something rich and strange."

It is generally accepted that Sūfism—the pantheistic movement in Islam—was the result of many co-operating circumstances. The course of theological speculation, and the inevitable revolt against its inhumanly rigid formalism, was one cause. Another was the influence of Greek and Indian theosophy. How to prevent the new wine from bursting the old bottles, how to control the mighty torrent which menaced Islam with destruction and break its force by diverting it into the well-worn traditional channels—this was the problem that faced Muhammadan religious thinkers in the Middle Ages. It was solved, as you know, by Ghazālī, but the solution was a Pyrrhic victory from the orthodox point of view, since it made room in Islam for frenzied poets worshipping no god but the Eternal Beauty, mystical monists like Ibn al-ʿArabī, and swarms of dervishes who in every sense are Brethren of the Free Spirit.

Although the fact that Islam has never shown itself so intolerant as Christianity towards pantheistic errors is partly, no doubt, owing to the absence of any organized ecclesiastical authority, I believe a better reason may be found for it. To Christians, of course, the claim of any man to be a Christ must appear shocking, but in Western and Central Asia—where the Sāsānian kings were regarded by their subjects as gods, and where the doctrines of incarnation, anthropomorphism, and metempsychosis are indigenous—the idea of the God-man was so far from unfamiliar and unnatural that any one who came forward as such was justified in his claim by the public conscience, however he might be condemned for "betraying the secret of his Lord". It is true that Ḥallāj, who uttered the

famous words *Ana 'l-haqq*, "I am the Real," died on the scaffold, but here, as in many other cases, the execution was dictated by political motives. His followers believed that he was taken up alive to heaven and that the actual victim was not he, but a horse or a mule or one of his enemies whom God had transformed into his likeness; which legends, as M. Massignon has lately pointed out,¹ rest on the conviction that a God-man could not possibly suffer the indignity of being crucified and cremated. Among the Moslem saints we meet with several extreme pantheists who would certainly have shared the fate of Halláj if they had owned allegiance to the mediaeval Catholic Church. Thus Báyazíd of Bistám is reported to have said, using the terms of glorification which Moslems ordinarily apply to God alone, "Glory to me! How great is my majesty!" and again, "I went from God to God until He cried from me in me, 'O thou I!'"² Such utterances do not deeply offend Muḥammadan sentiment, and, if spoken in ecstasy, are readily condoned. Jalálu'ddīn Rúmní in a magnificent ode describes how the One Light shines in myriad forms through the whole universe, and how the One Essence, remaining ever the same, clothes itself from age to age in a series of incarnations. Let me conclude by quoting a few lines:—

"Every moment the robber Beauty rises in a different shape,
ravishes the soul, and disappears.

Every instant that Loved One assumes a new garment, now
of eld, now of youth.

Now He plunged into the heart of the substance of the
potter's clay—the Spirit plunged, like a diver.

Anon He rose from the depths of mud that is moulded and
baked, then He appeared in the world.

He became Noah, and at His prayer the world was flooded
while He went into the Ark.

¹ See his article "al-Halláj" in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* for June, 1911.

² *Tadhkirat al-Awliyá*, i, 160, 13.

He became Abraham and appeared in the midst of the fire,
 which turned to roses for His sake.
 For a while He was roaming on the earth to pleasure
 Himself,
 Then He became Jesus and ascended to the dome of heaven
 and began to glorify God.
 In brief, it was He that was coming and going in every
 generation thou hast seen,
 Until at last He appeared in the form of an Arab and
 gained the empire of the world.
 What is it that is changed? ¹ What is transmigration in
 reality? The lovely winner of hearts
 Became a sword and appeared in the hand of 'Alí and
 became the Slayer of the time.
 No! no! for 'twas even He that was crying in human
 shape, 'I am the Real.'
 That one who mounted the scaffold was not Maṣṣūr,²
 though the foolish imagined it.
 Rúmí hath not spoken and will not speak words of infidelity :
 do not disbelieve him !
 Whosoever shows disbelief is an infidel and one of those
 who have been doomed to hell."

هر لحظه بشکلی بیت عتیار بر آمد
 دل برد و نهان شد
 هر دم بلباس دیگر آن یار بر آمد
 گه پیر و جوان شد
 گاهی بدل طینت صلاصال فرو رفت
 غیو اص معانی

¹ Meaning, apparently, that here is no question of an individual soul passing from one body to another.

² Halláj is often called Maṣṣūr, which is properly the name of his father.

³ *Diván-i Shams-i Tabriz* (ed. of Tabriz, 1280 A.H.), 199, and more fully in the complete Lucknow edition (1302 A.H.), 225. The poem is entitled المستتراد في ظهور الولاية المطلقة العلوية. I give the text of the lines translated above.

گاهی ز تگ کجگلِ فتحار بر آمد
 ز آن پس لجهان شد
 که نوح شد و کرد جهانرا بدعا غرق
 خود رفت بکشتی
 که گشت خلیل و بدلِ نار بر آمد
 آتش گل از آن شد
 میگشت دمی چند برین روی زمین او
 از بهر تفرّج
 عیسی شد و برگنبدِ دوار بر آمد
 تسبیح کنان شد
 بالجمله هم او بود که میآمد و میرفت
 هر قرن که دیدی
 تا عاقبت آن شکل عرب وار بر آمد
 دارای جهان شد
² منسوخ چه باشد چه تناسخ بحقیقت
 آن دلبر زیبا
 شمشیر شد و در کفِ کزار بر آمد
 قتالِ زمان شد
 نی نی که هم او بود که میگفت انا الحق
 در صورتِ بو الهی
 منصور نبود آنکه بر آن دار بر آمد
 نادان بگمان شد
 رومی سخنِ کفر نگفته است و نگوید
 منکر مشویدش
 کافر بود آنکس که بانکار بر آمد
 از دوزخیان شد

¹ The Lucknow edition reads لجهان شد, "he flew to Paradise."

² The Tabriz edition reads منسوخ چه باشد نه تناسخ که حقیقت.

As the purest water flows from the deepest spring and the loftiest trees are the most firmly rooted, so the highest manifestations of human thought derive their first impulse and their final stability from below. We have seen how the poet gives artistic expression to crude ideas floating in the minds of the common folk, and I venture to say that there is an equally firm popular basis for what has been called the distinctive doctrine of Moslem philosophy—the doctrine of “impersonal immortality”.¹

¹ T. Whittaker, *The Neoplatonists*, 190.

WESTERN MANICHÆISM AND THE TURFAN DISCOVERIES

By F. LEGGE

ABOUT the year 300 it became plain that a new religion was spreading through the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. This was the faith taught by one Manes or Mânî, a native of Babylonia, who was put to death by order of the Shah Bahram or Varanes I in 275. One story is that he began to teach when 13 years old, another when he was 24. We know with fair certainty that he was 60 when he died; so that if we take the more probable date his missionary activity must have lasted for thirty-five years—a longer period than has generally been allowed to founders of new religions.¹ His teaching must also have started in the reign of Ardeshr, the restorer of the Zoroastrian religion, by whose orders were collected the books known as the Avesta. Ardeshr's religious restoration was avowedly made for political reasons, and with the view of binding together the newly-founded empire of the Sassanides by a common faith. It seems to have given a good deal of offence to the older Persian nobles, and it was very likely among these that Mânî found his first converts. The later Manichæans boasted that he converted to his doctrines Ardeshr's successor, Shâpûr or Sapor, the conqueror of the Emperor Valerian, and also the next king, Hormuz or Hormisdas, who reigned only a few months. This is evidently an exaggeration, but may cover the fact

¹ The summary of Manes' history here given is mainly taken from Rochat, *Essai sur Mani et sa Doctrine*, Genève, 1897, where the account given by the Christian Fathers is harmonized with that of the Mahommedan writers quoted by Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1862, and Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin, 1889. Cf. Baur, *Die Manichäische Religionsystem*, Tübingen, 1831.

that he obtained a hearing from one or perhaps both of these kings. The result of this was that he was banished from Persia, and spent the rest of his life in visiting India, China, and Turkestan, in all which countries he made many converts. On the accession of Bahram, the third king from Ardeshir, he returned to Persia, and failing, it is said, to support the ordeal of molten lead to which he was subjected, was put to death, probably by beheading.¹

Mâni's death was followed by a fierce persecution of his followers, which was repeated sooner or later in nearly every country where they were found. It is said that after Mâni's execution his skin was stuffed with straw and hung over the gate of the town where he suffered, as a warning to future heretics. His followers were routed out and slain in great numbers by the Magi, to whom Ardeshir's reformation had given great power; and this doubtless led to those who were left alive withdrawing to the outskirts of Persia. Within the next twenty-five years we hear of them in Edessa, in Asia Minor, and in Egypt. Thence they spread along both shores of the Mediterranean and were particularly numerous, perhaps, in Northern or Roman Africa. Everywhere their coming produced the same violent measures against them. Diocletian had certainly no objection to Persian religions as such, for in 307 he and his colleagues proclaimed Mithras, the Persian Sun-god, the protector of their empire.² Yet a few years before this, he put forth an edict directing that all Manichæan teachers should be burned and their followers beheaded, while the property of Manichæans of every rank was to be confiscated to the State.³ In the next reign,

¹ See note on previous page.

² Cumont, *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux Mystères du Mithra*, Bruxelles, 1896, etc., t. ii, p. 146. Cf. PSBA., May, 1912, pp. 125 sqq.

³ de Stoop, *La Diffusion du Manichæisme dans l'Empire romain*, Gand, 1909, p. 34. The date of the edict is there shown to be 296.

Constantine is said to have at first considered the feasibility of making Manichæism the State religion, and to have commissioned his friend Strategius to inquire into it.¹ What he heard, however, so set him against it that he revived Diocletian's edict, and his example was followed by all the Christian emperors, who published laws of great severity against the Manichæans.² Only under the philosophic emperor Julian, who enforced religious toleration to the great disgust of nearly all his subjects, did they get a moment's respite. After Julian's death in the Persian war the persecution began again. Popes and emperors alike fulminated against the Manichæans, and when Priscillian, Bishop of Avila, the first heretic to be judicially put to death by Christians, went to the scaffold in 385, Manichæism was the crime of which he was rightly or wrongly accused.³ It was in the same reign (i.e. that of Theodosius) that the office of Inquisitors of the Faith was instituted, which played so important a part in the later history of Western Manichæism.⁴

In spite of this, Manichæism seems to have made progress, especially in Africa. St. Augustine, the future Bishop of Hippo, was a Manichæan for nine years before his conversion, and we owe most of our knowledge of Western Manichæism to his writings. He seems to have had no difficulty in finding Manichæans to dispute with after his conversion, and these disputes have given us much valuable insight into the doctrines of Mânî when they appeared in the West. The conquest of Africa by the Vandals probably did more than the Roman laws to put an end to the Manichæan propaganda on that continent. Yet it is curious that Manichæans, sometimes in high office, were after this date constantly discovered at

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, bk. xv, c. 13.

² de Stoop, *op. cit.*, ch. iii.

³ E. C. Babut, *Priscillien*, Paris, 1909, App. iv.

⁴ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (Bury's ed.), vol. iii, p. 152.

the Court of Constantinople,¹ while those of lesser rank were as frequently sought out and exiled in batches from the Western Empire. The vigilance of the Inquisitors, however, made it incumbent on them to keep their missionary efforts secret, while in the Far East any persecution of them can only have been sporadic. In places like Turkestan and China they were probably left unmolested, and it was here doubtless that they had their chance of organizing themselves into a regular church. This implied, as we shall see later, the sending out of missionaries to spread the faith in the neighbouring countries; and the invasion of the Mahommedans in the seventh century dropped, as it were, a veil between what was till then the Persian Empire and Europe. Hence when the Macedonian Emperors of Byzantium began to wrest Western Asia from the feeble hands of Harun al-Rashid's successors, they found the non-Moslems of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Asia Minor entirely given over to a heresy called the Paulician from its supposed connexion with the Apostle Paul. Whether these Paulicians really were, as the emperors said, Manichæans pure and simple, or whether they only sheltered the Manichæans among them, seems impossible to say, nor does it greatly matter for the present purpose. It is at any rate certain that in the middle of the eighth century the Emperor Constantine Copronymos, who is said to have been in sympathy with them, made an expedition into Armenia and transported a great number of them from Western Asia to Constantinople and Thrace.² Here, in the country which is now the seat of war, they prospered exceedingly, and succeeded in converting many of the Bulgarian tribes to their doctrines. In the tenth century the Emperor John Zimiskes followed this up by transplanting a still larger colony to the same place, to whom he handed

¹ The case of Barsymes mentioned later (v. note on p. 86) is typical.

² Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 121.

over the city of Philippopolis and promised toleration.¹ While still keeping up correspondence with the Paulicians of Armenia, the new colonists sent out missionaries along the northern shore of the Mediterranean, who met with much success in the South of France and in Italy. There followed upon this what Macaulay described in a well-known passage as "the first great rising-up of the human intellect against the spiritual domination of Rome". All Southern Europe is said to have been parcelled out into Manichæan dioceses whose bishops paid allegiance to a Manichæan Pope seated in Bulgaria. Six Manichæans were burned alive in Orleans, two in our own city of York. The institution of the Mendicant Orders, the revival of the Inquisition, and the Albigensian crusade of de Montfort were necessary before Manichæism in Europe was again driven under the surface, where it lurked perhaps down to the outbreak of the German Reformation.²

This dismal history of nine centuries' persecution makes one ask what there was about the Manichæan doctrines that was so shocking to the rulers of the European world. The Manichæans were what are called dualists, that is to say, they taught that the universe sprang from two opposing principles. It consisted, according to them, of Light, which extended without end upward and on each side. Below this was Darkness, which extended without

¹ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 121; see also App. vi, The Paulician Heresy.

² Carl Schmidt, *Histoire et Doctrine de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*, Paris, 1849, *passim*. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, Oxford, 1898, pp. cxxx-li, is excellent for the history of the Paulicians and of their relations with other sects. Mr. Conybeare tries hard to prove that the Paulicians were not Manichæans. It is possible that there were many sects among them, but he quotes (p. cxi) the statement of Eckbart, Bishop of Cologne in 1160, that the Cathars of his time used to celebrate the festival of the Bema or anniversary of the death of Manes. H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, London, 1888, vol. ii, says (pp. 91-2) that the Cathars of Languedoc believed in transmigration, and wore the sacred thread of Zoroaster. In the "Ritual of the Albigeois", given in App. vi to Mr. Conybeare's book, is a confession of sins much resembling the *Khuastuanist*.

end downward and on each side. Therefore, there was one long frontier where the two confronted each other, and this was the seat of conflict. For countless ages, they said, the Powers of Darkness were contented with fighting among themselves, an idea which is plainly Babylonian. But one day they looked upon the Light, hated it, and resolved to overcome it. Their hatred took shape in the creation of a monstrous being called Satan, who had the head of a lion, the body of a serpent, the wings of a bird, the tail of a fish, and the feet of a reptile. This, as I have suggested elsewhere, may be a reminiscence of the lion-headed figure concealed in the chapels of Mithras,¹ and probably means nothing more than that the King of Darkness was made out of the five στοιχεῖα or elements of which matter was then thought to consist. Satan and his hosts invaded the realm of light, and the invasion was reported to the lord of the realm, called "the King of the Paradise of Light". He, not wishing to send against Satan any of his five worlds of light, fashioned for the purpose a new being called the First Man, who was also made out of five elements, these being in his case the ether, air, light, water, and fire. With these—sometimes spoken of as his armour and sometimes as his sons—he marched against Satan, who on his side clothed himself with smoke, flame, darkness, hot wind, and cloud. In the fight which followed, the First Man was defeated, and the armour of the two combatants having become mixed together, the elements of light were contaminated by the elements of darkness. Then the King of the Paradise of Light extricated his creature the First Man, and established him above the place of combat, while he fashioned the present earth out of the mixture of light and darkness, to endure until the elements of the light were redeemed from it.

This redemption of the light-elements was a very

¹ Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archæology, 1912, p. 141.

complicated process, which like the rest of the story seems to be founded on the astronomical ideas of some primitive people. The souls of men, animals, and plants are light and their bodies darkness or matter. A great wheel equipped with twelve buckets or vases like an Egyptian *sakkiyeh* or water-wheel is said to be constantly turning between earth and sky, carrying up with it the souls or portions of light as they are won from the mixture. They discharge their contents into the sun and moon, which are described as ships, or rather ferry-boats, sailing backwards and forwards upon the ocean of ether or the upper air. These empty their burden into the column of glory always mounting from this world to the realm of light, bearing with it the praises, the hymns of gratitude, and the good deeds of men. When all the light is thus won, the angel who now bears the earth on his shoulders will fly back to the realm of light, and a fire will break out which will consume the world. Thus the separation between the light and the darkness will once more be complete.¹

Now these fantastic notions—nearly all of which, I think, could be traced back to the ideas current in Babylonia many millennia before Christ—must have been very shocking to those who in the reign of Diocletian had shown themselves ready to die for the Christian faith. They transferred the responsibility for the evil which is in the world from the shoulders of man to the God of Light. If the First Man was defeated in his struggle with Satan, the blame must rest, not on his disobedience, as is the case with Adam in the Book of Genesis, but on the deity who sent him into battle imperfectly equipped—in the same way that if a country were to be defeated in war at the present time its citizens would blame, we may hope, not their soldiers, but the War Minister who persuaded them to trust to an army too small for its purpose. But Māni would no doubt have replied to any accusation of

¹ See Rochat, *op. cit.*, for authorities for these statements.

blasphemy that he did not claim to be a Christian in the ordinary sense of the term. What he aimed at was the establishment, not of Christianity as professed by the Catholics, but of a faith which should blend Christianity with two older religions. He puts it quite plainly in a book called *Shapurakhan*, said to have been composed by him for the benefit of that king Sapor who exiled him. In this book, which is quoted by the Mahomedan Al-Bîrûnî of Khiva, who wrote at the beginning of the eleventh century, he says: "Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha to India, in another by Zoroaster to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age through me, Mânî, the messenger of the God of Truth, to Babylonia."¹ We see, then, that his aim was not so much to found a new faith as to reconcile the three great religions, i.e. those of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Christ, which then shared the civilized world between them. Hence his object was quite as much political as religious, and this explains why he so constantly strove—as it turned out to his own undoing—to get his doctrine adopted by kings and emperors. The rulers of the two great world-empires of the time—"the two eyes of the human race" as a Persian ambassador to Diocletian's Court called them²—Ardešhîr and Shâpûr on the one side, and Diocletian and Constantine on the other, had all shown themselves quite alive to the importance of the political side of religion in the struggle between them that lasted down to the Mahomedan conquest. Thus Mânî's effort was at least well-timed.

How he and his successors hoped to achieve their purpose has hitherto been very doubtful because of the

¹ Al-Bîrûnî, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Sachau's ed.), London, 1879, p. 190.

² Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme romain*, Paris, 1906, p. 164.

almost complete disappearance of their writings. Manichæism, in the West at any rate, was an extremely literary faith; and the Manichæan missionaries seem to have trusted quite as much to their pens as to their tongues to convince people. They gave themselves a free hand by rejecting entirely the Old Testament, which they declared to be the work of the Devil, and everything in the New which referred to the birth of Christ, His observance of the Jewish law, His baptism, temptation, or passion. This left hardly anything of the Christian Scriptures but parts of the Epistles, especially those of St. Paul; but they made up for this by concocting a whole series of gospels, acts, and apocalypses, which they attributed by a literary device, which in those days brought no disgrace with it, to one or other of the Apostles.¹ St. Augustine, once a Manichæan himself, speaks feelingly of the swarms of beautiful Manichæan books, "so numerous, so large, so costly," as he says, which the sect possessed. Unfortunately, he winds up this description, which would make any antiquarian's mouth water, by the advice to burn them all;² and the Inquisitors carried out his suggestion only too thoroughly. Such copies of the pseudepigraphical books of the Manichæans as have survived have been in the phrase of the time "made orthodox", that is to say, have been altered so as to take out of them everything distinctly Manichæan. All their other writings in Greek or Latin were destroyed; and so carefully was this done that our only knowledge of Manichæan opinions until lately was derived from the controversial books of the Catholic writers in Roman times who set about to refute them, and the proceedings of the Dominican Inquisitors, who laboured in the Middle Ages to exterminate them.

¹ de Stoop, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 sqq. Dufourcq, *de Manichæismo apud Latinos*, Paris, 1900, pp. 32 sqq.

² *Contra Faustum*, bk. xiii, c. 14.

In the last century some new sources, however, were tapped. Sir Henry Rawlinson, in 1868, drew attention to the *Vestiges* of the chronologist Al-Birûnî, which, as has been said, contained a small fragment of the words of Mânî himself. The learned Flügel, a few years earlier, also published the Arabic text and translation of the work of en-Nadîm generally called the *Fihrist*, which contained copious extracts from the writings either of Mânî or of some of his successors; and this was followed up by the late Professor Kessler, who published in 1889 the first part of a work unfortunately left unfinished at his death, collating en-Nadîm's statements with those found in many other Christian and Mahommedan writers in Arabic and Syriac, as also with the Greek formulas of abjuration employed by the Catholic Church when "receiving" a convert from Manichæism.¹ Lastly, in 1898, M. Pognon, the French Consul at Aleppo, worthily keeping up the learned tradition of Botta and de Sarzec, published the Syriac text and translation of part of the Nestorian bishop Theodore bar Khûnî's *Book of Scholia* written at Kashgar not later than the eighth century, and containing much information about the Manichæan doctrines.² These documents, although very valuable, were, of course, open to the same objection as our earlier sources, that is to say, they represented, not what the Manichæans said, but what their adversaries said they said. Our experience of the ethics of religious controversy led one to fancy that these might be two very different things.

All these doubts have been put an end to by the discoveries of the last few years. As appears from Professor von Le Coq's account of them in the Society's *Journal*,³ in 1902 and again in 1904 expeditions were sent, mainly by the generosity of the German Emperor, to the oasis of

¹ *Forschungen über die Manichäische Religion*, Berlin, 1889.

² *Inscriptions Mandaites des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris, 1898.

³ *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 299 sqq.

Turfan in Chinese Turkestan. The first of these resulted in the discovery of a great heap of MSS., which Dr. Franz Müller, of Berlin, recognized as written in a variety of the Estrangelo script used exclusively by the Manichæans. The publication of these texts with Dr. Müller's translation left no doubt possible that we here had texts written at some time before the tenth century for the use of a large Manichæan community; and the second German expedition discovered in addition a quantity of Manichæan wall-paintings, including one which may be a picture of Mânî himself, miniatures, painted flags like those used by Buddhists but bearing Manichæan inscriptions, and more Manichæan MSS. The Russian archæologists, who were the first to discover the treasures of Turfan, also obtained MSS. of the same kind; and in 1907 Dr. (now Sir) Marc Aurel Stein succeeded in obtaining in the oasis of Tun-huang in the Chinese province of Kan-su access to another hoard of similar MSS. in the caves known as the Grotto of the Thousand Buddhas. A French expedition in 1908, under Count d'Ollone, also gave good results, and led to the remainder of the MSS. at Tun-huang being removed to the National Library at Peking for safe custody. All the Manichæan documents hitherto discovered are either in the Uigur dialect of Tatar or Turkish, in another dialect called after one of Alexander's provinces Sogdian, in Pahlavi, or in Chinese. Nearly all are in the Manichæan script, the key to which we owe, I think, to Dr. Franz Müller.

Now it is not given to everyone to wrestle with these strange tongues, even if most of these documents were not written in what is in effect cryptography; and for the moment we are more concerned with their translations than with the originals. These are coming out rather slowly; but more than 1,000 of the Turfan fragments have been translated into German by Professor Müller, and are appearing in the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences. These *Transactions* are

of course in the British Museum, but it is very difficult to get hold of a copy elsewhere. A summary of the contents of those fragments which had appeared up to the date of publication is to be found in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* from the pen, I think, of Mr. Conybeare, and will be of great help to anyone who wishes to study them. They consist mostly of Manichæan prayers and hymns, but owing to the way in which the paper rolls on which they are written have been rolled up, the titles of all of them are missing. It is notoriously unsafe to deduce creeds or doctrines from devotional exercises, and it might be hard to make much of these fragments taken alone. Luckily, however, at both Turfan and Tun-huang several copies were found of a document called *Khuastruanift*, which turned out to be the Litany or Confession of Sins which the lowest order of Manichæan believers were accustomed to recite ritually at certain seasons with a prayer that the sins there set out might be "remitted". The veteran Russian scholar, Professor Radloff, published in 1909 a translation of this from a copy in Uigur characters now in St. Petersburg.¹ Last year Professor von Le Coq, the leader of the last Prussian expedition to Turkestan, who saw reason to disagree with some of Professor Radloff's version, published in the Society's *Journal* a fresh translation made from the copy obtained by Sir Marc Aurel Stein at Tun-huang, also in the Tatar language and the Uigur dialect, but, unlike Professor Radloff's, written in Manichæan script.² With this he has collated the fragments of the same Litany now in Berlin, and the fact that we have here three different sources to draw from gives us a confidence in our own text which we could not have if it depended on one MS. only. It is also a most important document for the study of Manichæism;

¹ *Khuastruanift, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909.

² JRAS., April, 1911.

because, while it contains a sort of recapitulation of the Manichæan ideas on the origin of the world summarized above, it also, in its recitals of the different sins repented of, shows what were the Manichæan ethics or morals, and gives us much insight into the organization and the ritual practices—fasts, services, and so on—of the Manichæan Church. But this is not all. One of the documents from Tun-huang sent to Peking in the belief that it was a Buddhist text, turns out to be a long doctrinal treatise or sermon written in the Chinese character and language for the edification, probably, of Chinese converts to Manichæism. It purports to be a conversation in the form of a Buddhist *sutra* between Mânî himself and his disciple Addas, who is described by the Christian Fathers as his Apostle to the East. It was first translated into modern Chinese—its date must be earlier than the year 1035, when the cave in which it was found by Sir Marc Stein was bricked up¹—by the learned Chinese Mr. Lo-Tchen-yu, and is now being published in the *Journal Asiatique* by MM. Edouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, the last of whom was a member of Count d'Ollone's expedition.² With these three categories of documents we have at last a mass of first-hand material for the study of Manichæism.

It would take a very long time to describe in detail all that these documents teach us. But it should be said that they confirm in nearly every point all that the Christian and Mahomedan writers have said about Manichæism. We are so accustomed to discount what religious opponents say of each other's doctrines and practices, that no one would have been surprised if it had turned out that those of the Manichæans were quite different from what their contemporaries said they were.

¹ Mr. Dennistoun Ross said at the meeting that further investigation had made this date 300 years later.

² "Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine": *Journal Asiatique* for November-December, 1911. This is the first part only. It is hoped that the conclusion of the article will shortly follow.

But it is not so. With very trifling exceptions, all that the Christian Fathers, beginning with St. Augustine, the Mahommedan writers who were brought into contact with them in the East soon after the Arab invasion of the seventh century, and the Inquisitors of Provence and Languedoc, who in the Middle Ages practically drove them out of Europe—all that these writers said about them turns out to be literally true; and it is clear that although these opponents of Manichæism extenuated nothing, yet that they set down nought in malice.¹ When one thinks of the way in which Catholic and Protestant controversialists still misrepresent each other's doctrines, one is inclined to wonder why the religious disputants of the first Christian millennium should have been so much fairer to their adversaries than those of the second.²

Another point that comes out very clearly is that the rulers of those times—Persian Shahs, Roman Emperors, and Catholic Popes—knew very well what they were about when they persecuted Manichæism to the death. Manichæism was not only a religion, but it was what most Europeans think exists only in fiction—a perfectly efficient and capable secret society. Whether this secrecy was forced upon the Manichæans by persecution, or whether, as seems more probable, it was from the first the ideal set up by Mânî, it is now impossible to say; but the whole organization of the Manichæan Church seems

¹ It has been pointed out to me that a passage in the *Fihrist* (Flügel, op. cit., p. 100) makes Manes say that Jesus was a devil. It is, I think, plain that he is here recording the opinion, not of Manes, but of some late sect of his followers, and this may be due to the fact that Manes belonged, in his youth, to the Mugtasilah, who said that Jesus was a fiend, who had obtained baptism from St. John Baptist by a trick. It is directly contradicted by an earlier statement in the *Fihrist* that Manes announced himself to be the Paraclete, whose coming had been predicted by Jesus as good news (Flügel, op. cit., p. 85).

² The existence and popularity of the Manichæan books at the time may of course account for much.

designed with an eye to its preservation. The adherents of Manichæism were divided into five orders—five being, as we have already seen, a sort of sacred number among them. The three higher ones are difficult to describe with certainty, because there is as yet no very clear evidence to be drawn from our documents concerning them. En-Nadîm, whose information is generally to be trusted, says outright that there were five “degrees” in Manichæism, which were in their order—

1. The Masters or Sons of Gentleness.
2. The Sun-enlightened or Sons of Knowledge.
3. The Priests or Sons of Intelligence.
4. The True or Sons of Discretion (i.e. Secrecy).
5. The Hearers or Sons of Inquiry or Discernment.

These alternative titles (Sons of Gentleness, etc.) correspond in name to the Five Worlds of Light over which the King of the Paradise of Light rules, and which, it will be remembered, he did not wish to send against Satan. On the other hand, St. Augustine says that there were in the Manichæan Church twelve “masters”, in imitation of the twelve Apostles, with a thirteenth ruling over them and representing Mânî himself. Then came seventy-two bishops, and below them again an apparently unlimited number of priests and deacons.¹ The Chinese document confirms this, in so far as it speaks of a “chief of the religion” or Pope and also of certain “masters”, who are also mentioned in the Turfan texts.² But there is nothing to show whether these “masters” correspond to the highest degree of En-Nadîm, or whether they with the Pope and the bishops were not a separate hierarchy chosen out of the fourth order or degree of Manichæans.³ It

¹ The correspondence between the “degrees” of Manichæism and the worlds of light appears in the *Fihrist* (Flügel, op. cit., p. 95). For St. Augustine’s division of the sect see his *de Haeresibus*, c. 46.

² *Journal Asiatique*, *ubi cit.*, p. 581, and n.

³ See de Stoop, op. cit., p. 35, and n. 2.

would seem on the whole that the three higher degrees of Manichæism were in any case purely administrative, and that those who took them remained unknown to the lower ranks.

With regard to the fourth order of the society there can be no doubt. These are they whom St. Augustine calls *Electi* or the Elect, En-Nadim the Sons of the Secret, other Mahommedan writers the Siddiks or Saints, and the mediaeval Inquisitors the Perfect. These last are particularly good evidence on this point, because more than one of the Perfects in Languedoc turned, so to speak, king's evidence, were converted to Catholicism, rose to the rank of Inquisitor, and helped in that capacity to settle the *Practica*, which down to the abolition of the Holy Office in Spain remained, and for aught we know still remains, the authoritative code of Inquisitorial Law.¹ All writers agree that it was these Perfects who were the missionaries of the sect, and that they were compelled by an ordinance going back to Mânî himself never to rest in one place, but to wander perpetually through all lands, there to spread the faith.² They comprised both men and women, but might never marry nor be given in marriage; and the Inquisitors say that, while they were never either to touch or be touched by one of the opposite sex, they were never to be alone by night or by day. They were to take only one meal a day, and this might never include meat, eggs, or strong drink, although fish was not forbidden to them. They were always to be gentle and humble in their demeanour, and might wear only one garment a year, which must be black in colour; while they might do no work and possess no money nor other property, being supported entirely by the alms of the fifth

¹ e.g. Rainerio Sacchone. See Lea's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. ii, p. 96; so Peter Martyr was the son of a Cathar, and Robert le Bugre, a third Inquisitor, had been a Cathar for twenty years. See Schmidt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 159.

² *Journal Asiatique*, *ubi cit.*, p. 572, n. 3.

order.¹ Finally, they were never to take the life of even a vegetable, and were not to annoy or distress the smallest animal. The austerities they practised had such an effect on them that the Inquisitors declared they could always recognize a Perfect by the paleness of his or her face. This was also noticed by the Fathers, one of whom seems to have disbelieved without reason in the sincerity of the Perfect, since he spitefully hints that pallor can be produced by other means than fasting.²

We come to the lowest and largest order of Manichæans, called the Auditors or Hearers, of whom fewer sacrifices were required. En-Nadîm puts it quite plainly when he quotes from some unnamed Manichæan book, that anyone who is filled with love for the faith, but does not feel strong enough to conquer all desire and greed, can become a Hearer if he be willing to protect the Manichæan religion and the Perfect. The new documents, particularly the *Khuastuanift*, make it quite clear that the Hearer had also to keep the ten commandments of Mânî, which are: not to pray to idols, not to lie, to abstain from avarice, murder, adultery, and theft, from false doctrine and magic, from doubt, and from idleness.³ He also had to make daily certain prayers and fasts, some lasting for two days and one for at least a month; and if, say the Inquisitors, he commits any sins, he is to confess them before the whole congregation.⁴ This seems to suggest the white sheet and penitential bench, and it was so understood until the publication of the *Khuastuanift* showed us that it really meant the recital of the Litany of that name. But the main difference between the Perfect and the Hearer was

¹ Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, *ubi cit.*, p. 576, n. 2, and p. 577, n. 4, and Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The *socius* or companion was not bound to be a Perfect.

² Cyril of Jerusalem. Cf. de Stoop, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 4.

³ Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

⁴ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 99; Maitland, *Facts and Documents relating to the Albigenses*, London, 1832, p. 141.

in their supposed lot after death. While the soul of the Perfect is conducted by a god of light and a beautiful virgin to the Column of Praises, which bears him to the Heaven of the First Man, that of the Hearer remains on earth, passing by five successive transmigrations into the bodies of man or other animals, and in the intervals of these transmigrations rests in a state like that of a sleeping man who is haunted by frightful dreams. When these transmigrations are complete he becomes a Perfect; but if in the meantime the end of the world should come, we gather that he will be cast into the Darkness to live for ever with Satan and his hosts.¹

One curious charge against the Manichæans is disproved by the new documents. The Inquisitors insisted that the Hearers among them might outwardly profess any religion they pleased, so long as they held fast the Manichæan faith in secret. This appears incredible when we remember that, as Macaulay tells us, the hatred of the Manichæans for Catholicism was so openly marked that "Viler than a priest!" and "I would as soon be a priest as do so-and-so" in their time of power became everyday expressions in Southern Europe. But the Turkestan MSS. show that the Manichæans had a much more subtle scheme of propaganda than mere concealment of their doctrines. The First Man or Archetype whom they figured as enthroned in the heaven immediately above us, waiting mournfully but patiently for the time when all the light should be restored to his kingdom,² seems to have changed his name according to the beliefs of the people among whom the Manichæans were working for converts.

¹ Kessler, pp. 398-9. It is even possible that he was supposed to rise higher in the scale of being. Barsymes, the moneylender protected by Theodora (Procopius, *Anecdota*, cap. xxii; de Stoop, op. cit., p. 84), cannot during most of his life have been anything but a Hearer. But in one of the Turfan fragments he is invoked as "the Lord Barsymes", an epithet reserved for the "Messengers" of the Light like Buddha, Jesus, and Māni.

² St. Augustine, *contra Faust.*, bk. xx, c. 17.

In the Africa of St. Augustine's time they called him Jesus—that Jesus *patibilis* or suffering Jesus who, they said, had no cause to be crucified, because His members were even now hanging from every tree, being dispersed through the plants and animals of the whole world, and suffering until they should once again be united with Him. But in the Tatar *Khuastuanift*, which no doubt goes back to a Pahlavi original, he is called Ormuzd, the god of light, who in the Avesta fights against Ahriman, whom he will one day conquer.¹ So, too, in the Chinese treatise, the King of the Paradise of Light appears as “the Great Holy One” or “the Venerable”, perhaps the oldest of the lights; but in the Turfan texts as Zervan or Time,² that being who in the Shah Yezdegerd's version of Mazdeism was said to have preceded and given birth to both Ormuzd and Ahriman. There was even among the African Manichæans an attempt, according to the Fathers, to show that they too had a Trinity corresponding to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of the Catholic Church,³ and in the Chinese text we find Mânî spoken of as the Tathâgata, an expression generally confined to Sakyamuni or Gotama Buddha.⁴ Thus the Manichæans could tell the Christians that they were the only true Christians, the followers of Zoroaster that they were the only true Zoroastrians, and the Buddhists that they were the only true Buddhists, while at the same time they were trying to undermine all these faiths. In this way they carried out St. Paul's injunction to be all things to all men.

These and other facts, too long to describe, show that Manichæism was a real danger to the State as

¹ See *Journal Asiatique*, *ubi cit.*, p. 513, n. 1.

² Müller, *Handschriften Reste aus Turfan*, Berlin, 1904, Fr. 4. Cf. “*Khuastuanift*”: JRAS., 1911, p. 281. The different allusions to this god in Manichæism are brought together by Chavannes & Pelliot in *Journal Asiatique*, *ubi cit.*, pp. 542–3, n. 2.

³ St. Augustine, *contra Faust.*, bk. xx, nn. 2 and 6. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, *ubi cit.*, p. 587, n. 2.

well as to the Church. The late Henry Lea, in his very thorough and well-documented *History of the Inquisition*, which is full of information as to the Manichæans of the Middle Ages, says that if it had been allowed to flourish unchecked it would have destroyed the institution of the family and have finally endangered the existence of the human race. He evidently refers to the strict celibacy enjoined on the Perfect; but as this order was confined to a very small number of Manichæans—it is said that there were never more than a few thousand Perfects at any one time in Europe¹—it must have had far less effect in that way than the Catholic institution of monachism. But Mânî's apparent aim was not to extinguish the human race, but to subject it to a priestly tyranny of the worst kind. All the accusations of priestcraft which Protestant controversialists or the writers of romances have made against the Jesuit order seem to be justified against the Manichæan Perfects. A tiny minority, chosen by co-optation, and subject to no authority but that of possibly unknown heads, were to have absolute control over the whole community, and were to exercise power all the more dangerous because it was used in secret. The Perfects, too, had a sanction attached to their commands which the Jesuits never claimed. The Inquisitors found that the Hearers not only obeyed them in spiritual matters, but took their advice in all others; and generally paid them what seemed to be exaggerated respect. The new documents show that for this there was very good reason. St. Augustine mentions more than once that by merely passing into the bodies of the Elect the food which the

¹ Rainerio Sacchone, the Perfect turned Inquisitor mentioned above, says (in 1240) that there were only 4,000 Perfects in the whole of Europe. See Schmidt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 96. As the Slav countries, especially Bosnia, were full of them, these numbers leave very few for Languedoc. At the great "synod" or gathering of the Manichæans at the Château de Pieussan in 1225 there were more than 100 Perfects (*ibid.*, p. 290), and this seems to have been the maximum possible (*cf. ibid.*, p. 292).

Hearers gave them was thought to give up its light or share of the armour of the First Man, which thus returned to the divinity from whom it came.¹ Hence the Perfects not only had within them a greater share of the divine nature than other men, but were actually by merely supporting existence helping forward the work of redemption. This, owing to some ambiguity in St. Augustine's expressions, might seem to refer to the Christian Eucharist. But the simpler and more direct explanation of the tenet is abundantly confirmed both by the Turfan and the Tun-huang texts,² and was evidently one of the cardinal doctrines of the religion. That it gave the Perfects a much greater power over their Hearers than the Catholic priests could in the ordinary way exercise over their flocks, can be judged from what happened in the case of the early Christian martyrs, who were thought in the theology of the time to go to Heaven directly after their death instead of waiting like other men for the Last Judgment. The fact that they were thus in their lifetime already, as it were, half divine gave them such honour among their fellows that they were, as the Pagan writers tell us, attended in their prisons by weeping crowds ministering to them, "imploring their blessing and kissing their fetters"; and the bishops in some cases found themselves obliged to discourage martyrdom lest they should thus lose all authority over their flocks. Evidently, if the civil rulers had not suppressed Manichæism they would soon have ceased to rule, and their States would have sunk into the decay which the rule of the Priest-Kings brought upon Egypt.

Something may be said in conclusion about the light which the new Manichæan texts throw on some other documents of the same or a previous age. There seem to be only two religious documents in a European

¹ *Contra Faust.*, bk. ii, c. 5; *ibid.*, *Confessions*, bk. iii, c. 10.

² *Journal Asiatique*, *ubi cit.*, pp. 539-40, nn. 1, 3.

language extant which go back to the early Christian centuries and have certainly escaped the "making orthodox" process. These are the *Pistis Sophia* now in the British Museum and the *Bruce Papyrus* in the Bodleian at Oxford. Both are in Coptic, but I gave reasons in a study of them, published nineteen years ago,¹ for thinking that they were originally written in Greek; and this is admitted by M. Amélineau, of the Sorbonne, and Dr. Karl Schmidt, of the University of Berlin, who have since published translations of them into French and German respectively. Both books are ostensibly written by Christian Gnostics, and I have said that the earliest of them may well be the work of Valentinus, the great Gnostic teacher of Hadrian's time, who flourished about a century and a half before Mânî. But the phraseology of this work, which we may call the story of *Pistis Sophia*, bears the most extraordinary likeness to that of the new Manichæan texts. Light is everywhere used in it as synonymous with the divine or good; the main narrative tells how the heroine, a spirit of light, is entrapped and held captive by the demons of darkness in much the same manner as the First Man of Mânî; and she effects her deliverance by singing hymns of penitence closely resembling the *Khuastuanift*. The sun and moon are also described in the *Pistis Sophia* as ships employed in the redemption of the light, this world is spoken of as the *Kerasmos* or confusion of light with matter, and the burning up of the world and the shutting out of those who have not procured in time their translation to the Heaven of Light, figure in both documents. But beyond all this, many of the personages in the drama seem to be the same here as those in the Manichæan texts. The five worlds of the King of Light, here called the Five Parastatæ or Helpers, are described in the *Pistis Sophia*, and Jesus promises His twelve Apostles that when the world is

¹ *Scottish Review*, July, 1893, pp. 133 sqq.

consumed they shall reign with him as kings in the last Parastates. A god or power of light called Ieû, who here appears as the Demiurge, Grand Architect, or arranger of the Kerasmos, is once called in the *Pistis Sophia* the First Man; other powers of light, called in the same document the Five Trees, whose functions are nowhere explained, reappear and play an important part in the Chinese treatise; and a pair of "Twin Saviours", who are repeatedly mentioned but never described in the *Pistis Sophia* proper, seem to correspond to a similar pair of twins called the Appellant and Respondent in the Turfan and Tun-huang texts. In the *Bruce Papyrus*, which I have shown belongs to the same school as the *Pistis Sophia*, there are also many features which at first sight appear distinctly Manichæan; and the name of one of the powers of light there given as "Afrêdôn the good" seems to correspond to an angel called "Frêdôn the good" in one of Dr. Müller's Turfan texts; while the Manichæan doctrine of transmigration, or the passage of the lower order of initiates' souls into other bodies, is also given in one of the documents of the *Pistis Sophia*. These resemblances can of course be accounted for in more ways than one. Ibn Daisân or Bardesanes was a disciple of Valentinus, and was for a long time all-powerful in the Christian Churches of Mesopotamia and especially of Edessa. Hence Mânî would naturally have come in direct contact with his teaching, and through him with that of Valentinus, and may have borrowed from the writings of this last as freely as he did from the Zoroastrian and the Buddhist Scriptures. On the other hand, the *Pistis Sophia* and the *Bruce Papyrus*, the handwriting of which shows that they were transcribed at a fairly late date, may have been composed after the Manichæan texts, and in that case may have borrowed from them. I do not myself consider this likely; but I have shown that the *Pistis Sophia* is not all composed, as was once thought, by the same writer, and includes at least six

documents of different if related origin.¹ It may even be a manual of extracts composed for the benefit of some Inquisitor or heresiologist; and hence it is possible that extracts from a treatise by a fairly late Manichæan writer may have slipped in among others of an earlier date. Finally, there is the possibility that neither the system of the *Pistis Sophia* nor that of Mânî is original, but are borrowed, phraseology and all, from some older belief²; and it will take a good deal of careful comparison before one can tell which of these three hypotheses is the most probable. This is only an example of the many questions raised and perhaps solved by the new documents.

Apart from this, the importance of the study of Manichæism now made possible is manifest. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century it formed one of the battle-grounds between Catholic and Protestant, and most Protestant controversialists claimed the Albigensis of Languedoc as their spiritual predecessors on the ground that any body hostile to Rome must be a friend to her enemies. To this the Catholics retorted that they had always been of the same opinion, and that as the Albigensis were Manichæans, it followed that their Protestant successors were so too. Later, when the Oxford Movement revived the study of the Fathers, it was seen that the Manichæan aims and doctrines were not those which any Christian Church would wish to profess, and the claim of any kinship between them and those of the German Reformers was tacitly dropped. Mr. Conybeare, in his *Key of Truth* (p. cl), seeks indeed to show that there is an actual historical connexion between the Unitarians and Baptists of England and America and the Paulicians of Armenia; but this is

¹ *Scottish Review*, *ubi cit.*, pp. 136-7.

² Such as the Babylonian. See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, *passim*.

another matter, and the evidence that he offers in support of his view is not very strong.

Meanwhile, there is plenty of reason why the history of Manichæism should be studied for its own sake. A faith that held its own in the face of the hottest persecution for nine centuries is a rare enough phenomenon, and one which cannot be safely neglected by the student of Comparative Religion. Moreover, it gives us some insight into the minds of men with regard to such matters in the third century, a period about which, as has been lately said, we know less than about any other since the time of Alexander. It must have been a terrible time when earthquakes, pestilence, and foreign and internecine war seemed to have been let loose to destroy the civilized world. As it has left behind it no masterpiece of art or literature, it has been assumed that it was a period of decay; but it might be nearer the truth to say that, like other troublous times, it was a period of birth and growth. It was in this century that the Christian Church perfected an organization that has enabled it to resist all the attacks of time and fortune. It was then, too, that the wonderful system of Roman Law was founded on which all the jurisprudence of the civilized world has since been based. And it was then that the reforms of Diocletian put the constitution of the Empire into a shape which, bureaucratic as it may have been, yet enabled it to flourish in spite of internal revolutions and foreign invasions for another thousand years. It was in the midst of such events as these that Manichæism was born.

If, however, all the Manichæan documents lately discovered are to be available, steps ought to be taken at once. While the contents of the Grotto of the Thousand Buddhas have been transferred to Peking with good results to learning in the shape of the Chinese treatise mentioned above, nothing seems to have been done to rescue the MSS. left behind at the Turfan oasis by the

Russian and Royal Prussian expeditions. Professor Harnack and Mr. Conybeare say that the vellum of these MSS. is being used by the natives as window-panes for their huts. The documents thus lost to learning may be among the most valuable remains of antiquity, and proper representations to the Chinese Government might have the effect of securing the safe custody of those which still remain. It is partly in the hope that such representations may be made through its instrumentality, that I have brought these facts to the notice of the Society.

VI

THE QUESTION OF KANISHKA

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

IN the last October number of this Journal Mr. Kennedy gave us the concluding parts of his paper entitled "The Secret of Kanishka". We may differ from him on some details. We may hesitate, for instance, to accept the suggestion that the origin of the era of B.C. 58 was the convocation of the Fourth Buddhist Council by the Kushan king Kanishka, rather than the actual beginning of his reign; which involves the view that, while he was king *de facto* for some time before that year, he became recognized as king *de jure*, and his regnal reckoning was fairly started, and was accepted as the official state reckoning, only when, in that year, having become converted to Buddhism, he caused the Council to be held.¹ But there can be no doubt as to the general great value of what he has laid before us.

In particular, he has brought out two things. He has shown that there was a Kushan kingdom in India before A.D. 50,² and, as a matter of fact, in the first century B.C. And in connection with the silk-trade which existed in that same century between China and Syria via Khotan, North-West India, Kabul, and the head of the Persian Gulf, he has accounted for all the peculiarities which mark the coins of the Kanishka group. This trade explains

¹ There would be, indeed, nothing impossible in that, and nothing strange about the reckoning being then accepted by also the Brāhmins and the Jains in spite of its origin: the other sects could not avoid adopting that which would become forthwith the general official reckoning quite as much as a Buddhist reckoning. Still, I prefer to retain the belief that the era had its origin in the regnal years of Kanishka pure and simple, apart from any sectarian question.

² This is the closely approximate date of the Kushan prince Kozoulo-Kadphises, who, according to opponents of B.C. 58 as the initial date of Kanishka, was the founder of the Kushan supremacy.

(1) why Kanishka introduced the gold coinage which was so new a feature in India; (2) why the legends on the coins are only Greek, instead of being bilingual like those on other Indian coins of the same early times; (3) why these Greek legends are in cursive characters, which were, again, quite a new feature on the Indian coins; and (4) why a particular weight was adopted for these coins. And this last point is of special importance, because we find now that the weight of these coins did not follow any standard which was set up at Rome from B.C. 46 onwards, but was adjusted to suit a ratio between gold and silver which prevailed in Western Asia before that time.

There are also two points to which I have drawn attention elsewhere. One is that tradition placed Kanishka 400 years (in round numbers) after the death of Buddha; that is, in B.C. 83 (for 58).¹ The other is that the Latin H, with the value *h*, which we find mixed up with the Greek characters in the legends on the coins of Nahapāna (A.D. 78 to 125) and in Northern India, in the Kushan territory itself, on the coins of Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs (about A.D. 25), is strikingly absent from the coins of Huvishka; especially in the transcription of the name of the god Mahāsēna (rendered by Maasēnō), in which it must inevitably have been used if it was known in India in his time.²

There are other points, too; some of which remain to be set out in full. But those mentioned above are the clearest and most leading ones. And on the basis of them alone there is now, thanks largely to Mr. Kennedy, a case which is conclusive, in my opinion, in the direction of placing Kanishka early in the first century B.C., and, in short, of endorsing the view, held at one time by Cunningham and maintained by Professor Franke, the Sinologist, and by me, that he began to reign in B.C. 58 and founded the so-called Vikrama era beginning in that year.

¹ See this Journal, 1906. 979. ² See this Journal, 1907. 1029, 1041, 1047.

At almost just the same moment, however, there appeared a paper by Professor Lüders which is directed to putting the matter in quite a different light.¹ Anything written by him commands attention, and should receive it promptly if we differ from him on any important point. Accordingly, though not able, just now at least, to give the whole question the full treatment which it may still require, by presenting along with a criticism of his paper a résumé of the entire argument in favour of the theory of B.C. 58, I will invite attention to some points in his case which are, I consider, fatal in themselves to his combinations.

Professor Lüders has taken his stand on the Ara inscription, made known to us by the treatment of it by Mr. R. D. Banerji which was published, with a facsimile, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 58. This is a Kharōshthī record, from the northern parts of the Kushan dominions.² And the first thing to be noted is that it is dated:—

Maharajasa Kanishkasa sambatsaraē
ēkachapar[īsaē] sam 20 20 1: "in the forty-first year, the
year 41, of the great king Kanishka."³

¹ Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Science, 1912, pp. 824-31.

² The original stone is in the Lahore Museum. Mr. Banerji told us that it was discovered "in an ancient well in a *nala* known as Ara, two miles from Bāgnilāb", but did not tell us where to find the place. From inquiries made for me by Dr. Spooner, it would seem that the place is the 'Chah Bagh Nilab' of maps, about ten miles south-south-west from Attock, and apparently on the south bank of the Indus at a part where the river, having made a sharp bend about eight miles below Attock, runs to the west for some ten miles: the latitude and longitude appear to be 33° 46' and 72° 12'.

³ Professor Lüders' translation runs: '(During the reign) of the Mahārāja Kanishka, in the 41st year, the year 41.' This is in accordance with one of the alternative meanings (see below). But it is not a literal translation of the text: and what we want in dealing with such records is the literal translation before we go on to placing any particular meaning on it.

As is well known from our acquaintance with a large number of dated Indian records, this wording places the act which was registered by this inscription, namely, the construction of a well, in the time of a king Kanishka who was then living and reigning. And we may take the wording as denoting either (1) a regnal year, in which case this king Kanishka himself had been reigning for 41 years; or (2) a year of an era, in which case he had been preceded by one or more kings during the 41 years.¹

Professor Lüders has adopted the second understanding. And he has referred this record to the 41st year of the reckoning presented in other records which give us kings' names with dates as follows: Kanishka, with years ranging from 3 to 11; Vāsishka, with the years 24 and 28; Huvishka, with years ranging from 33 to 60; and Vāsudēva, with years ranging from 74 to 98.

Immediately before the name of Kanishka there stands a word which gives his father's name, by mentioning him as "son of (so-and-so)". This name was read by Mr. Banerji as Vasishpa. Professor Lüders reads it as Vajheshka. He identifies this name with that of the king Vāsishka whom we have mentioned just above. And he arrives at two separate Kanishkas, the second of whom he suggests to be a son and successor of Vāsishka and probably a grandson of the first Kanishka.

I quite agree with Professor Lüders that we must recognize two separate kings, Kanishka I and Kanishka II. Beyond this I do not see my way to any agreement with him.

The first syllable of the name of the father of Kanishka II may certainly be taken as *va*, though it might also be *a*.

¹ But, as Professor Lüders has indicated, we may not take it as not mentioning the reigning king but as meaning the 41st year of an era founded by a dead and gone Kanishka.

The next syllable is, as Professor Lüders has said, certainly not *si*. Nor is it *śi* or *shi*. It is a difficult character: and I cannot improve on the proposal to read it as *jhe*.

The third and last syllable is distinctly *shpa*, as read by Mr. Banerji, not *shka*: we have only to compare it with the *shka* of *Kanishkasa* in the same line, to recognize this. Professor Lüders has quoted the Zeda inscription as giving an instance of the name Kanishka being written as if it were Kanishpa. But we must judge each document separately on its own merits; remarking, however, if we are to compare other records, that the *shka* seems to be formed quite indubitably in *Kaneshkasa* in the Mānikiala inscription, and is certainly so formed in *Kanishkasya* and *Hoveshkasya* in the Suē Vihār and Wardak inscriptions. And the *shka* in the name of Kanishka II was formed by the writer of the Ara inscription so clearly and unmistakably that we may assume safely that he would be equally careful in forming it, if it had been intended, in the name of Kanishka's father.

In the first syllable of this name, the short *a* may easily mean a long *ā*. And it is of course immaterial whether we take an *e* or an *i* in the second syllable. The names of Kanishka I and Huvishka are found written both with *i* and with *e*. And we may easily imagine, for the same reason, that the name of Vāsishka also was sometimes written as Vāśeshka. But I cannot agree that the name, be it even Vājsheska or Vājshishka, 'sounds so like Vāsishka' (or Vāśeshka) that we may take both it and Vāsishka as 'attempts to reproduce one and the same barbarous name in the characters of the Indian alphabet.' In support of this proposal, Professor Lüders has cited the point that the coins of the Indo-Greek king Zōilos show his name as Jhoila in the Kharōshthī legends on the reverse. I submit that this gives no analogy, and no

ground for thinking that the real name of the father of Kanishka II may have been Vāzeshka or Vāzishka, and that its z could be represented by jh or s optionally. The name which is given unmistakably as Vāsishka in the Brāhmī inscription of the year 24 would be quite naturally presented as Vasishka in any Kharōshthī record: and there is no good reason for suggesting that the s stands in the Brāhmī inscription for anything else.

In any case, as there were certainly two Kanishkas, why may not there have been also two Vāsishkas? We are dealing rather largely in conjectures; and this one seems to be as good as any other. But we need not, in my opinion, fall back on any such expedient as this: we do not admit the identity of the names Vāsishka and Vājshespa or Vājsheska.

Professor Lüders thus arrives at the following succession: Kanishka I, with dates ranging from the year 3 to the year 11; then (Vajsheska)-Vāsishka, with dates in the years 24 and 28; and then Kanishka II, with a date in the year 41.

This, however, does not fit in very readily with the fact that we have for Huvishka, amongst other dates, not only one in the year 51 in the record on the Wardak vase, which, again, comes from the Kharōshthī country, but also one in the year 33 in a Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā, and in fact three or four others earlier than the year 41 in records of the same class.

Accordingly, Professor Lüders suggests that after Vāsishka there was a division of the kingdom, Kanishka II receiving the northern parts, and Huvishka taking the territory in India proper; and that subsequently, before the year 51, Huvishka gained possession of also the northern territory.

This suggestion reads very smoothly. But it is hardly convincing: we cannot quote any Indian analogy in

support of it; such an arrangement does not seem at all naturally probable; and Professor Lüders himself admits that it is problematical.

Before the word which gives the name of the father, there stand, in line 1, the titles of Kanishka II. Three of them are unmistakable: they are the Kushan imperial titles *Mahārāja*, *Rājātirāja*, and *Dēvaputra*; all as separate genitives in apposition with *Kanishkasa* in line 2. After these there comes something which is the crux of the present matter.

Mr. Banerji read here *pa(?)thadharasa*, but did not explain it. Professor Lüders reads *[ka]v[sa]rasa*, "of the Kaisara, the Caesar".

This proposal is no new thing to me. Professor Lüders broached it to me more than three years ago. We discussed it. And we agreed (I thought) that, even if the reading could be accepted, which seemed doubtful, it would not affect the question of B.C. 58 as the initial date of Kanishka I, but would adapt itself to any such application of the Ara inscription as that which I shall indicate farther on. However, I have now to face a disagreement on this point.

Whether the reading *kaīsarasa*, giving a title which would be found now for the first time in any Indian record, may or may not be accepted, I am not able to decide. I can only say that not one of the syllables is certain, except the second *sa*; ¹ and that no help for or against this or any other particular decipherment is given by other impressions which, in consequence of the point

¹ Professor Lüders agrees that the first syllable may be either *ka* or *pa*, damaged in either case. What comes next seems to stand rather too low to be an *i*: it might be the lower part of a conjunct consonant (perhaps *sta*) of which the top is damaged. The next mark certainly looks like part of a *sa*. The next one after that might be, I think, a *ta* or *da* as much as a *ra*.

being raised, I then obtained from India through the kindness of Dr. Spooner.

Against it we have to note a point which has been overlooked by Professor Lüders; namely, that a word of five syllables does not suffice to fill out line 1 of the record. As is shown by his decipherment of the whole text, lines 2 to 5 have nothing wanting at the ends of them, though line 6 is now imperfect. Lines 2 to 5 all end exactly one below the other. We have no reason for thinking that the writer of the record would not run out line 1 to just the same measure. A reference to the facsimile will show that either reading, *pathadharasa* or *kaīsarasa*, or any other reading of five syllables, leaves a space for two syllables unaccounted for after it. We can also see distinct indications that the writer did, in fact, put in two more syllables here, and so did make all the lines of equal length.¹ And it seems not unlikely that the second of these two syllables is itself a *sa*, whether as a genitive-ending or with any other meaning.

If these two illegible syllables are part of the same word, —(and it is difficult to find in them still another title, also in the genitive),— that word ceases to be at any rate simply *kaīsarasa*, and might assume a different complexion altogether, with no such reference at all.²

But, also, these two syllables may be part of the name of the father of Kanishka II, which comes immediately

¹ This is clear in the facsimile; and still more so in some of the impressions received from Dr. Spooner, though they do not suffice to show what the two syllables are.

² Altogether there are seven syllables (not five): we might find in them the genitive of a title of six syllables (not four as we have in *kaīsara*); or, but less probably, two genitives, of a title of two syllables followed by one of three syllables. In the Zeda inscription, before *Kanishkasa rajami* there are two words, now read as *veraḷasa marḷakasa*, which seem to be Indian or Asian royal titles but have not been explained yet: we may have here another puzzle of the same kind. There is also a title which remains to be deciphered on one of the coins of Wema-Kadphises, No. 26 in Gardner's catalogue.

next, at the beginning of line 2 ; in which case that name would cease to be simply Vajheshpa or Vajheshka. So, while the reading *kaśsarasa* remains open to question on more than one ground, we will admit it for the sake of argument.

We have, then, to consider next what bearing it might have.

In the first place, Professor Lüders places Kanishka II before Huvishka and Vāsudēva. But is it credible that such a title as *Kaśsara*, Caesar, should have been adopted by a predecessor of Huvishka, and should not have figured always in the records mentioning Huvishka and Vāsudēva ?

The full titles of the Kushan kings, indeed, were not given in all the records. But it seems to me out of the question that so marked a title as this one, borrowed from Imperial Rome, could ever have been ignored and omitted from subsequent records if once it had been assumed by any member of the line. Is not this consideration sufficient at any rate to place Kanishka II after Huvishka and Vāsudēva ?

In the second place, to what period would the use of such a title by the Kushans lead us ?

Professor Lüders appears to hold that the name Caesar cannot have become sufficiently well established and notorious as a title of the Roman emperors to be borrowed by an Indian king at so early a time as only 41 years after B.C. 58, that is, in B.C. 17.¹ What is it, then, that he suggests in the other direction ?

¹ I take that to be his meaning when he says:—‘It is naturally incredible that a ruler of Central Asia or India could assume the name Caesar as a title in the year 16 B.C.’ My present opinion is certainly not in favour of dating any adoption of the title by a Kushan king from that time. Still, we must remember that there had then already been two famous Caesars,—Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus ; and that the second of them received an Indian embassy in the winter of B.C. 20–19.

He is inclined, though not very positively, and subject to the possibility that we might be concerned with 'a later Vāsudēva', to identify Vāsudēva with a king whom the Chinese records mention as Po-t'iao, king of the Yue-chi, and who, they tell us, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 229. As we have dates for Vāsudēva ranging from the year 74 to the year 98, it would follow (he says) that the Kushan era may have begun at the earliest in A.D. 130 and at the latest in A.D. 168. We will take the earlier limit, with the result that the Ara inscription falls in A.D. 170.

The name Caesar, as an appellation of the head of the Roman State, started with Julius Caesar, to whom it belonged by birth.¹ It was assumed, on adoption, by his grand-nephew and successor Octavianus, better known as Augustus from the title which was given to him by the Roman senate and people in B.C. 27. It was transmitted by Augustus, together with his own title, to his successors. And undoubtedly it was a very leading designation, along with Augustus and Imperator, of all the Roman emperors down to a certain time, and was probably the particular appellation by which they were most generally known and spoken of in popular usage in the western parts of the empire, though we may doubt whether the same was the case in the eastern parts.

But there was an important change in the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-38). He dropped the name Caesar as a title of the emperor, and gave to it the application which it continued to bear after his time: namely, he transferred it to the second person in the state, the intended successor to the throne. And though he did

¹ I base the following remarks chiefly on statements under the word Caesar in Smith's Classical Dictionary and Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and in Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary. But I have tried, as usual, to follow the matter up for myself: and as far as I can do that, the facts are exactly in accordance with those statements.

not make a Caesar till A.D. 136, when he adopted and appointed L. Aelius Verus, his coins show that he abandoned the use of the title by himself in A.D. 125.¹

Thus, from A.D. 125 the name Caesar was no longer a title of the emperors, but had only a subordinate value. The Ara inscription, as we have seen, is not to be placed before A.D. 170; and even Kanishka I is not to be put before A.D. 130. We are thus confronted by the position that the name Caesar was taken up by a Kushan king as an imperial title in imitation of the Roman emperors when it had ceased to be a title of those emperors themselves. And this is sufficient in itself, I think, to upset Professor Lüders' application of this Kushan record.

Whether the Ara inscription does or does not attach the title *Kaisara*, Caesar, to the name of Kanishka II, what it does establish is, in my opinion, that after the time of Vāsudēva there was a revival of the line of the great Kanishka. And there are, I think, other indications of this.

We find one notably in the Mānikiala inscription, for the latest treatment of which we are also indebted to Professor Lüders.² We can see now that this record is not dated, as was supposed, "in the year 18 of the great king Kaneshka". The genitive *Kaneshkasa* is governed, not by the *saṃ 10 4 4* which stands before it, but by what comes after it. And the record tells us that:—"In the year 18 [of some unspecified reckoning] the general Lala, an increaser of the Gushana race of the great king Kaneshka, erected a Stūpa," etc., etc. The expression *vaṃśa-saṃvardhaka*, 'increaser of the race,'

¹ See accounts of his coinage in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 1906, pp. 328-74, and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1912, pp. 296-302. I am indebted to Mr. Allan for referring me to these two instructive papers.

² This Journal, 1909. 645.

marks Lala himself as a Kushan, and probably as an actual descendant of Kanishka I. And the construction leaves us free to apply the date "in the year 18" in any way that may seem proper.

The view, which I have held for some time, that this Māṇikiāla inscription indicates a revival of the line of Kanishka I at some time after A.D. 50, will explain at once why the deposit of coins along with the record includes coins of Kozoulo-Kadphises and Wema-Kadphises (Kujula-Kasa and Vima-Kaphthiśa) as well as of Kanishka I, and also certain Roman coins the presence of which, in view at any rate of their worn or damaged condition, seems incompatible with the view that the deposit can have been made in the year 18 as equivalent to B.C. 40.

The innermost deposit, the nucleus of the whole, inside a gold cylinder, consisted of four gold coins of Kanishka I. Round outside that cylinder, and inside a silver cylinder, there were seven silver Roman coins; viz., one of Julius Caesar, one of Mark Antony, one of apparently Augustus, and four which have not been conclusively assigned but perhaps are all of the consular period and date from not after B.C. 43. The silver cylinder was inside a copper cylinder. Round about the latter, and inside the stone niche in which it lay, there were eight copper coins,¹ among which we recognize four of Kanishka I, one of Kozoulo-Kadphises, and one of Wema-Kadphises. And on the top of the stone which covered the niche there were four copper coins; three of Kanishka I and one of Wema-Kadphises.

The deposit of four coins of Kanishka I, and no others, inside the innermost cylinder, is in natural harmony with the nature of the dedication, which was a posthumous one to the memory of that king and the honour of his

¹ So, at least, according to the published account, JASB, 3 (1834). 564: but only seven are shown in plate 33; and one of these is unassignable.

race. The Roman coins, with no others accompanying them, seem to have been included as interesting curios. And for the rest, the mixture of coins of Kanishka I along with those of the two Kadphises kings illustrates the currency which prevailed when the deposit was made, and suggests the 18th year of Wema-Kadphises as the time when the Stūpa was built and the revival of the line of Kanishka I was being contemplated.

There can be shown, I think, also other indications of such a revival. But here, for the present at least, I must stop. This note will suffice, I hope, to make two things clear:—

(1) Kanishka II is not to be placed before Huvishka and Vāsudēva; and no question connected with him can affect B.C. 58 as the initial date of Kanishka I.

(2) If Kanishka II had the title Kaīsara, Caesar, the adoption of it by him cannot be placed after about A.D. 125 at the latest.

VII

TOKHARIAN PRATIMOKSA FRAGMENT

By PROFESSOR SYLVAIN LEVI

(COMMUNICATED BY DR. RUDOLF HOERNLE)

[This fragment, as well as a number of others, written in the Tokhari language and in Slanting Gupta characters, were forwarded to me from Simla by the Government of India, in April, 1907. In the forwarding letter it was stated that they had been "found at Jigdalik and Kaya, near Kuchar", by a man of Kuchar, called Sahib Ali. From Sahib Ali's report it appears that Jigdalik lies one day's march from Bai, and that the manuscript fragments were dug out by him from what he calls "a house", situated in "the hills" near Jigdalik. The term "house" is applied by the natives of Eastern Turkestan to what we call a *stūpa*, or shrine, see Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, p. 488. The name Jigdalik, as M. Pelliot informs me, is not uncommon in Chinese Turkestan, and signifies simply a place of oleasters. The Jigdalik fragments will be published in my projected series of volumes of *Manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan*; but as there will still be some delay in the issue of the first volume, I gladly accept the hospitality of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society to give an early specimen of Professor Sylvain Lévi's careful edition of them. A glossary of the fragment, as well as linguistic notes, by Professor Meillet, are now in my hands, and will be published with the fragment itself and its facsimile in the forthcoming first volume of my series.—R. H.]

HOERNLE MS., No. 149^x₅

Provenance.—O.N.O. de Koutchar. Trouvé par Sahib Ali dans le voisinage de Bai.

Dimensions.—292 × 47 mm. Un feuillet sans marges, à peu près intact, sauf une légère échancrure au bas. Le trou pour la ficelle est percé à 7 cm. du bord gauche. Hauteur moyenne des caractères, 2 mm.

Sujet.—Fragment du Prātimokṣa de l'école Sarvāstivādin, section des fautes *pāyti* (correspondant au *pācittiya* pali); commence à la fin du *pāyti* 70; s'arrête au milieu du *pāyti* 85.

A la suite du texte tokharien de chacun des articles, j'ai donné—

1°. [Sv.P.] Le texte correspondant du *Che-soung(-liu)* *pi-k'iu po-lo-t'i-mou-tch'a kiui pen*, version chinoise du Prātimokṣa des Sarvāstivādin due à Kumārajīva, vers 404 A.D. (Nanjio 1160; éd. Tōkyō, xvi, 7, p. 43 sqq.).

2°. La traduction du chinois.

3°. [Pāc.] L'article correspondant du *Pācittiya* pali.

4°. La traduction du pali.

5°. [T.] La traduction du texte tokharien.

6°. [Mvy.] L'article correspondant du Prātimokṣa des Mūla-Sarvāstivādin, tel qu'il est donné dans la *Mahāvvyutpatti*, éd. Minayev-Mironov, § 261.

Recto

(1) LXX se *ṣamāne* *lykawārseñ mpa plāki sa ynāri* *yam pāyti* LXXI se *ṣamāne meñki ikañpikwalaññe* *pi onolme ntse wasaṇpādḥ yamaṣṣaṇ pāyti su mā* *wasampan tāk.*

(2) *ṣamāni kṣalyi*¹ LXXII se *ṣamāne ṣaṇ ṣar sa keñ* *raṇam rāpatsi wadh wadhkaṣṣaṇ pāyti* LXXIII *śtwer* *meñtsa postaññeṣ ṣamāne ntse pūḍgalyik kāko wā*²

(3) *nalle tu meñ olya wārpataṛ pāyti* LXXIV se *ṣamāne prātimokṣasūdhar weskemane mañt weṣṣaṇ mā* *ñiṣ yeṣaṇ aknātsaṇṣ reki sa yamaskau*

(4) *prek. se sūdhar winai abhidhārm aiykemane* *tākaṇ pāyti* LXXV se *ṣamāne śilnāndhaṇ (w)e . . .* *ṣamāneṃts klausa pilṣi kalṛ pāyti* LXXVI se *ṣamāne*

¹ Erreur haplographique; corr. *nakṣalyi*.

² Corr. *wārpānalle*. Le scribe a omis l'akṣara *ṛpa* en passant à la ligne.

Verso

(1) sañka ntse pelaiykneṣṣe wättare wätko tākañ
amplākante parra tseñkedhar pāyti LXXVII (se šamā)ne
pañakte ntse maṣṣādh yamaṣṣaṃ pāyti LXXVIII se
sa[māne].

(2) modh māla trikelye sa śakse yokañ pāyti LXXIX
se šamāne¹ katkoṣ preke amplākante kwaṣai ne yit-
maṣṣaṃ pāyti LXXX se šamāne nauṣ tsañka—

(3) sa posdhañ śitmalyñe sa sāñk miyīṣṣaṃ pāyti
LXXXI se šamāne yaka yaṣi² sa lānte kerceyen ne
yam parna tuyknesa ṣarṃa meñ-pāyti LXXXII kuse
šamāne (prā)[ti]-

(4) mok(ṣ) po āñm sa mā klyauṣaṃ pāyti LXXXIII
se šamāne ayāṣṣe kemeṣṣe sucikaṛ yamaṣdhar pāyti
LXXXIV se šamāne pir mañcak yamaska yarṃtsa
yamaṣalle.

71. Sv.P. 若比丘與賊衆議共道行·乃至到
一聚落·波夜提·

“Si un bhikṣu, de propos délibéré, fait route avec une
troupe de brigands, et qu’il va jusqu’à un village, il est
po-ye-t’i.”

= PĀC. 66. *Yo pana bhikkhu jānañ theyyasatthena
saddhiṃ samvidhāya ekaddhānamaggaṃ paṭipajjeyya
antamaso gāmantaraṃ pi pācittiyaṃ.*

“Si un bhikṣu, en connaissance de cause, se met en
route après entente préalable avec une troupe de brigands,
et va en leur compagnie ne fût-ce qu’au prochain village,
pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui fait route par entente avec des
voleurs, des brigands, pāyti.”

(Cf. Mvy. 261. 75 [71^e śikṣāpada]: *steyasārthagamanam*.)

¹ Sic MS.

² La syllabe *ya*, d’abord omise, a été rétablie après coup au-dessous
de la ligne.

72. Sv.P. 若比丘·不滿二十歲人與受具足戒·波夜提·是人不得戒·諸比丘亦可呵·是事法爾·

“Si un bhikṣu à un homme qui n'a pas vingt ans accomplis donne intégralement les Défenses, il est *po-ye-t'i*. Cet homme n'a pas reçu les Défenses, et les bhikṣus sont à blâmer. Telle est la règle du cas.”

= PĀC. 65. *Yo pana bhikkhu jānaṃ ānavāsativassanī puggalaṃ upasampādeyya so ca puggalo anupasaṃpanno te ca bhikkhū gārayhā idaṃ tasmīṃ pācittiyaṃ.*

“Si un bhikṣu, en connaissance de cause, ordonne une personne de moins de vingt ans, cette personne n'est pas ordonnée, et les bhikṣus sont à blâmer. Tel est dans ce cas le pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui fait l'upasampādāna d'une personne qui a moins de vingt ans, il est pāyti. Celle-ci n'est pas upasampanna; les bhikṣus sont à blâmer.”

(Cf. MvY. 261. 76 [72^e śikṣāpada]: *ānavāśativarṣopasaṃpādānam*.)

73. Sv.P. 若比丘·自手掘地·若使人掘·若指示言掘是·皮夜提·

“Si un bhikṣu, de sa propre main, creuse la terre, s'il la fait creuser par quelqu'un, si en l'indiquant de la main il dit de la creuser, il est *po-ye-t'i*.”

= PĀC. 10. *Yo pana bhikkhu pathaviṃ khaṇeyya vā khaṇāpeyya vā pācittiyaṃ.*

“Si un bhikṣu creuse la terre ou la fait creuser, pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui de sa propre main creuse la terre ou qui la fait creuser, pāyti.”

(Cf. MvY. 261. 77 [73^e śikṣāpada]: *khananam*.)

74. Sv.P. 若比丘·受四月自恣請·若過是受者·波夜提·除常自恣請·除數數自恣請·除獨自恣請·

“Si un bhikṣu accepte une invitation de pleine-liberté (= *pravāraṇa*) pour quatre mois, et qu’il accepte encore au-delà, il est *po-ye-t’i*; sauf invitation de pleine-liberté permanente, sauf invitation de pleine-liberté répétée, sauf invitation de pleine-liberté spéciale.”

= PĀC. 47. *Agilānena bhikkhunā cātumāsapaccaya-pavāraṇā sādhitabbā aññatra punapavāraṇāya aññatra niccapavāraṇāya . tato ce uttari sādhiyeyya pācittiyaṃ.*

“Un bhikṣu qui n’est pas malade doit accepter une invitation de fournitures pour quatre mois, en dehors d’une invitation répétée, en dehors d’une invitation permanente. S’il accepte en surplus, *pācittiya*.”

T. “L’invitation personnelle d’un bhikṣu pour la conclusion des quatre mois doit être acceptée; s’il accepte en surplus de cela, *pāyti*.”

(Cf. Mvy. 261. 78 [74^e śikṣāpada]: *pravāritārthātisevā*.)

75. Sv.P. 若比丘·說戒時如是言·我今未學是戒·先當問諸比丘誦修多羅毗尼阿毗曇者·波夜提·若比丘·欲得法利·是戒中應學·亦應問諸比丘誦修多羅毗尼阿毗曇者·應如是言·大德·是語有何義·是事法爾·

“Si un bhikṣu, au moment de dire une Défense, parle ainsi: Moi, je n’apprends pas encore cette Défense; je veux d’abord interroger les bhikṣus qui récitent le Sūtra, le Vinaya, l’Abhidharma; il est *po-ye-t’i*. Si un bhikṣu désire obtenir le profit de la Loi, il doit apprendre ces Défenses, et aussi il doit interroger les bhikṣus qui récitent le Sūtra, le Vinaya, l’Abhidharma, et il doit leur parler ainsi: Bhadantas! cette expression, quel sens a-t-elle? Voilà la règle de ce cas.”

= PĀC. 71. *Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkūhi sahadham-mikaṃ vuccamāno evaṃ vadeyya . na tāvāhaṃ āvuso etasmim sikkhāpade sikkhissāmi yāva na aññāmi*

*bhikkhūṃ byattam vinayadharaṃ paripucchāmīti
pācittiyam . sikkhamānena bhikkhave bhikkhunā aññā-
tabbāṃ paripucchitabbāṃ paripaṇhitabbāṃ . ayaṃ
tattāha sāmīci.*

Le bhikṣu à qui des bhikṣus disent une formule de la Loi et qui parle ainsi : Je ne m'instruirai pas—longue vie ! —dans cette prescription jusqu'à ce que je questionne un bhikṣu éclairé, porteur du Vinaya !—pācittiya. Un bhikṣu, ô bhikṣus ! qui s'instruit doit apprendre, doit questionner, doit se demander. C'est là la norme.

T. "Le bhikṣu qui, en récitant le Prātimokṣa-sūtra, parle ainsi : Ce n'est pas clair pour moi ! J'agis sur le dire des ignorants ! Je veux interroger quelqu'un qui sait le Sūtra, le Vinaya l'Abhidharma, pāyti."

(Cf. Mvy. 261. 80 [76^e śikṣāpada] : *Śikṣopasaṃhāru-pratikṣepaḥ*.)

76. Sv.P. 若比丘·諸比丘鬪亂諍訟時·屏處默然立聽作是念·諸比丘所說·我當憶持·波夜提·

"Si un bhikṣu, alors que les bhikṣus se querellent et se disputent, se tient dans une cachette en silence et les écoute en pensant ainsi : Les bhikṣus, ce qu'ils disent, je veux me le rappeler, il est *po-ye-t'i*."

= Pāc. 78. *Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhūnaṃ bhaṇḍana-jātānaṃ kalahajātānaṃ vivādāpannānaṃ upassutinī tiṭṭheyya yaṃ ime bhaṇissanti taṃ sossāmīti etad eva paccayam karitvā anaññaṃ pācittiyam.*

"Un bhikṣu qui, tandis que les bhikṣus sont en discussion, sont en querelle, tombent en désaccord, se tient à portée d'oreille en pensant : Ce qu'ils diront, je l'entendrai ! avec ce motif, et sans autre motif, pācittiya."

T. "Le bhikṣu que se tient à portée d'oreille des bhikṣus tandis qu'ils profèrent (? (w)e[skemanemts] ?) des propos violents, pāyti."

(Cf. Mvy. 261. 79 [75^e śikṣāpada] : *upaśravagatam*.)

77. Sv.P. 若比丘·僧斷事時默然起去·波夜提·

“Si un bhikṣu, quand le saṅgha tranche une affaire, en gardant le silence se lève et part, il est *po-ye-t'i*.”

= PĀC. 80. *Yo pana bhikkhu saṅghe vinicchaya-kathāya vartamānāya chandaṁ adatvā utthāyāsanā pakkameyya pācittiyaṁ.*

“Le bhikṣu qui, alors qu’une affaire à décider est en cours devant le saṅgha, sans donner son consentement préalable, se lève de son siège et s’en va, pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui, quand une affaire de loi du saṅgha est en train d’être réglée, sans autorisation se lève pour sortir, pāyti.”

(Cf. MvY. 261. 81 [77^e śikṣāpada]: *tūṣṇīm viprakramaṇam.*)

78. Sv.P. 若比丘·輕他比丘·波夜提·

“Si un bhikṣu manque de respect à un autre bhikṣu, il est *po-ye-t'i*.”

= PĀC. 54. *anādariye pācittiyaṁ.*

“En cas de manque de respect, pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui fait mépris du Bouddha, pāyti.”

(Cf. MvY. 261. 82 [78^e śikṣāpada]: *anādaravṛttam.*)

79. Sv.P. 若比丘飲酒·波夜提·

“Si un bhikṣu boit de l’alcool, il est *po-ye-t'i*.”

= PĀC. 51. *surāmerayapāne pācittiyaṁ.*

“Si on boit des liqueurs alcooliques ou fermentées, pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui boit en excès coupable (?) de l’alcool, pāyti.”

(Cf. MvY. 261. 83 [79^e śikṣāpada]: *surāmaireyamadyapānam.*)

80. Sv.P. 若比丘·非時入聚落·不白善比丘·波夜提·除因緣·

“Si un bhikṣu hors temps entre dans un village sans informer un bon bhikṣu, il est *po-ye-t'i*, sauf raisons.”

= PĀC. 85. *Yo pana bhikkhu santam bhikkham anāpucchā vikāle gāman paviseyya aññatra tathārūpā accāyikā karaṇīyā pācittiyaṃ.*

“Le bhikṣu qui sans demander l'autorisation à un bon bhikṣu entre hors temps dans un village, à moins d'affaire urgente conforme, pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui, le temps en étant passé, sans autorisation entre dans un village, pāyti.”

(Cf. Mv. 261. 84 [80^e śikṣāpada]: *akālacaryā*.)

81. Sv.P. 若比丘·請食食前食後行至餘家·波夜提·

“Si un bhikṣu invité à un repas, avant le repas ou après le repas va en tournée dans d'autres maisons, il est *po-ye-t'i*.”

= PĀC. 46. *Yo pana bhikkhu nimantito sabhatto samāno santam bhikkham anāpucchā purebhattan vā pacchābhattan vā kulesu cārittan āpajjeyya aññatra samayā pācittiyaṃ . tatthāyaṃ samayo . cīvaradāna-samayo cīvarakārasamayo . ayaṃ tattha samayo.*

“Le bhikṣu qui étant invité, déjà pourvu d'un repas, sans demander (l'autorisation) à un bon bhikṣu, soit avant le repas, soit après le repas, se met à faire une tournée dans les familles—sauf le temps légal,—pācittiya. Le temps légal, c'est le temps où on donne la vêtue le temps où on fait la vêtue. C'est là le temps légal.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui avant, par station, après, par séance (?), nuit au saṃgha, pāyti.”

(Cf. Mv. 261. 85 [81^e śikṣāpada]: *kulacaryā*.)

82. Sv.P. 若比丘·剎帝利王水澆頂·夜未曉未藏寶·若過門闔·波夜提·除因緣·

“Si un bhikṣu, chez un roi kṣatriya qui a reçu l'onction du sacre, quand la nuit ne s'éclaircit pas encore, quand on n'a pas encore serré les joyaux, dépasse le seuil de la porte, il est *po-ye-t'i*, sauf raisons.”

= Pāc. 83. *Yo pana bhikkhu rañño khattiyassa muddhāvasittassa anikkhantarājake aniggataratanake pubbe appaṭisaṃvidito indakkhīlaṃ atikkāmeyya pācittiyāṃ.*

“Le bhikṣu qui, chez un roi kṣatriya qui a reçu l'onction royale, quand le roi n'est pas sorti, quand les joyaux [le comm. explique: la reine] ne sont pas sortis, sans s'être annoncé au préalable, dépasse le seuil, pācittiya.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui, en mendiant, la nuit, va dans le palais du roi, en dehors d'un motif conforme, pāyti.”

Cf. Mv. 261. 86 [82^e śikṣāpada]: *rājakulārātricaryā*. Mais nous possédons ici le texte même de la prescription du Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, conservée avec son commentaire dans le Mākaṇḍika du Divyāvadāna, p. 543 sq.

Yañ punar bhikṣur anirgatāyāṃ rajanyāṃ anudgate 'rune anirhṛteṣu ratneṣu ratnasammatteṣu vā rājñāḥ kṣatriyasya mūrdhābhīṣiktasya indrakīlaṃ vā indrakīlasāmantaṃ vā samatikrāmed anyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantika.

“Le bhikṣu qui, quand la nuit n'est pas encore passée, quand l'aurore n'est pas levée, quand ne sont pas encore retirés les joyaux ou ce qu'on tient pour des joyaux, chez un roi kṣatriya qui a reçu l'onction royale, dépasse le seuil de la porte ou les alentours du seuil, sauf motif conforme, pāyantika.”

La tradition variait donc entre *rājaka*, “le roi,” et *rajanī*, “la nuit.”

83. Sv.P. 若比丘說戒時如是言·我今始知是法說戒經中半月半月戒經中說·諸比丘知是比丘乃至若二若三說戒中坐·何況多是比丘不以不知故得脫·隨所犯罪如法治·應呵令馱·汝大德·汝失無利·汝不善·汝說戒時不敬戒·不作是念·實有是事·不貴重·不著心中·不一心念·不攝耳聽法從彼事·波夜提·

“ Si un bhikṣu, au moment de réciter les Défenses, parle ainsi : C'est maintenant que j'apprends pour la première fois que cette Loi est énoncée dans le Livre des Défenses, est récitée tous les demi-mois dans le Livre des Défenses. Les bhikṣus savent que ce bhikṣu a siégé déjà deux fois, trois fois à plus forte raison davantage, pendant qu'on récitait les Défenses ; ce bhikṣu ne peut pas, à cause de son ignorance, obtenir d'être excusé. Selon sa faute, de la manière que la loi prescrit, il faut le traiter : Toi, bhadanta, toi tu as failli, tu n'auras pas d'avantage, tu n'es pas bien ; quand on récite les Défenses, tu n'honores pas les Défenses ; tu ne penses pas que en vérité il en est ainsi ; tu ne les vénères pas ; tu n'y appliques pas ton cœur ; tu n'y penses pas en concentrant ton esprit ; tu n'écoutes pas et tu ne suis pas la Loi. Par conséquent, *po-ye-t'i*.”

= PĀC. 73. *Yo pana bhikkhu anvaddhamāsaṃ pātimokkhe uddissamāne evaṃ vadeyya . idāṃ eva kho ahaṃ jānāmi ayaṃ pi kira dhammo suttāgato suttapariyāpanno anvaddhamāsaṃ uddesaṃ āgacchatīti . taṃ ce bhikkhū aṇṇe bhikkhū jāneyyūṃ nisinnapubbaṃ iminā bhikkhunā dvittikkhattuṃ pātimokkhe uddissamāne ko pana vādo bhiyyo na ca tassa bhikkhuno aṇṇātakena mutthi atthi yaṃ ca tattha āpattiṃ āpanno tuṃ ca yathā dhammo kāretabbo uttari cassa moho āropetabbo . tassa te āvuso alābhā tassa te dulladdhaṃ yaṃ tvaṃ pātimokkhe uddissamāne na sādhu kaṃ atthikatvā manasikarosi . idaṃ tasmīṃ mohanake pācittiyaṃ .*

“ Le bhikṣu qui, à la lecture du Prātimokṣa tous les demi-mois, vient à parler ainsi : C'est maintenant seulement que je sais que telle est la Loi qui se trouve dans le Sūtra, qui est recueillie dans le Sūtra, qui revient en récitation tous les demi-mois ; si les autres bhikṣus savent que ce bhikṣu a déjà siégé deux fois, trois fois, à plus forte raison davantage, pendant la récitation du

Prātimokṣa; ce bhikṣu n'est point quitte à cause de son ignorance, il faut lui appliquer le traitement que la Loi prescrit pour sa faute, et il faut de plus l'accuser de folie: Voilà ce que tu as manqué à gagner; voilà un fâcheux profit pour toi, parce que pendant la récitation du Prātimokṣa tu ne te recueilles pas bien, tu ne t'appliques pas. C'est là le pācittiya en cas d'égarement."

T. "Le bhikṣu qui n'écoute pas le Prātimokṣa de tout son cœur, pāyti."

(Cf. Mvy. 261. 87 [83^e śikṣāpada]: *śikṣāpadadravya-tāvryavacārah.*)

84. Sv.P. 若比丘·若骨若齒若角作針筒·波夜提·

"Si un bhikṣu fait un étui à aiguilles en os, en ivoire, en corne, *po-ye-t'i.*"

= Pāc. 86. *Yo pana bhikkhu aṭṭhimayaṃ vā dantamayāṃ vā visāṇamayāṃ vā sūciḡharaṃ karāpeyyā bhedanakaṃ pācittiyaṃ.*

"Le bhikṣu qui fait faire un étui à aiguilles en os, ou en ivoire, ou en corne, pācittiya d'infraction."

T. "Le bhikṣu qui se fait un étui à aiguilles en os ou en corne, pāyti."

(Cf. Mvy. 261. 88 [84^e śikṣāpada]: *sūciḡrhakasaṃpādanam.*)

85. Sv.P. 若比丘·欲作坐牀臥牀·足應高八指·除入陞·若過作·波夜提·

"Si un bhikṣu veut se faire un siège ou un lit, la hauteur doit être exactement de huit doigts, sans compter les marches pour y atteindre. S'il dépasse cette mesure, il est *po-ye-t'i.*"

= Pāc. 87. *navāṃ pana bhikkhunā mañcaṃ vā pīthāṃ vā kārayamānena aṭṭhaṅgulapādakaṃ karetabbāṃ*

*sugataṅgulena aññatra heṭṭhimāya aṭaniyā taṃ atikkā-
mayato chedanakaṃ pācittiyaṃ.*

“Si un bhikṣu se fait faire un lit ou un siège neuf, il doit le faire faire de huit doigts, en doigts du Sugata, déduction faite des marches posées au-dessous. Si on dépasse cette mesure, c’est un pācittiya de coupure.”

T. “Le bhikṣu qui se fait un lit ou un siège, il faut le faire à la mesure . . .”

(Cf. Mvy. 261. 89 [85 śikṣāpada]: *pāḍakasam-
pādanam.*)

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

KANISHKA'S GREEK

Amidst the general confusion and conflict of opinion regarding the date of Kanishka one fact emerges; it seems to be generally agreed that Kozoulo Kadphises is to be assigned to the first, probably to the middle of the first, century of our era. Oldenberg and Lüders, the latest writers on the subject, apparently accept this date, and V. A. Smith gives A.D. 60 for Kozoulo Kadphises' conquest of Kabul.¹ I have given elsewhere the arguments, mainly derived from Chavannes and Franke, on which this conclusion is based.² And as Pan Yong gives us a nearly contemporary history of Northern India from this time onward to the last days of the Emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-25), the ground is wonderfully cleared. Pan Yong³ tells us that Kozoulo Kadphises' son and successor, Wema Kadphises, conquered Northern India, and governed it through a viceroy, who, as I suggest elsewhere,⁴ was probably the "Nameless King". This was the state of things at the date of Pan Yong's report (c. A.D. 120 or 125); his means of information were exceptionally good, and, until his statements are shown to be wrong, every theory which assigns Kanishka to any date between A.D. 60 and A.D. 120 is barred. We are obliged, therefore, to choose between two alternatives; we must either accept a second century Kanishka, or we must date him in the middle of the first century before our era.

¹ Lüders, Sitzungsberichte d. könig. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften, xxxviii, p. 830, July, 1912, merely says the first century of our era, but adds that he is in general agreement with Oldenberg, "Zur Frage nach der Ära des Kaniska," NGGW., Phil. Hist. Kl. 1911. V. A. Smith, *Early History*, 2nd ed., p. 235.

² JRAS., 1912, p. 678 ff.

³ For Pan Yong v. JRAS., 1912, p. 678, n. 2; *ibid.*, p. 681.

⁴ JRAS., 1912, p. 129.

Kanishka uses the Greek language and Greek characters on his coins, and he uses these alone. I have shown in "The Secret of Kanishka" that Greek was the *lingua franca* of trade in all the lands where Greeks had settled east of the Euphrates; and that it fell into general disuse at the commencement of the second century of our era.¹ Kanishka's use of Greek is therefore an essential factor in the Kanishka problem.

The only evidence we have of Kanishka's use of Greek is in the legends on his coins; and it has been suggested more than once that the Greek on these coins is a mere survival, as meaningless as the Latin on ours. Professor Lüders is the latest exponent of this view. "I have before me," he says, "a couple of foreign coins; one a Swiss nickel piece of 1900, the other a penny of 1897. On the first there stands an inscription *Confoederatio Helvetica*, on the penny *Victoria Dei Gra. Britt. Regina Fid. Def. Ind. Imp.* I am sorry for any historians two thousand years hence who may conclude that in A.D. 1900 Latin was the language of daily life in the mountains of Switzerland and in the British Isles."² The suggestion is by no means novel. Mr. Tarn had already advanced it in 1902, and others have said something of the kind. "It is always possible," said Mr. Tarn, "to argue that Greek on the coins remained as a dead token, as we use Latin"; and, having suggested and discussed this view, he decided against it.³ I have not directly referred to this argument in "The Secret of Kanishka", but I have given there at length the reasons for believing that Greek was understood and spoken in Kanishka's kingdom.⁴ They are briefly these:—

First. Kanishka introduces a cursive script in common

¹ "The Secret of Kanishka," Parts II and III, *passim*, more especially pp. 993-4, 1009-17.

² Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 831.

³ JHS., 1902, p. 286.

⁴ In Parts II and III.

use for commercial and other purposes of daily life, but previously unknown on the Indian coinage. He also revives the use of the antiquated letter *san* to express the sounds of his native Turki.

Second. All Kanishka's predecessors, Greek or Scythic, employed both Greek and Prakrit legends on their coins. Kanishka drops the Prakrit and retains the Greek, a change which would be impossible had Greek been obsolete. It is certain, therefore, that Greek must have been written, read, and understood in the Panjāb at that time.

Third. Kanishka's Greek is often ungrammatical; he confounds the nominative and the genitive. This self-same blunder is repeated among the Greeks of Seleucia, but at a later date. When a people confounds the case-endings of its words, we know that the language, though nigh to disappearing, has not disappeared. Kanishka's bad grammar proves that he spoke Greek, although the Greek was barbarous.

Fourth. The Greeks of Arachosia and Kabul went on speaking Greek certainly to the middle, possibly to the end, of the first century of our era. The Greeks of Rawal Pindi, more remote from Seleucia and more mixed with the native population, may have discarded it somewhat earlier. But that Greek continued to be understood among them for a considerable time, is shown by the correct use of the Greek alphabet on the coins of Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Like Kanishka they employ the Greek character only, while Huvishka engraves the figure of Serapis, a deity which he borrowed from merchants of Greek speech.

Is it to be imagined that any dynasty could employ correctly on their coinage for one hundred years the alphabet of a language which had been completely forgotten, and that, too, the only alphabet they employ? Everywhere we find that when Greek fell into decay the

legends of the coins, whether on those of Nahapāna or the Arsacids, or of Characene, speedily became jumbled and corrupt.¹

There is therefore no analogy whatever between the Greek, the single language of Kanishka's coins, and the Latin inscriptions complementary to the English on the coins of Great Britain. But let us grant for the sake of argument that an analogy exists; it will hardly prove what it is supposed to do. The Latin on our coins is, of course, for commercial purposes superfluous, a mere survival. But the Latin remains correct. And why? Because Latin is still in many respects a living language. It is used in the daily services of the Church throughout the half of Christendom; taught in every grammar school; and used for all academic purposes. Sermons are preached, discussions held, books and commentaries written, and epitaphs composed in it. One has occasionally to use it as a means of communication with foreigners. It is as much used as Sanskrit in India; as much used and more widely understood. I do not know what other language is equally common to the French, German, and Italian-speaking cantons of Switzerland. If it merely represented the hieroglyphics of a dead language it would have disappeared long ago. The analogy proves even more than it is required to do. It would prove that Greek was understood as long as the Greek of the coin legends remained correct.

J. KENNEDY.

HERAUS ὁ τύραννος

Cunningham has devoted a whole article to the coins of a certain Heraus or Miaus,² whose legend he reads thus: *Τυραννοῦντος Μιάου* [*Ἡράου*] *Σανάβ* [*Σανάβιν*] *Κορσάνου*.

¹ For a fuller examination of the question I must refer the reader to "The Secret of Kanishka", more especially pp. 993-4, 1009 ff. (JRAS., 1912).

² *Num. Chron.*, ser. III, vol. viii, pp. 47-58. I quote from the reprint; cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, par. 35, p. 9.

On the oboli this is cut down to *Μιάου* [Ἡράου] *Κορσάνου*, and on a copper chalkous we have the words *τυραν* and *κοισ* [κορσ] without the name. Heraus (or Miaus if you will) was therefore a Kushan, and the unintelligible *Σανάβ* (= Sanav) or *Σανάβιν* is no part of his name, since it is omitted on the oboli. It probably represents some Turki title, which the engraver was unable to express perfectly in Greek letters. The fine portrait of Heraus¹ is typically Turki—the peaked skull, the long large nose, the prognathism of the face, the energetic chin. It has a generic likeness to the portraits of Kanishka and Wema Kadphises.

But it is the strange title of *τύραννος* which specially interests me. We used to think (it was Mr. Gardner's suggestion)² that the Greeks of Afghanistan and Northern India indulged in strange and antiquated or poetical words, such as *κοίρανος* and *τύραννος*; that, in fact, they loved to use a kind of magniloquent Babu-Greek. The idea was interesting and natural, but unfortunately the supports on which it rested are giving way. *Κοίρανος* is now read as *κόρσανος* or some other equivalent of Kushan. *Τύραννος* must follow suit, for the *Periplus* shows us that it had a very definite and limited meaning; it denoted a local ruler, a Rajah or Sheikh, who was not a king; ordinarily it meant a vassal or vassal-king. Thus, at Mouza, one pays both to the *βασιλεύς* and the *τύραννος*; τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ δίδονται ἵπποι κ.τ.λ. (c. 24). The tyrannos of the place is Cholæbos; he lives three days distance off at Sauē: ἔστι δὲ τύραννος καὶ κατοικῶν αὐτὴν Χόλαιβος (c. 22). Cholæbos was a vassal of Charibael, who was the king of the whole country: ἔνθεσμος βασιλεὺς ἐθνῶν δύο τοῦ τε Ὀμηρέτου καὶ τοῦ παρακειμένου λεγομένου Σαβαΐτου (c. 23). Azania (Somaliland) on the African coast was under the tyrannos of Maphar,

¹ Cunningham, op. cit., pl. iii, 1; Rapson, op. cit., pl. ii, 1.

² P. Gardner, *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. liii.

subject, however, to certain rights of the king of ἡ πρώτη Ἀραβία: νέμεται δὲ αὐτὴν, κατὰ τι δίκαιον ἀρχαῖον, ὑποπίπτουσαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς πρώτης γενομένης Ἀραβίας ὁ Μαφαρίτης τύραννος (c. 16). So also it is said of another part of the East African littoral οὐ βασιλεύεται δὲ ὁ τόπος, ἀλλὰ τυράννοις ἰδίοις ἑκαστον ἐμπόριον διοικεῖται (c. 14). The country is not under any king, but every mart has its own individual headman or sheikh. The pirates on that coast, every man of them, consider themselves as good as any τύραννος (c. 16). Elsewhere we read of the two classes τῶν τυράννων καὶ βασιλέων (c. 20).

We find, then, that on the quays of Barygaza and among the mariners of the Indian Ocean τύραννος meant a petty chief, usually a vassal of some king.

According to Cunningham, Heraus ruled in Western Afghanistan, where alone his coins are found; and Cunningham, on numismatic grounds, made him a contemporary of Kozoulo Kadphises. He also uses on his coins the horseman type characteristic of the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians. We know that Kozoulo Kadphises took Kabul from the Indo-Parthians in the middle of the first century A.D., and that his son, after conquering India, appointed a viceroy as governor. I conclude, therefore, that Heraus, this Kushan τύραννος in Western Kabul, was a vassal, no doubt a deputy, of Kozoulo Kadphises, the Kushan βασιλεύς. If this be so two corollaries will follow:—

1. The participial form τυραννοῦντος shows that Greek must have been spoken with some correctness in Western Afghanistan in the middle of the first century A.D. Had the legend been a mere survival, we should certainly have expected τύραννος, and not the present participle which so happily conveys the idea that Heraus' rule was not a dynastic but a temporary one. It is in keeping with this that his coins have no Kharoṣṭhi legends.

2. Heraus cannot be *In-mo-fu*, as Cunningham (who

dated Kozoulo Kadphises in the latter half of the first century B.C.) suggested, but with some hesitation. *In-mo-fu* belongs to the middle of the first century B.C., and ruled in Ki-pin, which in the time of the Han ordinarily meant Kāśmir, and at no time ever meant Western Afghanistan.

J. KENNEDY.

A PASSAGE IN THE PERIPLUS

In the forty-seventh chapter of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* the writer tells us what he had heard of the nations inhabiting Upper India. His account is vague and confused, much what we might expect a rather ignorant sailor to have picked up among the traders of Barygaza. Unfortunately our sole MS. (for the B.M. MS. and the *editio princeps* are merely transcripts from it), always corrupt, is here at its worst. The manuscript reading in question is as follows: ἐπικείται γὰρ κατὰ ταυτῇ βαρυγάξα κατὰ τὰ μεσογεία πλείονα ἔθνη ἢ τε τῶν ἀρατρίων καὶ ραχούσων καὶ ταυθαράγων καὶ τῆς προκλίδος ἐν ᾗ ἡ βουκέφαλος ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ τούτων ἐπάνω μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος βακτριανῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα οὔσαν ἴδιον τόπον. Fabricius, the latest editor (1883), prints it thus: ἐπικείται δὲ τοῖς βαρυγάξοις κατὰ τὰ μεσόγεια πλείονα ἔθνη, τό τε τῶν Ἀραττίων καὶ Ἀραχουσίων καὶ Γανδαραίων καὶ τῆς Πωκλαΐδος, ἐν ᾗ ἡ βουκέφαλος Ἀλεξάνδρεια. Καὶ τούτων ἐπάνω μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος βακτριανῶν, ὑπὸ βασιλέα ὄντων ἴδιον. All the translators are much to the same effect. I give Schoff's rendering, which is the latest: "The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes, such as the Arattii, the Arachosii, the Gandaræi and the people of Proclais, in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. Above these is the very warlike nation of the Bactrians, who are under their own king."

I am here concerned only with the concluding words of the second sentence as they stand in the MS., ὑπὸ βασιλέα

οὔσαν ἴδιον τόπον. Fabricius' note, p. 89, shows the various attempts at emendation previously made. Since then Marquart has attacked the passage (Eranshahr, p. 210, n. 3). He blames Fabricius severely (but unjustly, I think) for having failed to produce a better reading. His own attempt, however, is by no means happy. He says that the author undoubtedly construed ἔθνος as a feminine noun, witness ἡ τε, etc., after πλείονα ἔθνη. Therefore we ought to read οὔσα, the final *ν* in οὔσαν being due to the avoidance of a hiatus. Τόπον he takes as a gloss on ἴδιον, which has crept into the text. He therefore reads the passage thus: *μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος ὑπὸ βασιλέα οὔσα ἴδιον [ἐντόπιον]*. To this it may be answered that the author has twice over construed ἔθνος as a neuter, *πλείονα ἔθνη* and *μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος*; and we cannot admit that in the very same breath he would use it as a feminine. After ἡ τε one naturally understands χώρα. I see no difficulty in that.

Another solution recommends itself to me. We have two clues to guide us, the ordinary usage of the author, and the account of the Bactrians furnished us in the Chinese History of the Later Han. Now the writer of the *Periplus* mentions at least ten kings and rulers, and whenever he has occasion to mention a king he either gives us his proper name or his dynastic title, such as Kērobothras (*c.* 54), whichever name, I suppose, might be in use at the haven he was visiting. Occasionally he adds some words by way of explanation. Now, at the time of the *Periplus* (which I take to be between A.D. 80 and 100) the Kushans were ruling in Bactria, and during part of that time, at any rate, Wema Kadphises was their king. The kingdom was always known to the Westerns as the Kushan kingdom, and the king was probably spoken of in Barygaza as the Kushan. I therefore take it that for οὔσαν we must read Κούσαν: ὑπὸ βασιλέα Κούσαν is in exact keeping with the usage of the author. The

two words which follow, ἴδιον τόπον, cannot have been corrupted out of Wema Kadphises or any other Kushan name we know; they must be part of an explanatory clause. In that case some word must have dropped out—not an infrequent occurrence—and the simplest word is ἄρχοντα.

Τόπος is one of the commonest words in the *Periplus*, and is sharply distinguished from βασιλεία (cf. e.g. ch. 5, 14); it means a particular district which generally, but not always, forms part of a kingdom. The passage will then read thus: ὑπὸ βασιλέα [Κ]ούσαν [ἄρχοντα] ἴδιον τόπον: and the general sense will be that the Bactrians were under a Kushan king who directly ruled Bactria, implying thereby that his sovereignty extended over a much wider dominion.

This corresponds exactly with the account given in the History of the Later Han. We there read that when Wema Kadphises conquered Northern India he appointed a *chef* to administer it. This chief would appear to have been the so-called "nameless king" whose coins are found from Kabul and the Indus to Benares and Ghazipur, and whose name was doubtless suppressed for some religious scruple. His coins, according to Rapson (*Indian Coins*, par. 67, p. 16), connect him at once both with Heraus and with Wema Kadphises. Cunningham possessed a coin on which there were two heads with the symbols of the nameless king and of Wema Kadphises. But the nameless king does not call himself τύραννος or a mere deputy like Heraus; he takes the lofty title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ [*sic*] ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, a title which he shares with Wema Kadphises. On the other hand, his coins, with the exception of one silver piece, are all in copper, while Wema Kadphises mints gold. The inference is that he was a member of the royal Kushan family, co-regent with, but subordinate to, Wema Kadphises.

What a pity that the author of the *Periplus* has not given us his name, and told us something definite about him!

J. KENNEDY.

PROPOSED IDENTIFICATION OF TWO SOUTH-INDIAN PLACE-
NAMES IN THE PERIPLUS

Among the few foreign records of ancient India one of the most trustworthy, so far as its limited scope admits, is the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (written in the second half of the first Christian century), which gives us an exact account of the commercial ports of the western coast from the mouths of the Indus to Cape Comorin, and of the articles entering into the trade of each. Of the eastern coast little is said, and that little is hearsay picked up at some of the western ports; but even that is not without present value. Many of the place-names in the *Periplus* are readily identified, while others have been disputed by the commentators and have appeared and then disappeared from the classical geographies. Two of these, if the following identifications be correct, will add to the understanding which the *Periplus* has given us of Southern India in that period.

Muziris and Nelcynda, the southern trading ports frequented by Greek and Arab shipping, were first identified as Mangalore and Nilēshwar, both in South Kanara; but their true location was shown by Gundert, Burnell, Caldwell, and Yule, to be much farther south, Muziris being identical with Muyirikkōtta or Cranganore, in Cochin. *Nelcynda* seems rather to have been an appellation; Pliny speaks of the "city of the *Neacyndi*", Ptolemy of *Melkynda*, which Caldwell translated "Western Kynda". Laying down the sailing course described in the *Periplus* between Muziris and Nelcynda, and setting out from Cranganore, we should reach the modern

Kōṭṭayam, in Travancore, an early trade centre, located on a broad bay of the Cochin backwaters, and at the western terminus of several trade routes through the Pirmēḍ hills.

The text (§§ 54-5) describing the course south of Nelcynda says it was "situated on a river, about 120 stadia from the sea; there is another place at the mouth of this river, the village of *Bucarē*, to which ships drop down on the outward voyage from Nelcynda, and anchor in the roadstead to take on their cargoes, because the river is full of shoals and the channels are not clear."¹ This place appears also in Ptolemy, with but one letter inserted, as *Barkarē*.

It is submitted that *Bakarē* or *Βαρκαρē* is identical with Porakāḍ, in Travancore, on the coast (9° 22' N., 76° 22' E.), for which it is a close transliteration; while the distance from Kōṭṭayam is practically in exact accord with the text. Porakāḍ was once a notable port. The Portuguese, and subsequently the Dutch, had settlements there. Varthema, in 1503, spoke of it as *Porcai*, and Tavernier in 1648 as *Porca*. The remains of a Portuguese fort are still visible there at low water, although nearly submerged by encroachment of the sea. By dredging a better passage between backwater and ocean, and constructing harbour works, Alleppey, about ten miles to the north, has now taken the place which Porakāḍ formerly held in trade.² Porakāḍ is, likewise, at the mouth of a river, the Achenkōil, which rises in the Ghauts near the Shenkōṭṭa Pass, the main highway between Travancore and Tinnevely.

Passing down the coast, the text speaks of the *Dark*

¹ Κεῖται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν ὥσει ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τῆς θαλάσσης. 'Ἐτέρα δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρόκειται κώμη Βακαρῆ, εἰς ἣν ἀπὸ Νελκύνδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς προκαταβαίνει τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐπὶ σάλου διορίζεται πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τῶν φορτίων διὰ δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρματα καὶ διάπλους ἔχειν οὐκ ἐλαφροῦς.

² *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*

Red Mountain (τὸ λεγόμενον Πυρρόν ὄρος), evidently the Red Bluffs at Varkkallai, in Travancore, on the coast, and of a port *Balita*; which may perhaps be identified with Varkkallai (8° 42' N.), formerly the southern terminus of the Cochin backwaters, which have now been extended, by cutting a canal through these same Red Bluffs, as far as Trivandrum, the modern trade centre for that district. The form *Βαλίτα*, if not corrupt, is short by both an *r* and a guttural from the modern Varkkallai.

Proceeding beyond Cape Comorin, the older classical geographers placed a gulf which they called *Sinus Argariticus*, and a port called *Argaru*. Both have now disappeared from the maps. They were based on a misunderstanding of the following passage in the *Periplus* (§ 59): "Beyond Colchi there follows another district called the Coast Country, which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru. At this place, and nowhere else, are bought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic."¹

The Coast Country of the *Periplus* (Αἰγιαλός) seems to be no other than the Chōla Coast, still called Chōla-māṇḍalam, which the Portuguese made into Coromandel; the Chōla kingdom, in short, the richest, largest, and most prosperous of the three Dravidian states, as the *Periplus* asserts. And this leads to its capital, placed by the old geographers on the coast (although the text speaks of it as lying inland), and called Ἀργάρου.

It is submitted that this Ἀργάρου is identical with Uraiyr, Oraiyūr, Warriore, the ancient capital of the Chōla kingdom, now part of Trichinopoly. The "fine muslins known as Argaritic" do but confirm the

¹ Μετὰ δὲ Κόλλους ἐκδέχεται τόπος ἕτερος Αἰγιαλὸς λεγόμενος ἐν κόλπῳ κείμενος, ἔχων χώραν μεσόγειον, λεγομένην Ἀργάρου· ἐν ἐνὶ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἀνείται τὸ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡπειρον συλλεγόμενον πινικόν. Φέρονται καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς σινδόνες αἱ Ἀργαρίτιδες λεγόμεναι.

well-known fact of the early supremacy of the Chōla people in textile manufacture. Some of the finest fabrics that reached the Roman world were of Chōla origin, and thence also came the fine gold-threaded embroideries brought westward by the Saracen merchants.

If Uraiyr and Ἀργύρου be identical, the Greek transliteration becomes a matter of interest. Some commentators have unnecessarily assumed the name *Arguru* to be very corrupt. Perhaps the Greek form as originally written may have been Ἀράγρου or Ἀραίγρου, involving but a slight re-arrangement of the form given in the text.¹

These identifications carry back to the first century of the Christian era two trade centres which were important throughout the Middle Ages, and must by their location have become important in an earlier age, whenever that part of India became politically organized—Porcai the port and Trichinopoly the city of industry. Incidentally they indicate the accuracy of the author of the *Periplus* as to a district concerning which his knowledge has not heretofore been generally allowed.

WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

PHILADELPHIA.

July, 1912.

IS THE RAMAYANA OF TULASI DASA A TRANSLATION ?

A committee of six paṇḍits² has issued a curious edition of the Āraṇya and Sundara Kāṇḍas of the *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of Tulasi Dāsa. The interesting point about it

¹ [And it may be suggested that at some time or another, through the use of cursive forms, a *v* has been mistaken for, and turned into, a *γ*, perhaps by some early copyist.—ED.]

² P. Sēvārāmaji, P. Rāmabhadraśaraṇaji, P. Rāmanārāyaṇa, P. Cintāmaṇi Vaidyaratna, P. Baijnāth Dubē, and P. Balabhadraprasāda Śukla. The work can be obtained from the last-named gentleman, who is Assistant Master at the Government High School, Ballia, U.P. The price of the Āraṇya Kāṇḍa is eight annas; that of the Sundara Kāṇḍa is not stated.

lies in the fact that, facing each page of the text, is the text of a Sanskrit poem, agreeing line for line with that of Tulasī Dāsa. It is quite plain that one of these is a literal translation of the other. Either Tulasī Dāsa translated his poem from this Sanskrit original, or else the Sanskrit poem is the work of some paṇḍit who has translated Tulasī Dāsa's *Rāma-carita-mānasa* into the classical language of ancient India.

It may at once be stated that there is no inherent difficulty in accepting the latter alternative. Such translations of favourite vernacular works into Sanskrit are not at all uncommon. A good example is the *Sat saī* of Bihārī lāl, of which at least two Sanskrit versions are extant, one by Hariprasāda and the other by Paramānanda.

The Sanskrit version, as published, appears to be called the *Śambhu Rāmāyaṇa*—the reason will appear later—but the colophons of the different chapters give a different name, not always in exactly the same form. Sometimes a colophon begins, “*iti śrīmadrāmāyaṇē rāma-caritrē mahākāvyaśakalakalikaluṣavidhvāṃsanē umāmahēśvara-saṁvādē*,” etc. Elsewhere we have “*iti śrīmadrāmāyaṇē rāmacaritrē mānasē mahākāvyaś umāmahēśvarasaṁvādē*,” etc., and so on with other variants. The editors at present give no particulars about the Sanskrit MS., but promise a full account in the preface to a proposed edition of the Bāla Kāṇḍa.

In order to show how closely the two texts agree, I give here an extract from the Sundara Kāṇḍa. I first give the text of Tulasī Dāsa's poem, as printed by the editors, with an English translation. This text differs in a few matters of spelling from that published by the Nāgarī Prācārīṇī Sabhā, and contains some extra lines not contained in other editions. These latter I have omitted, marking the places where they came by asterisks.

चौ०—पूँछहीन बन्दर तहँ जाइहि । तब शठ निज नाथहि लै आइहि ॥
 जिन कर कीन्हैसि बज्रत बडाई । देखब मैं तिन की प्रभुताई ॥
 वचन सुनत कपि मन मुसुक्काना । भइ सहाय शारद मैं जाना ॥
 यातुधान सुनि रावण वचना । लागे मूढ रचन सोइ रचना ॥
 रहा न नगर वसन घृत तेला । बाढी पूँछ कीन्ह कपि खेला ॥ ५ ॥
 कौतुक कहँ आये पुरवासी । मारहिँ चरण करहिँ बज्र हाँसी ॥
 बाजहिँ ढोल देहिँ सब तारी । नगर फिर प्रभु पूँछि प्रजारी ॥
 पावक जरत देखि हनुमंता । भयउ परम लघुरूप तुरंता ॥
 निबुक चढेउ कपि कनक अटारी । भईँ सभौत निसाचरनारी ॥
 दो०—हरिप्रेरित तिहि अवसर चलेउ मरुत उनचास ॥ १० ॥
 अट्टहास करि गर्जि कपि लागेऊ बाढि अकास ॥

* * * * *

चौ०—देह विशाल परम हरुआई । मंदिर ते मंदिर चढि जाई ॥
 जरत नगर भा लोग बिहाला । झपट लपट बज्र कोटि कराला ॥
 तात मातु हा सुनिय पुकारा । यहि अवसर को बमहिँ उवारा ॥
 हम तु कहा यह कपि नहिँ होई । बानररूप धरे मुर कोई ॥ १५ ॥
 साधु अवज्ञा कर फल ऐसा । जरै नगर अनाथ कर जैसा ॥

* * * * *

जारा नगर निर्मिष एक माहीं । एक बिभीषण कर गृह नाहीं ॥

* * * * *

ता कर दूत अनल जिहि सिरजा । सो न जरा तिहि कारण गिरिजा ॥
 उलटि पलटि लंका कपि जारी । कूदि परा पुनि सिंधु मँझारी ॥

दो०—पूँछ बुझाइ खोइ अम धरि लघुरूप बहोरि ॥ २० ॥
 जनकसुता के आगे ठाढ भयेउ कर जोरि ॥

Growse's translation of the above (with a few verbal alterations) is as follows. Rāvaṇa says:—

Caupāi

1. "The poor tailless wretch can then go back and fetch his master, and I shall have an opportunity of seeing his might, whom he has so extravagantly exalted."

The monkey smiled to himself to hear this. "Śārādā, I know, will help me." Obedient to Rāvaṇa's command, the demons began making their foolish preparations.

5. Not a rag was left in the city nor a drop of *ghī* or oil, to such a length did he make his tail to grow, as he leaped about. Then they made sport of him. The citizens crowded to see the sight, and struck him with their feet and jeered him greatly. With beating of drums and clapping of hands they took him through the city and set fire to his tail. When Hanumān saw the fire blazing, he at once reduced himself to a very diminutive size, and, slipping out of his bonds, sprang on to the upper story of the gilded palace, to the dismay of the giants' wives.

Dohā 25

10. That instant the forty-nine winds, whom Hari had sent, began to blow ; the monkey shouted with roars of laughter and swelled so big that he touched the sky.

* * * * *

Caupāī

Of enormous stature and yet marvellous agility, he leaped and went from palace to palace. As the city was thus set on fire, the people were at their wits' end ; for the terrible flames burst forth in countless millions of places. "Alas ! father and mother, hearken to our cry. Who is there now to save us ?" 15. "As we said, this is no monkey, but some god in monkey form. This is the result of not taking a good man's advice ; our city is burnt as though it had no king." . . . The city was consumed in an instant of time, save only Vibhīṣaṇa's house ; . . . the reason why it escaped, Bhavānī, was that he who sent the messenger had also created the fire. After the whole of Laṅkā had been turned upside down and given over to the flames, he threw himself into the middle of the sea.

Dōhā 26

20. After extinguishing his tail and recovering from his fatigue, he assumed his old diminutive form and went and stood before Jānakī, with his hands clasped in prayer.

The corresponding Sanskrit version is as follows. It will be seen that it exactly agrees with Tulasi Dāsa's poem, each half-*śloka* generally agreeing with each half-*couplet* of the Hindi version :—

लाङ्गुलेन विहीनो ऽयं गमिष्यति महाकपिः ।
 अनेष्यति तदावस्थं स्वकीयं स्वामिनं शठः ॥
 प्रभुत्वं तस्य द्रक्ष्यामो ऽनायासेन वयं तदा ।
 श्रुत्विमां संमतिं तेषां विहस्य हृदि मारुतिः ॥
 तर्कयामास जानामि शारदापि विशारदा ।
 श्रीरामकार्यसंसिद्धौ साहाय्यमकरोदिति ॥
 अवाप्य रावणस्याज्ञाम अज्ञाः सर्वे निशाचराः ।
 तामेव रचनामाशु रचयामासुरञ्जसा ॥
 हनुमानकरोह्नीलाम् एधयामास बालधिम ।
 यद्वेष्टनाय नो शिष्टं घृततैलाम्बरं पुरि ॥ ५ ॥
 कौतुकं द्रष्टुमायाता राक्षसाः पुरवासिनः ।
 यदा कपिं ताडयित्वा ते हास्यं चक्षिरे बद्ध ॥
 आहत्य पणवान्दीर्घान् कृत्वा करतलध्वनौ ।
 ददद्गः कपिपुच्छं ते विश्राम्य परितः पुरीम् ॥
 पावकं ज्वलितं वीक्ष्य हनुमान् विहगेश्वर ।
 लघुरूपं दधाराशु राक्षसानां भयावहम् ॥
 अट्टालिकायाः शिखरे समारूढस्ततः शिवे ।
 उत्सुत्य हनुमान् वीरो राक्षसस्त्रासमागताः ॥
 वाता एकोनपञ्चाशद् ईश्वरप्रेरिता ववुः ।
 तस्मिन्नवसरे चण्डाः क्षते चारा इव प्रिये ॥ १० ॥
 अट्टहासं ततः कृत्वा जगर्ज कपिकुञ्जरः ।
 वर्धयित्वा वपुः स्वीयम् आकाशस्यर्शि चाकरोत् ॥

* * * * *

विशालापि पनुर्लघी भरद्वाज हनूमतः ।
 मन्दिराच्चन्द्रिरं क्षिप्रम् आरोहति ततः कपिः ॥
 ज्वालानां विकरालानां कोटिभिः परितो वृताम् ।
 विलोक्य लङ्कां रक्षांसि महतीं दुर्दशामिताः ॥
 हा मातर्हा पितर्हा हा भ्रातरव्य महापदि ।
 चायस्व को ऽपि चायस्व प्रलयो ऽयं समागतः ॥
 प्रागेव रावणं सर्वे वयमब्रूम यद्वचः ।
 विषेण वानरः को ऽपि सुरो ऽयं नैव वानरः ॥ १५ ॥
 तदस्माकं वचः सत्यं स्वीचकार न रावणः ।
 अवज्ञायाः सतामेतत् फलं प्रेत्यक्षतां गतम् ।
 अनाथस्त्वेव नगरीं लङ्कां दहति वानरः ॥

* * * * *

दग्धा निमेषमात्रे ऽत्र लङ्का जाम्बूनदालया ।
 ऋते विभीषणागारम् अत्याश्चर्यमबूदिदम् ॥

* * * * *

विभीषणो ऽपि श्रीराम- भक्त इत्यवधारय ।
 हेतुना तेन नो दग्धं विभीषणगृहं शुभम् ॥
 क्रमव्युत्क्रममार्गेण लङ्कां दग्धा कपीश्वरः ।
 पुनर्मध्ये समुद्रं स हनुमान् न्यपतद्वली ॥
 निर्वाप्य पुच्छमायासं हित्वा कृत्वा वपुर्लघु ।
 हस्तौ संयोज्य जानक्याः संमुखे चात्रवीदिदम् ॥¹

The editors base their belief that Tulasi Dāsa translated from a Sanskrit original on the following lines of the *Rāmā-carita-mānasa*, in which the poet says that he learnt the story as a boy, but could not at first understand it. He then, for his own satisfaction, put it into verse in his vernacular.

¹ It is hardly necessary to point out that this is altogether different from the account in the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, V, liii, f.

चौ०—शंभु कोन्ह यह चरित सोहावा । बजरि कृपा करि उमहिँ सुनावा ॥
 सोइ शिव काग भुशुंडिहि दोन्हा । राम भक्त अधिकारी चीन्हा ॥
 तेहि सन याज्ञबल्क्य पुनि पावा । तिन्ह पुनि भरद्वाज प्रति गावा ॥

* * * *

दो०—मैं पुनि निज गुरु सन सुनी कथा सो शूकरखेत ।
 समुझी नहिँ तसि बालपन तव अति रह्यौ अचेत ॥ ३० ॥

* * * *

चौ०—तदपि कही गुरु बारहि बारा । समुझि परी कहु मति अनुसारा ॥
 भाषा बन्ध करव मैं सोई । मोरे मन प्रबोध जेहि होई ॥

Caupāi

This pleasing story was (first of all) composed by Śambhu (i.e. Śiva), and graciously told to Umā. The same (story) was given by Śiva to Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi, known to be chief among the votaries of Rāma. From him Yājñavalkya received it, and he recited it to Bharadvāja.

* * * *

Dohā 30

I again heard the tale from my own *guru* at Śukarkhēt; but could not understand it, as I was quite a child and had no sense.

* * * *

Caupāi

But my *guru* repeated it time after time, till at length I understood as much as my intellect would permit; and now I shall put it down in *bhāṣā* verses, so that my own mind may be awakened (to its full truth).

To this the editors add the following Sanskrit verses, which do not occur in any edition of Tulasi Dāsa's work with which I am acquainted. It will be seen that, with one important variation, it is a sort of abstract of the last few lines:—

यत्पूर्वं प्रभुणा कृतं सुकविना श्रीशम्भुना दुर्गमम् ।
 श्रीमद्रामपदाब्जभक्तिगनिशं प्राप्यै तु रामायणम् ॥

मत्वा तद्गुणायनामनिरतं स्वान्तस्तमःशान्तये ।

भाषावद्धमिदं चकार तुलसीदासस्तथा मानसम् ॥

According to this a poet called Śambhu—not the god Śambhu-Śiva—was the original author of the poem, which Tulasi Dāsa translated into the vernacular for his own edification.

The editors do not say whence they got this Sanskrit verse. It can hardly be from the Sanskrit manuscript which they have discovered; for if that were the case the mention of Tulasi Dāsa as the translator of the original poem would at once show that that cannot be the version contained in the present MS. The writer of an original poem could never say, in that poem, that it *had been* translated by anyone else. The most that he could do would be to indulge in prophecy, and to say that it *would be* translated. I presume, therefore, that the Sanskrit verses quoted are some floating tradition carried in the memory of paṇḍits and of no known authorship. Possibly they may occur as a *ksēpaka*, or apocryphal addition, in some MSS. of Tulasi Dāsa's work. At any rate, this verse does say that there was a Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa by a poet called Śambhu. The statement may be a mere tradition, and there is, so far, absolutely no test as to its truth or falsity.

Pending further information, there is at present little doubt in my mind but that the Sanskrit version is a translation from the Hindī. A half-*caupāī* contains at most only sixteen mātrās, or instants, while a half-*ślōka* contains sixteen akṣaras, possibly equivalent, in counting, to thirty instants. The *caupāī* is therefore much shorter than a *ślōka*, and to make them agree line for line it is necessary that the latter should contain more words than the former. If Tulasi Dāsa translated from the Sanskrit he would have every now and then to leave out some important word. I can find no trace of this. If, on the other hand, Śambhu

translated from Tulasī Dāsa he would have to eke out his metre by the insertion of otiose epithets, just as we used to do with the help of a *gradus* when writing Latin verses at school. There are numerous traces of this in the Sanskrit version. In the third *ślōka*, *viśārādā* and the whole of the following *pāda* are superfluous. So the third *pāda* of the ninth *ślōka*. The tenth and eleventh *ślōkas* are a very clumsy version of the neat *dōhā* of Tulasī Dāsa (ll. 10 and 11). In his fourteenth *ślōka* he makes the frightened children cry not only for their parents, but for a brother, thereby leaving us to assume that each child had only one brother. The two last *pādas* hardly represent the words of Tulasī Dāsa, "who is there now to save us?" In the sixteenth, the *pāda*, "*svīcakāra na rāvaṇaḥ*" is unnecessary surplusage. Similarly, the seventeenth *ślōka* is an evident expansion of the corresponding line of Tulasī Dāsa. Very instructive is the fourth *ślōka*, where Tulasī Dāsa's alliteration of *racana* and *racanā* is spoilt in the Sanskrit *racanān racayātmāsuh*.

For these reasons, I do not think that, so far as present materials are available, there is any proof that Tulasī Dāsa translated his *Rāma-carita-mānasa* from this so-called *Śambhu Rāmāyaṇa*. If, however, he did this, it cannot diminish our admiration for a translation more beautiful than the original, or make us forget that he was also the author of the *Gīta Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Kavitta Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Vinaya Pattrikā*, and other fine works.

G. A. G.

ON THE PHONETICS OF THE WARDAK VASE

The inscription on this vase, of which an account is given by Mr. Pargiter on pp. 1060 ff. of the JRAS. for 1912, is in the Kharoṣṭhī character, and belongs, like nearly all other writings in that character, to the extreme north-west of India, i.e. to the locality in which the languages which I call "Modern Piśāca" are now spoken.

It is a well-known fact that in the Kharōṣṭhī character consonants which are doubled in Sanskrit or Pāli are written as single letters. It has hitherto been customary to treat this fact as an instance of a defective alphabet, and, in editing inscriptions in this character, to assume that the double letters should be restored. Thus in the case of this vase-inscription Mr. Pargiter restores *gaḍigrena* to *gaḍḍikena*, *bhradaba* to *bhrātabba*, *paryata* to *paryatta*, and so on.

I would suggest that a consideration of the modern vernaculars of the north-west will show that the assumption that this restoration is required is probably wrong, and that the dialect in which these Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions are written pronounced these consonants as single, not as double, letters.

Of the modern Indian vernaculars, Pañjābī and Lahndā (which, though a member of the north-western group, is strongly influenced by Pañjābī) adhere most closely to the old forms. We have such words as *uccā*, high; *sadd*, a sound; *duddh*, milk; *camm*, leather; and many others which have retained the Pāli and Prakrit double consonants unchanged.

In languages further to the east it is usual to simplify the double consonant, substituting a single one in its place, and at the same time to lengthen and sometimes nasalize the preceding vowel in compensation. Thus, for example, Hindī has *ūchā*, *sād*, *dūd*, and *cām*.

On the other hand, the north-western languages prefer to simplify the double consonant without lengthening the preceding vowel. This is most marked in Sindhi and the Modern Piśāca languages, which have *ucō* (S.); *sada* (Ksh.); *ḍḍudh*^u (S.), *dōd* (Ksh.); and *cam*^u (S.), *cam* (Ksh.). The same peculiarity is sometimes noticeable in Lahndā, as in *dabh*, compared with the Pañjābī *dabbh*, although, as has been stated, in Lahndā the double consonants are generally retained.

The following table illustrates this rule more fully :—

Sanskrit.	Apabhrāṇṣa Prakrit.	Pañjābī.	Lahndā.	Sindhi.	Pisāca (Kāshmirī, unless other- wise stated).	Western Hindī.
<i>darbhah</i> , a kind of grass	<i>dabbhu</i> or <i>ḍabbhu</i>	<i>dabbh</i>	<i>dabḥ</i>	<i>ḍabhu</i>	<i>dab</i>	<i>ḍābh</i>
<i>uccakah</i> , high	<i>uccāḥ</i>	<i>uccā</i>	<i>uccā</i>	<i>ucō</i>	—	<i>ūcā</i>
<i>satyah</i> , true	<i>saccu</i>	<i>sacc</i>	<i>saccā</i>	<i>sac^u</i>	—	<i>sāc</i> or <i>sac</i>
<i>rikshah</i> , a bear	<i>ricchu</i>	<i>ricch</i>	—	<i>rich^u</i>	<i>ūs</i> (Bashgali, exceptional long vowel)	<i>rich</i>
<i>śabdah</i> , a sound	<i>saddu</i>	<i>sadd</i>	<i>sadd</i>	—	<i>sada</i>	<i>sād</i>
<i>dugdham</i> , milk	<i>duddhu</i>	<i>duddh</i>	<i>duddh</i>	<i>ḍḍudhu</i>	<i>dōd</i>	<i>dūdḥ</i>
<i>agṛē</i> , before	<i>aggahī</i>	<i>aggē</i>	<i>aggē</i>	<i>aggē</i>	—	<i>āgē</i>
<i>adya</i> , to-day	<i>ajju</i>	<i>ajj</i>	<i>ajj</i>	<i>aju</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>āj</i>
<i>cakram</i> , a wheel	<i>cakku</i>	<i>cakk</i>	<i>cakk</i>	<i>cak^u</i>	—	<i>cāk</i>
<i>tarkayati</i> , he ascertains	<i>takkēi</i>	<i>takk-</i>	<i>takk-</i>	<i>tak-</i>	—	<i>tāk-</i>
<i>śuskakah</i> , dry	<i>sukkhau</i>	<i>sukkhā</i>	—	<i>sukō</i>	<i>hokhu</i>	<i>sūkhā</i>
<i>karma</i> , an action	<i>kammū</i>	<i>kamm</i>	<i>kamm</i>	<i>kam^u</i>	<i>kōmū</i> (excep- tional long vowel)	<i>kām</i>
<i>carma</i> , skin	<i>cammu</i>	<i>camm</i>	<i>camm</i>	<i>cam^u</i>	<i>cam</i>	<i>cām</i>
<i>karnah</i> , an ear	<i>karnu</i>	<i>karn</i>	<i>karn</i>	<i>kar^u</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kān</i>
<i>sarpah</i> , a snake	<i>soppu</i>	<i>sapp</i>	<i>sapp</i>	<i>sap^u</i>	—	<i>sāp</i>
<i>śvaśrūh</i> , mother- in-law	<i>sassā</i>	<i>sass</i>	<i>sass</i>	<i>sas^u</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>sās</i>
<i>bhaktam</i> , boiled rice	<i>bhattu</i>	<i>bhatt</i>	—	<i>bhat^u</i>	<i>bata</i>	<i>bhāt</i>
<i>raktakah</i> , red	<i>rattāḥ</i>	<i>rattā</i>	<i>ratt</i> , blood	<i>ratō</i>	<i>rat-</i> , blood	<i>rātā</i>
<i>kartayati</i> , he cuts	<i>kaṭṭēi</i>	<i>kaṭṭ-</i>	—	<i>kaṭ-</i>	<i>kaṭ-</i>	<i>kāṭ-</i>
<i>hastah</i> , a hand	<i>hatthu</i>	<i>hatth</i>	<i>hatth</i>	<i>hath^u</i>	<i>atha</i>	<i>hāth</i>
<i>prīṣṭham</i> , the back	<i>piṭṭhu</i> , <i>puṭṭhu</i>	<i>piṭṭh</i>	—	<i>puṭṭ^h</i>	<i>pēṭh</i>	<i>pīṭh</i>

The modern languages of the north-west were spoken in the same locality as that in which the dialect or dialects recorded in Kharōṣṭhī were spoken. As the former are peculiar in refusing to employ double consonants, it is reasonable to assume that double consonants were not pronounced in the Pāli of the north-west, and that Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, so far from being imperfect representations of pronunciation, were in this respect phonetically accurate.

It must be remembered that we have no other inscriptions in any other character to authorize us to "restore" the double letters in these dialects.

G. A. G.

CAMBERLEY.

October 22, 1912.

ALOPEN AND SILADITYA

Professor Takakusu (*I-tsing*, p. xxviii, n. 8) states that Alopen, the Nestorian missionary to China, visited Śilāditya, in India, in the year 639 A.D. This statement is based on a remark of Edkins, quoted in the *Athenæum* of July 3, 1880, p. 8. Back numbers of the *Athenæum* are not readily available, and more than one writer has accepted Takakusu's account, without testing it, as an important contribution to the history of Christianity in India. I myself did this in the article Bhakti-mārga, in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 548.

Since then the statement has been called in question, and I have been able to trace it to its source. I now hasten to correct any wrong impression which may have been caused by my trust in Takakusu. He is quite wrong, and has entirely misunderstood Edkins. In the passage referred to, Edkins is not dealing with Śilāditya, but with the Emperor of China.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

November 28, 1912.

KANAMOKSA. A QUERY

The Kāshmirī word *āmpa* means "feeding beak to beak", as a bird feeds its young ones. Kāshmirī Paṇḍits invariably translate it by the Sanskrit word *kaṇamōkṣa*. For instance, the following passage in a well-known folktale in Sir Aurel Stein's collection runs as follows:—*amī chunakh dyut^umot^u āmpa-kani konḍ^u*, she (the bird step-mother) has fed them (her two step-children) beak to

beak with a thorn (instead of food), or, as translated by that excellent scholar, the late Paṇḍit Gōvind Kaul, *anayā cā 'nayaṭh kaṇamōkṣavyatyayēna kaṇṭakō dattō 'sti*.

In another connexion he thus defines the word *āmpa* : *Pakṣiṇāṁ bhuktiḥ, kaṇamōkṣaḥ. Kaṇamōkṣapadasyai 'vā 'rthō 'tra spaṣṭaḥ. Paraṁ-tu kaṇamōkṣapadam aprasiddham ivā 'sti, atō 'trā 'nyaiḥ padair arthaḥ pūritō 'sti. Kaṇamōkṣapadam tu mārkandēyapurāṇe labhyatē*. Here we learn that *kaṇamōkṣa* is a rare word, but that it occurs in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

I have not come across the word in that Purāṇa, though I have searched for it. Nor does the word occur in any dictionary or *kōṣa* on which I can lay my hand. Can any reader of this kindly give me a reference to the passage in which it occurs in the Purāṇa? Does it occur anywhere else?

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

November 28, 1912.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KRSNA CULT

The question of the sources of the Kṛṣṇa cult is one in regard to which it is probably impossible to come to any confident conclusion, but it is a question of great interest to students of religious origins. The long history of this worship in India, the tenacity of its grasp upon the Hindu spirit, the intense devotion that at its highest it has awakened in its votaries—these things arouse curiosity in regard to this deity more perhaps than in regard to any other member of the Hindu pantheon. To determine the original characteristics of the god and of his worship may not go far to explain his influence, but it will perhaps indicate from what soil of thought and feeling some of the deepest roots of human desire and aspiration spring. It will perhaps give some hint of the sources within the Hindu heart of that "bhakti"

or loving devotion which has clung so fondly about this god and which possesses some elements of a pure ethical theism.

It has been recently claimed that Kṛṣṇa belonged originally to the class of what are called "vegetation deities". Investigation of primitive religious beliefs seems to demonstrate that the fact of the renewal of the world in spring, the annual quickening of nature to new life, formed a powerful motive in creating in men a spirit of worship and of grateful reverence. Perhaps the formula of the vegetation cult has been too frequently resorted to, as is always the danger with a new theory, but there can be little doubt that many of the most influential and most emotionally effective cults of ancient times centred around this mystery of life born again from the dead. Such were the worships of Osiris, of Dionysus, of Attis and Adonis, of the Babylonian Ishtar; and there is a body of evidence, unconvincing, perhaps, in detail, but strong in its cumulative effect, which includes Kṛṣṇa within this category.

1. In the first place it is recognized that the vegetation spirit is frequently represented as assuming animal form, so that the god may have been originally an animal or may be closely associated with an animal. It is most commonly with cattle that primitive thought connects the spirit of the fields, and in consequence we find that there were, for example, "Dionysus the Bull" and Isis the cow. By a natural transition the god who is sometimes incarnated in an animal becomes the guardian of the herds. Now, the association of Kṛṣṇa with cattle is one of the most deeply rooted characteristics of the god. The name Govind or Gopendra, chief of cow-herds, is found in the *Mahābhārata*, and probably as early as the *Mahābhāṣya*, which brings it to the second century B.C. or earlier (A. B. Keith in JRAS., January, 1908). In this connexion it may be of some significance that Kṛṣṇa is

said to have on his breast a curl of hair which is named Śrī-vatsa (the calf). It is possible that this points back to a time when the god was himself or was represented by a bull or ox. Similarly it is believed that the epithet commonly translated "ox-eyed", *Βοώπις*, applied by Homer to Hera implies that she was originally a cow-faced goddess.

2. Further, there can be little doubt that Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarām was a deity intimately associated with the harvest and the fruitfulness of the crops. He is a god of harvest revels and drunkenness, one of whose symbols is the plough, even as one of his brother's is the ox-goad. Both to him and to Kṛṣṇa is given the title Dāmōdar, "having a cord about the belly," a name that is explained as referring to the wheat-sheaves, bound with wisps of straw.¹ Balarām is connected especially with the wine of the harvest festival, and it is just possible that his epithets of "Nilāmbar" and "Śitivas", which describe him as "clad in dark blue", as well as Kṛṣṇa's own colour, come from the stain of grape-juice. Bishop Heber was struck, when he saw the festival of Rāma and Sitā, with the likeness that Hanuman and his army with their bodies dyed with indigo bore to Pan and the Satyrs in a Dionysiac revel, smeared with wine juice.² Perhaps both groups of observances have their root in the revels that accompanied the return of spring and the joy of harvest.

3. A third group of considerations that seem to connect Kṛṣṇa with the corn and the harvest relates to the vegetarian sacrifices that so largely displaced in some regions of Indian worship the older sacrifices of blood. Whether this was a reform introduced by the *bhakti* cults cannot be determined, but there are at least

¹ JRAS., October, 1907, p. 962. Cf. the cord of the undoubted vegetation deity, Gula of Babylonia (Farnell's *Greece and Babylon*, p. 246, n.).

² Heber's *Journal*, i, pp. 448, 449.

indications that this may have been the case. It does not seem probable that this change was due to feelings of humanity. The place that the doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-injury has in the Jain and Buddhist systems does not preclude the view that it may in its origin have been associated with such a worship as that of Kṛṣṇa, for it may be accepted as proved that large elements from this worship entered into these faiths at their inception. There is an indication too from the attitude of Yājñavalkya in the *Śatapata Brāhmaṇa* (iii, i, 2, 21) that the orthodox tradition which he represented did not recognize vegetarianism as an absolutely authoritative rule. Again, we find in the *Mahābhārata* (iii, 138), that it is the Ṛṣis, "wholly devoted to Nārāyan," who maintain in opposition to the gods that sacrifices of grain and not goats should be offered. If, then, there is a possibility that bloodless sacrifices (and the doctrine of non-injury which probably followed) originated with the worshippers of Kṛṣṇa, have we any hint as to the direction from which it may have come? If it be the case that this was originally a vegetation cult we may find the origin of the sacrifice of a "barley ewe" in a practice described by M. Reinach. "Harvesters took the last animal that had found shelter among the last sheaves, or *fashioned a simulacrum of such an animal with straw*, killed it, burned it, and scattered the ashes with the idea that the spirit of harvest, thus preserved from the decay of winter, would remain in the fields as a fertilizing force" (*Orpheus*, p. 86). Of this practice there are many instances in all parts of the world, and it is easy to see how from it might develop the view of the superiority of grain sacrifices to sacrifices of blood. Sometimes the offering is a simulacrum of an animal representing the corn-spirit; sometimes it is one of the corn-spirit himself. In connexion with the worship of Kṛṣṇa there is a curious and probably ancient survival among the Ahirs, which is confirmatory

of the view here suggested. "They have a special feast, known as the Govardhana-puja, which takes its name from the holy Mathura hill associated with the cult of Kṛṣṇa, at which they pray to a heap of boiled rice which is supposed to represent the hill . . . In other parts the worship is paid to a mass of cow-dung made to represent a human form, probably that of Kṛṣṇa" (*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, i, p. 232).

4. But perhaps the most conclusive evidence in support of the explanation of the Kṛṣṇa cult as originally that of a vegetation spirit rests upon a passage in the *Mahābhāṣya*. There we are told of a play called the Kāṃsavadha, in which Kṛṣṇa and his followers, whose faces are reddened (*raktamukha*), contend with and slay Kāṃsa, who with his followers has his face coloured black. This, it can hardly be doubted, was a "vegetation masque", a play in which the struggle of the spring with the winter is represented and sympathetically aided. There is a remarkable parallel to this in a Greek legend to which Dr. Farnell traces the origin of the Greek tragic drama. There the contest is between Xanthos (white) and Melanthos (black), and the latter with the aid of Dionysus Melanaigis (of the black goat-skin) kills Xanthos. Evidently this was a winter play, and hence its sorrowful character and its probable connexion with tragic drama. Kṛṣṇa worship, on the other hand, was joyful in its character, as is natural if he was associated rather with the victory of spring over winter than with the triumph of the winter darkness. The one difficulty here is the fact that the representative of the new life of the spring in the Indian play is Kṛṣṇa, the black. Dionysus of the black goat-skin and Melanthos evidently in the Greek version represent rather the winter divinity. (See A. B. Keith in *JRAS.*, April, 1912, pp. 411 ff.; Farnell, *Cults*, v, pp. 230 ff.)

5. We may in this connexion note the close parallel between Dionysus, undoubtedly a vegetation deity, and

Kṛṣṇa. Even in the Xanthos-Melanthos story Dionysus, who by his deceit wins the victory for Melanthos, reminds in this aspect of his character of the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*. We may not be able to go as far as to suggest that the two were originally identical, or that the Thracian deity not only invaded Greece, but also, as the Greek tradition affirmed, India, but at the same time we can see that they resemble each other so closely in many of their characteristics that we cannot doubt that they belong to the same class of cults. It will be remembered that Megasthenes speaks of Dionysus and Herakles as Indian gods. It has hitherto been taken for granted that he applied these names to Śiva and Kṛṣṇa respectively. There is, however, a strong case for reversing the identification. On the face of it, Herakles with his club resembles Śiva more than Kṛṣṇa, while the Greek reporter speaks of "the dread that the Indians conceived" for the god whom he so describes. On the other hand, if Dionysus "taught the Indians to yoke oxen, use the vine, sow corn", that description seems certainly to fit Kṛṣṇa rather than the rival deity.

There are other details in the Greek description which help to make out on the whole a strong case for the identification of Dionysus with Kṛṣṇa rather than with Śiva. Further, if Kṛṣṇa and Dionysus were closely allied in character and origin, this fact will explain the Bacchic strain in Buddhist art and literature, for there is little doubt that Buddhism took over large elements from the popular Kṛṣṇa worship. It will be remembered that "Boudyas" in the Greek account is one of the descendants of Dionysus. It is perhaps also worth noting that the epithet of Kṛṣṇa, Madhusūdana, generally translated "destroyer of the demon Madhu", may not impossibly really describe him as "presser of the intoxicating honey-mead".

There are other considerations that might be urged

strengthening this view of the derivation of the Kṛṣṇa cult. There is, for example, the connexion of the god with the sun, which we find in the *dolayātra*, or swing festival—a connexion which is natural in the case of a vegetation deity. To this connexion may also be due the epithet Hṛṣikeśa, “of the bristling hair,” an epithet appropriate to a god closely associated with the sun and its rays, just as in the case of Samson a solar origin has been claimed for his story on account of his long hair. Further, we note that, as is appropriate for a deity who represents spring victorious over winter, Kṛṣṇa, like other vegetation gods, is said to have made a descent into the nether world. The cumulative effect of all those considerations is overwhelming as evidence at least that large elements of an ancient vegetation cult have gone to the making of the Kṛṣṇa legend and to the moulding of the character of his worship.

N. MACNICOL.

A COPPERPLATE DISCOVERED AT KASIA, AND BUDDHA'S
DEATH-PLACE

A copperplate was discovered by Dr. Vogel in excavating the large stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa temple at Kasiā in 1911, and was seen to bear an inscription, of which the first line was incised, but all the rest appeared, though almost entirely covered with verdigris, to be in ink. It was sent to Dr. Hoernle for examination,¹ and he requested me to undertake the duty.

By careful cleaning the whole of the inscription has been made visible, except where corrosion had destroyed it altogether. The full account of it will be published in the Archæological Survey Report dealing with the excavations at Kasiā, but meanwhile, with Mr. Marshall's approval, a short note about it may be of interest to scholars and historians.

¹ See JRAS., 1912, pp. 123-5.

The characters are a form of the Northern Gupta script and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription consists of the *Nidāna-sūtra* (the *Paṭicca-samuppāda*) followed by a dedication. The plate bears no date, but may, from the coins of Kumāragupta (son and successor of Candragupta II) found with it, be assigned to the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. The donor was a bhikṣu Dharmananda, son of Haribala, who is styled [*vihāra* ?]-*svāmin*, and who is almost certainly the *mahā-vihāra-svāmin* Haribala, donor of the colossal stone statue of Buddha recumbent, discovered at Kasiā in 1875-7, which Dr. Fleet has assigned to about the end of the fifth century A.D.¹

At the end of the dedication occur the words—

. . . *rvāṇa-caitye tānra-paṭṭa iti*.

The first three letters are obliterated, but the third of them must without doubt have been *ni*, and the two preceding can hardly have been anything but *pari*. This copperplate therefore declares that it was deposited in the (Pari)nirvāṇa-caitya, and thus testifies that the stūpa in which it was found was called by that name and that this spot was believed to be the place of Buddha's death in the fifth century A.D. From the bald way in which this statement is added at the end of the inscription it would seem that the belief was firmly established then, so that the plate virtually proves that tradition had declared even earlier than that, that Buddha died at Kasiā and that Kasiā is Kuśinagara.

An interesting fact revealed by this plate is the way in which copperplates were inscribed. The matter was first written out in ink on the plate, and when the ink dried the engraver cut the written letters into the metal. If he were skilled or careful, the incision would be good; if he were inexperienced, he would probably bungle the incision; and if he happened to blur or rub out part of

¹ Fleet's GI., p. 272.

a letter through carelessness, he would make a mistake. Here the engraver was manifestly incapable, for only the first line has been carved and most of the letters in it are bungled. There can be little doubt that, as his work was so unsatisfactory, the incision of the rest was given up and the plate was accepted as it was, written only in ink.

F. E. PARGITER.

THE ANGULA OF SIX YAVAS

In this Journal for 1912, p. 470, Dr. Fleet has asked for any information about the *āṅgula* of six *yavas* and the *yōjana* which was based on it by the author of the Second Ārya-Siddhānta. I cannot say anything about such a *yōjana*. But, in translating the *Rāgavibōdha*, a work on Hindū music, for inclusion in a Journal of Oriental Music published here in Mysore, I found a quotation in it from Śārṅgadēva's *Saṁgītaratnākara*,—another work on music, belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century,—which has led to my collecting the following passages from chapter 6 of the *Saṁgītaratnākara*, as edited in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona, 1897), mentioning various *āṅgulas*, including one of six *yavas*, used in determining the sizes of *Vīṇās* or lutes. An *āṅgula* is a 'finger-breadth': a *yava* or *yavōdara* is a 'barley-corn'.

I.—VERSE 277

तिर्यग्यवोदरैः षड्भिर्निस्तुषैः स्यादिहाङ्गुलम् ।
बृहतीदण्डमानं स्याद्वैर्यं पञ्चाशदङ्गुलम् ॥

II.—VERSE 467

प्राक्चतुर्दशवंशान्तिः षड्गुलं पञ्चयवं जगुः ।
चतुर्दशादिवंशेषु सार्धपञ्चयवं त्विदम् ॥

III.—VERSES 509, 510

माने पञ्चयवे कस्माद्दृश्यतेऽत्र यवोऽधिकः ।
 सप्ताङ्गुलादिवंशेषु कथं चोर्ध्वं चतुर्दशात् ॥
 पूर्वमानाधिकाः सन्ति ते सप्ताष्टनवा यवाः ।
 सार्धपञ्चयवे माने लक्ष्म स्यादव्यवस्थितम् ॥

IV.—VERSES 526, 527

अङ्गुलं निवबन्धासौ सिद्धं गणितशास्त्रतः ।
 न ह्यङ्गुलं पञ्चयवं दृश्यते शास्त्रलोकयोः ॥
 अङ्गुलं निस्तुषैः षड्भिस्तिर्यग्भिः स्याद्यवोदरैः ।
 दक्षिणस्य करस्य स्यात्त्वानिमाने कनिष्ठिका ॥

V.—VERSES 562, 563

शार्ङ्गदेवोऽन्यमानेन वंशरूपं न्यरूपयत् ।
 तिर्यग्यवोदरैः सार्धैश्चतुर्भिर्निस्तुषैरिह ॥
 अङ्गुलं तेन पूर्वोक्तरीत्यारभ्यैकवीरतः ।
 सन्ति द्वाविंशतिर्वंशविशेषास्तेषु चक्षहे ॥

These passages may be translated as follows :—

I.—Here an *angula* is measured by six *yavōdaras* free from husk and placed crosswise : the measure of the stick of the Brihatī [a *Vīṇā*] is fifty *angulas* in length.

II.—Prior to the measure of the bamboo stick of the fourteenth variety (*of Vīṇās*), they say that an *angula* is equal to five *yavas* ; regarding the other varieties from the fourteenth and upwards, they say that an *angula* is equal to five and a half *yavas*.

III.—If five *yavas* be the measure (*of an angula*), then why is there seen an excess of a *yava* here, in the *Vīṇā*-sticks measuring seven *angulas* and upwards? : how can it also hold good (*in the Vīṇā-sticks*) after the fourteenth variety? Exceeding the above measure, there are (*angulas of*) seven, eight, and nine *yavas* : if the measure (*of an angula*) be five and a half *yavas*, then the example [*i.e.* the length of a *Vīṇā*] will be unsettled.

IV.—He [i.e. the author, Śārngadēva] has definitely fixed the measure of an *aṅgula* as settled in the science of arithmetic: no *aṅgula* of five *yavas* is seen either in the Śāstras or in popular use. An *aṅgula* is made by six *yavōdaras* free from husk and placed crosswise: in the measure of the *khāni* [the hollow stick of the *Viṇā*] the little finger of the right hand (*is used*).

V.—Śārngadēva has described the form of a *Viṇā*-stick on another measure: by four and a half *yavōdaras* free from husk and placed crosswise (*is made*) an *aṅgula* here: in accordance with this measure there are, as described before, twenty-two varieties of *Viṇā*-sticks, commencing with the *Ēkavīra* [the name of the first]; about these we are going to speak.

R. SHAMASASTRY.

THE VRATYAS

In a recent contribution to the *Vienna Oriental Journal*¹ Paul Charpentier has endeavoured to establish a new account of the *Vratyas* of the Vedic tradition. He finds in them the founders of the widespread Rudra-Śiva cult, and the spiritual ancestors of the later and modern Śivaites. The *Vratyastomas* of the ritual were performances to mark the admission within the Brahmin circle of such *Vratyas*, whose addiction to the cult of Śiva in his dread forms rendered them an object of suspicion to their more orthodox fellows. Further, the *Vratya* of the *Atharvaveda*, book xv, is no other than Rudra-Śiva himself and simultaneously his earthly counterpart, the Śivaite ascetic.

The theory is attractive and interesting: it remains to consider how far it can claim to be more than a speculation or to have real value. In the first place the argument from the later literature can be disregarded: its point is

¹ xxv, 355-68. Cf. xxiii, 151 seqq.

that Manu¹ derives from a Rājanya Vrātya the Licchavis and Mallas of Buddhist fame; now these families cannot have been derived from the despised mixed castes, but for the fact that they practised an unbrahminic religion, that of Rudra-Śiva, and it is stated that they never appear in the Buddhist texts as practising Brahminical offerings. This suggestion can clearly be of no value for early Vedic times or throw light on the early character of the Vrātya, and it is therefore needless to consider what validity it has for later days.

Secondly, it is argued that in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*² the Vrātyas are described as those left behind when the gods went to the world of heaven. In the *Śatapatha*³ the gods go to the sky and Rudra is left behind. It is deduced that the Vrātyas must be connected with Śiva. The argument is wholly without value, as the passages stand in no conceivable relation, and any theory could be supported if such evidence were allowed to stand good; yet the leader of those left behind in the *Pañcaviṃśa* is expressly given as Dyutāna Māruta, not Śiva at all.

Thirdly, it is argued that the Gṛhapati of the Vrātyas in their offerings is Śiva himself because his apparatus is similar to that of Śiva. The apparatus includes a turban (*tiryannaddha*), a goad (*pratoda*), a particular kind of bow (*jyāhroda*, explained by Kātyāyana⁴ as an *ayoggyam dhanuḥ* and by Lāṭyāyana⁵ as a *dhanuṣka anisū*), a black garment (*kṛṣṇaśam vāsah*), a rough wagon planked over, drawn by a horse and an ass, a silver ornament (*niṣka*), two sheepskins fastened at the sides and *kṛṣṇabalakṣe*. Now Rudra-Śiva has the turban, he carries a bow, and in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁶ is referred to as *kṛṣṇaśavāsī*, and in one passage in the *Rgveda*⁷ he has a *niṣkām yajatām viśvārūpam*, and *yajata* and

¹ x, 22.² xvii, 1. 1.³ i, 7. 3. 1.⁴ *Srauta Sūtra*, xxii, 4, 11.⁵ *Srauta Sūtra*, viii, 6, 8.⁶ v, 14. See Roth, ZDMG. vi, 246.⁷ ii, 33. 11.

rājata "stehen einander jedenfalls sehr nahe". Thus attired Rudra-Śiva is accepted by the offering into the regular circle of the gods, and the followers of the Gr̥hapati also abandon their older faith by the rite, but at the same time represent the uncanny, ghostly comrades of Rudra-Śiva. The whole ceremony is comparable in its dramatic character to the performances at the Soma buying or the Mahāvratā.

But all this is without sure ground. The greater part of the Gr̥hapati's attire and accompaniments has no parallel in Rudra at all: where are the wagon, the sheepskins, the goad? The turban is there, but not *tiryāṇnaddha*, and it is the mode, not the common turban, that matters. The bow is there, but not the *jyāhroḍa*, and it is the bow of a peculiar kind that is the point. Nor will *yajata* transform itself into *rājata* to please us. It is only open to fall back on the *kṛṣṇaśaṇi vāsas*, but be it remembered that black is a common colour regularly associated with the uncanny and dread. There is, in fact, wholly lacking the exact correspondence in detail which is essential for any proof of the identity of the Gr̥hapati and Rudra-Śiva. The obvious explanation of the whole of the outfit is that it is the description of a local form of dress worn by the Vratyas, known to the texts: indeed, Lātyāyana¹ expressly tells us that the *vipatha* is a *prācyaratha*, "a chariot of the easterners," and the rite ends with the bestowal of the apparatus to a *Māgadhadēśiya*² *brahma-bandhu*, an easterner. In the face of this obvious explanation, that of Charpentier is clearly invalid.

Nor does it win any real support from the effort to confirm it by *Atharvaveda*, xv. That this section deals with the Vratya is shown beyond doubt by the references to the turban, the goad, the *vipatha*, and the Māgadha. But I find nothing in it to show that the Vratya is

¹ *Śrauta Sūtra*, viii, 6. 9.

² *Kātyāyana*, xxii, 4. 22; *Lātyāyana*, viii, 6. 28.

Rudra-Śiva. The piece is a late one, in Brāhmaṇa style, and it celebrates in the highest way the Vrātya, but such theological speculations are peculiarly common in the *Atharvaveda*, and render it needless to suppose that behind the Vrātya lies the figure of a great god. Charpentier¹ sees proof of this in xv, 1, 4-8, but all that is there said is that the Vrātya became Mahādeva and Īśāna, while in xv, 5, 1 seq., Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugradeva, Īśāna, Rudra, are his servants, all signs of his cosmic potency, not proofs of his original nature. Nor can any weight be assigned to the conjecture² that the Vrātya is depicted as healing Prajāpati from the wound inflicted on him by Rudra for his incest with his daughter. The facts are all adequately accounted for on Bloomfield's³ hypothesis that the Vrātya is celebrated as Brāhman under Śivaite influence.

But not only is there a complete lack of serious evidence for the theory, it makes no attempt to deal with the fundamental difficulties with which it is confronted. In the first place no explanation is offered of the peculiar nature of the rite in which the god is supposed himself to be received into the order of the orthodox gods. That such a rite is conceivable is no doubt the case, for in religion denials of possibility are hardly ever wise. But there is no trace of any such rite in the Vedic religion, and *a priori* it is not a very probable one. Secondly—and this is still more serious—it assumes that to the Hindus of the Brāhmaṇa period Rudra-Śiva was a strange god, and one outside the usual circle of the pantheon. But nothing can be further from the truth; the Śataru-driya of all the Yajurveda Saṃhitās is clear proof of his full acceptance in all his aspects by those to whom the period owes its religious tendencies, and, as Aufrecht⁴

¹ VOJ. xxv, 374.

² Ibid. 376, n. 2.

³ *Atharvaveda*, p. 94.

⁴ See his *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, pp. vi, vii.

long ago pointed out, it is Rudra-Śiva who is the great god of such texts as the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*. We may, having regard to the R̥gvedic Rudra, believe that the Rudra of the Brāhmaṇas is a god with characteristics borrowed from aboriginal tribes, but we cannot believe that to the composers of the Brāhmaṇas he was a god not wholly received into the circle of the gods. We must not confound the fact that a god is a dreadful god in some aspects with the view that he is a strange god. Thirdly, the theory of Charpentier completely fails to explain the characteristics of the Vratyas as they appear in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*.¹ We are there told that they do not practise *kṛṣi* or trade, i.e. that they are distinct in culture from the Brahminical Indians who practise in the times of the Brāhmaṇas both. Moreover, they have a different code of law, for that is the real meaning of *adāṇḍyaṃ dāṇḍena ghnantaś caranti*,² and they have a different speech, for they call what is easy to say difficult, a point indicating at the least a Prākṛit speech in which conjunct consonants had been softened. They are described as speaking *dīkṣitavācam* though *adīkṣitāḥ*, but this characteristic is not really intelligible. Charpentier³ thinks *dīkṣitavādam* may be meant in sense, and that the sense is that, though Śūdras, they reckon their genealogies, comparing the *dīkṣitavāda* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁴ but this theory is very doubtful, for *vāc* is not *vāda*. But in any case why should worshippers of Rudra-Śiva have been ignorant of agriculture and trading, and have differed in speech from the ordinary Vedic Indians? There is no explanation possible unless we accept the view that Rudra-Śiva was a strange new god of extraneous origin to the Brāhmaṇa period, and this contradicts all the texts. On the other hand, the obvious view that the persons meant are

¹ xvii, 4. 2.² xvii, 4. 9.³ VOJ. xxv, 363.⁴ iii, 2. 1. 40; see Weber, IS. x. 83.

non-Brahminical tribes of a less advanced culture is open to no intelligible objection.

Of minor points three may be noted. Charpentier¹ suggests that the famous crux in the *Rgveda*² as to the sense of *naicāsākha* may receive some light from the obscure *śaikhaka* or *saisuka*, which are among the variants of the names of castes sprung from Vrātyas in Manu,³ but the suggestion is clearly of no help or serious value, nor does *prāmagaṇḍa* really suggest Magadha on any scientific principle. Secondly, Charpentier⁴ repeatedly quotes the views of Dhānamjaya, but, though he has many predecessors in this practice, have we really anyone else but Dhānamjaya? Neither early Indian editions⁵ nor MSS. can be really expected to distinguish *py* and *yy* in Devanāgarī. Nor is it fair to banish paragraphs 15-18 of *Atharvaveda*, xv, as a later addition: they are perfectly reasonable in a glorification of the Vrātya, even if they do not help to bear out the theory that the Vrātya is really Rudra-Śiva.

To the authorities on the Vrātyastomas as used by Charpentier should be added the text of the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, which the energy of Caland has now made available.⁶ It does not, however, add anything which, so far as I can judge, throws additional light on this obscure and curious rite.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

SOME BENGALI VERBS

I should premise that this note is not the result of learning or research. On the contrary, the only justification

¹ VOJ. xxv, 357, n. 5.

iii, 53. 14. See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, 459; ii, 38, 474.

³ x, 21. The text is wholly uncertain, the commentators having different readings.

⁴ VOJ. xxv, 366-8.

⁵ Viz. that of Lāṭyāyana.

⁶ xviii, 24-6; *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 21.

for printing it is the hope that comparative students of language may solve a problem which seems to have escaped notice in Bengali grammars.

In Mr. Beames' little grammar is the statement that "the *causal* is formed by adding *ā* to the root, thus from *kar*, 'do,' causal *karā*". So, in Wenger's grammar, it is written that "the *causal* verb-noun (in *n*) is formed from the simple one by inserting *ā* before the last letter; as *dekhan*, 'see,' *dekhān*, 'cause to see, show'".

No doubt this *ā* is the survival of the Prakrit *e* and the Sanskrit *aya*. But the statements in the grammars seem to imply that this linguistic device is confined to expressing the *causative* sense. It is very commonly used (1) to construct denominative verbs, (2) as an alternative to the simple form to express the ordinary meaning of the verb, (3) to express a middle or passive sense.

(1) The denominative verbs are numerous, though not many of them are commonly used in literature nowadays, when it is a usual device to use a Sanskrit verbal noun with the verb "to do" or "to make". I give a list of some of the commonest or most interesting:—

palān or *palāyan*, to flee, escape (*parā* + *aya* + *an*).

latān, to grow like a *latā*, or creeper.

āmcān, to perform *ācamana*, washing out the mouth.

āgalān, to hinder, from *argala*.

ugān, to form a thought (*ut-jān-aya*?).

kāmaḍān, to bite (of a dog, etc.)— $\sqrt{mṛd}$?

komeān, to pleat, from *komeā*, pleat of *dhōtī*.

ghāḍān, to nod assent, from *ghāḍ*, neck, nape.

cāparān, to slap, from *cāpar*, a slap.

ṭheṅgān, to cudgel, from *ṭheṅgā*, a bludgeon.

ḍhalān, to be lewd, to play the *ḍhālā*.

ḍhīlān, to throw a *ḍhīlā* or clod.

ḍhekan, to give a *ḍhekā* or push.

pohān, to dawn, from *prabhā*.

bhāṇḍān, to deceive, from *bhaṇḍa*, a cheat.

māyān, to practise magic or *māyā*.

veḍān, to walk about (*vihār*?).

yaḍān, to clasp (*yoṭ*?).

hātarāṇ, to feel the way about, from *hāt*, *hasta*.

(2) Verbs which occur in both forms, but with the same meaning:—

daudān or *daudān*, to run (*dhāvan*).

thakan or *thakān*, to cheat.

takan or *takān*, to look, glance.

haran or *hārān*, to lose.

phuran or *phurān*, to be used up, exhausted.

phāḍan or *phāḍān*, to split.

sāmtaran or *sāmtarān*, to swim across.

pālan or *pālān*, to nourish.

kulan or *kulān*, to suffice.

ceṁcan or *ceṁcān*, to shriek, etc.

(3) Verbs which, in the causative form, have a middle or passive sense:—

chaḍan, to sprinkle; *chaḍān*, to be sprinkled, scattered.

śukan, to dry; *śukān*, to become dry.

badlan, to change; *badlān*, to become changed, etc.

It seems to me as if many of these so-called causative forms have a reflexive sense, e.g. *veḍān* = se promener, *pālān* = s'esquiver, etc. It is difficult to give proof of these shades of meaning without quoting the verbs in their context, and I may be wrong. I thought it was just worth while calling attention to the denominative verbs, partly because these are, I think, omitted in grammars, and partly because of the historical interest of their survival from the *aya* form in Sanskrit. If there be, in truth, any reflexive feeling in these verbs, they may be a faint survival of the vanished middle voice.

THE BENGALI PASSIVE

A friend calls my attention to the following quotation from Bopp: "In Sanscrit and Prakrit the passive form is made up by inflection, as Sanscrit क्तिञ्जे, Prakrit करिञ्जे, it is done. The letter च is inserted to make up the passive form in Sanscrit, which is changed to ज in Prakrit, and thus the Sanscrit च is the abbreviated form of या, to go. The full form of या is still used in Bengali to produce the passive verb; as करा यादु = I am made, lit. I go in making. In Sanscrit compound passive forms occur, besides the simple in च as in Latin. The Latin *amatum iri*, to be loved, is literally 'to be gone in love'."

To students of Bengali this is interesting, because it asserts that the proper passive form in that language is *āmi karā yāi*, and not *āmāke karā yāy*. Grammars written in Bengali do not mention the passive at all, probably because there is no specific or exclusive passive form. But in a note to Paṇḍit Nakuleśvar Vidyābhūṣaṇ's little *Vāṅgālā Vyākaraṇ* is a statement which may be roughly translated as follows: "Sometimes the meaning of the root *yā*, 'go,' becomes *hawā*, 'become.' For instance, *eman lok dekhā (dṛṣṭa) yāy (hay)*, 'such a person is seen.' *Australiyāy sonā pāwā yāy*, 'gold is found in Australia.' *Pānc-ṭi ṭākā lawā yāite pāre*, 'five rupees can be taken.'"

The cases cited being all in the third person of the non-honorific form do not very clearly show which of the alternative constructions is intended, but of the first example it may be said that the nominative *lok* and not the objective *lok-ke* is used.

Grammars written for the use of Englishmen are divided. Beames and his original, Syāmā Carāṇ Sirkar, have the form *āmi karā yāi*. Wenger (in G. H. Rouse's edition) and Mr. R. P. De in his *Bengali: Literary and Colloquial*

have the form *āmāke karā yāy*. Neither authority seems to have any doubt, nor mentions an alternative construction. Prima facie one would expect this form of the passive in *yā* (the passive idea can be expressed in other ways in Bengali) to resemble the similar passive in Hindi. Thus, the Hindi phrase *koi strī mārī jātī thī*, "some woman was being beaten," might be rendered into Bengali as *kona strī mārā yātechilen*, though, according to Wenger and De, it should be *kona strī-ke mārā yātechila*. The question, in short, is whether *mārā* is a participle or a verbal noun and the subject of *yātechila*.

It happened that I found in reading the expression *tini yuddhe mārā yān*, "he was killed in battle," where *mārā* is plainly a participle, since the words for "he" and "wont" are in the honorific form and "agree" with one another (I have found other such cases). I ventured to submit this case to Mr. R. P. De, and, in view of the statement in his grammar, begged him to decide between the alternative constructions, (1) *tini yuddhe mārā yān* and (2) *tāmhāke yuddhe mārā gela*. Mr. De thought both forms might be correct, but considered that they would have a slight difference of sense; (1) he thought would have the sense of *tini yuddhe mārā paden*, "he died (not necessarily in fight) on the battle-field," while (2) was the equivalent of *tāmhāke yuddhe māriyā phela haïla*, "he was slain in battle."

Obviously this distinction of meaning would not occur in other cases where the two forms were used alternatively, but Mr. De defended the use of *mārā*, *dharā*, etc., as verbal nouns for an interesting reason. "In the case of the verb *ḍākan*, 'to call,' you cannot say *āmi ḍākā haï*, 'I am called,' but must say *āmāke ḍākā hay*, 'to me a calling happens.'" That is, Mr. De instinctively thinks of a case in which an unmistakable verbal noun is used, and infers that the use of a homomorphous verbal adjective is improper. Perhaps this is the process through

which the construction is going in Bengali. In Hindi there is no chance of confusion between the verbal noun *jānā* and the verbal adjective *jātā*, but in Bengali there is the same homomorphism as in the case of our "beating" and "a beating", and the nominal form seems to be asserting itself at the expense of the adjectival form.

If I have dwelt at some length on a somewhat elementary difficulty, it has been in the hope of showing that a foreigner may sometimes be of use in calling attention to a difficulty which escapes a native from sheer familiarity. It is curious, however, that in grammars for Europeans there should in this case be so complete a difference of opinion. I think this is due to the fact that in by far the greater number of cases (as in the two last examples cited from *Vidyābhūṣaṇ*) it is impossible to say from the form of the phrase which construction is actually used. No doubt some speakers mentally use one, some the other. It is only when one brings forward such a phrase as *eī śakti nā thākile, anek granthakār mārā yāiten* that they are compelled to examine the machinery of familiar turns of expression.

J. D. A.

SOME REMARKS ON CHAU JU-KUA'S CHU FAN CHI

I venture to offer a few observations on the above-named work by way of supplement to Mr. Hopkins' interesting review of it in the last number of this Journal.

Palembang, p. 63, n. 2. It is more than likely that Ling-ya-mōn may be Singapore (not Lingga) Straits; see Journ. Straits Branch RAS., No. 60, pp. 25 seq.

p. 64, n. 4. The Malay term for the garment in question, or a particular mode of wearing it, is *kěmban*.

n. 6. Sap is drawn both from the coconut palm and from the *Arenga saccharifera*, either for drink or for boiling down into a sugar closely resembling the Canadian maple

sugar. In the Malay Peninsula (where the conditions much resemble those of Sumatra) the coconut sugar is made chiefly in the coast villages, the other kind a few miles inland; at least, it was so in Malacca territory twenty years ago. This is *pace* John Crawford, whom, with other old writers, the editors quote, apparently in preference to later and better authorities, more than I like to see (cf. *Encycl. v. Ned-Indië*, iii, pp. 183-4, s.v. *Palmwijn*).

p. 65, n. 12. The title *arung* is used in Celebes and is not Malay at all. What Malay word is transcribed by the very un-Malay-looking *lung-t'sing* I cannot imagine. Possibly these are simply Chinese words intended for a translation of some Indian title beginning with *nāga*, the equivalent of *lung*. *T'sing* is given in Giles as meaning *inter alia* "essence, spirit". But *lung* appears there also in phrases where it merely means "imperial". Cannot the words represent some conventional expression like "His Majesty"?

p. 66, n. 17. It is an anachronism to suggest the title Sultan for a chieftain ruling at Palembang in the tenth century. Islam did not become the established religion there till several hundred years later.

Lěngkasuka, p. 68. If the sailing time between this place and Tan-ma-ling is correctly given in the text, it seems doubtful whether the latter can be Kuantan, as six days would be rather a short time considering the weak monsoon of the Straits of Malacca.

Fo-lo-an, p. 69. The identification of this place with any spot on the Malay Peninsula seems to me very doubtful, especially in view of what is said about its having had a temple covered with bronze tiles. That sounds much more like Indo-Chinese culture than Malay, and I suspect that the place was to the north of Lěngkasuka, not to the south. Might it not have been Phatthālūṅ? The names agree sufficiently. The difficulty

is its alleged tributary relation to Palembang, together with the statement that it was an emporium visited by Arab traders. Apparently it was already subject to Palembang before A.D. 1178 (Ling-wa-tai-ta, reference in n. 1). We know so little about the history of the Peninsula that we cannot say for certain whether it had been colonized by the Malays at this period or even in Chau Ju-kua's time, some fifty years later. It is quite possible that it had. Neither do we know the extreme northern limits of the Malay settlements. They may at one time have extended up to Phatthälung, holding a temporary sway over an older Indo-Chinese population. It appears that in the last quarter of the thirteenth century the Siamese in the course of their southern conquests came into hostile contact with the Malays, presumably in the north of the Peninsula or on the isthmus which connects it with Indo-China, i.e. this very region (cf. BEFEO., iv, p. 242, and Journ. Straits Branch RAS., No. 53, pp. 161-2).

Kien-pi, p. 71. It is probable that this is not Kampar but Pulau Kompai, further to the north, which is called Kampe in the Nāgarakrētāgama (cf. *Encycl. v. Ned-Indië*, iv, p. 384, s.v. *Tochten*). There is also a river Kompeh, which runs into the Jambi River at Muara Kompeh. But this does not seem to fit the position indicated in the text; it is too near Palembang and too far from Lambëri.

Java, p. 80, n. 7. There is no Malay word *rakryan* (here misprinted *rakryan*). It is Old Javanese, which is quite another matter.

Central Java, p. 86, n. 7. Ping-ya-i may represent Banggai, off the east of Celebes (the Nāgarakrētāgama calls it Banggawi); and on the analogy of Tiwu (= Timat = Timor) I suggest that the next three characters, here given as Wu-nu-ku, should be read Mat-nu-ku, which may represent the Malay Maluku

(or Mēluku), i.e. the Moluccas. The Nāgarakrētāgama mentions Malokō after Ambon (i.e. Amboyna).

Malabar, p. 91, n. 16. Gerini is quite wrong in saying that there is no evidence of the existence of the name Kēdah before the end of the fifteenth century. It is mentioned among a number of other places on the Peninsula in the Nāgarakrētāgama, which dates from about the middle of the fourteenth century. Gerini has a somewhat exaggerated prejudice against Kēdah; it is not indeed the hub of the universe, but it happens to be the first point on the peninsula which a navigator would reach if he came from Ceylon and took the route from Point de Galle to Achin Head. And that is the natural and obvious line to take, as soon as mere coasting voyages have been abandoned. I cannot see why Kēdah should not be the Ki-t'ō of Chau Ju-kua.

Orang Laut, p. 151, n. I do not think Ma-lo-nu can be identified with Malayu, but it may perhaps refer to the Mēlanau (or Mēlano) Dayak tribe of Borneo. The Nāgarakrētāgama mentions Malano together with other Bornean names.

Po-sš, p. 152. One is very much tempted to suppose that this stands for Pasè (or Pasai) in North-Eastern Sumatra, but I have no evidence that the place existed as early as 1178.

Borneo, p. 158, n. 5. The native name for the *Arenga saccharifera*, which is here transcribed *kia-mōng*, is the Malay *kabong*; this is, at any rate in Malacca, the commonest name for the species, though there are others (cf. *Encycl. v. Ned-Indië*, i, p. 44, s.v. *Arèn*).

Sweet Benzoin, p. 198. I suggested some years ago (*Journ. Straits Branch RAS.*, No. 30, pp. 306-7) that the first two syllables of the Chinese name for this product merely transcribe the Malay name *kēmēnyan* (or *kēmēnnyan*), with which the Cambojan and Talaing equivalents are also practically identical.

I should like, finally, to add my tribute of admiration for the work of the learned editors of this volume. Their introduction and notes contain a vast amount of interesting and valuable information. But it seems to me that their system of transliterating the proper names, etc., given by their author does not follow at all closely the dialect which he appears to have had in view, and consequently does not always facilitate identification.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SOME SUFI LIVES

The sense assigned by Professor Goldziher to the passage cited by Mr. Amedroz (JRAS., 1912, p. 562, n. 1) is shown to be correct by the discussion in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Kūt al-Kulūb*, ii, 61, Cairo, 1310. We are there told that "*samā*" (i.e. the hearing of songs) is a science only suitable for persons of purity; if anyone hears [mystical songs couched in erotic language] in a turbid state, it will try him and do him harm; owing to insufficient commune with the Divine Being (*nuḡṣān al-mushāhadāt*) if a man hear [such songs] from the side of the music and the tune, it will bring upon him the same as befalls him who looks at the hands in a gift: for the tune is a vessel for the ideas just as the hands are a vessel for the divine provision; the true looker takes his provision from the hand and looks no more [at the giver's hand], and the true hearer takes the ideas from the tune and pays no attention to the music thereof". The doctrine to which the writer alludes is that according to which no gratitude belongs to the giver of charity, since the ascetic ought to look beyond the intermediate to the real giver, God. Where similarly the hearer is sufficiently advanced to be deaf to everything but the indirect appeal of the mystical songs, they will benefit him; but if they affect him either as music or as erotic, they will harm him.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

A SUPPOSED MISSING MS. OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

In the volume of the JRAS. for 1911, p. 219, Mr. Duncan B. Macdonald asks a question about a lost MS. of the *Arabian Nights* which he supposes to have belonged to Sir William Jones. I suggest, in reply, that there is no evidence that Jones ever was the owner of a MS. of the *Arabian Nights*. No such MS. is mentioned in the catalogue of the Jones MSS. made by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1798, and which is published at the end of the thirteenth volume of Jones' works, ed. 1807. William Jones, Esq., had such a MS. "in his possession" when at Oxford, and before he went to India, but this is a different matter from his having been the owner of it. My belief is that Jones simply had the loan, either from Dr. White or from Wortley Montague, of the seven-volume MS. now in the Bodleian. Jones was acquainted with Wortley Montague (Lady Mary's son), and in a letter to Mr. Howard, dated October 4, 1774, and published in vol. i, p. 224, of the edition of his works above mentioned, he thanks Mr. Montague for having kindly sent him a manuscript of the poems of Matanabi; see his note to No. 153 of his catalogue, ed. l.c. xiii, p. 424. Dr. White was a Fellow of Wadham, and must have been at Oxford many years before he became Laudian Professor. He was at one time Bampton Lecturer, and is referred to by Gibbon as Mr. White, the Arabic professor. White's copy of the *Arabian Nights* was, we know, the copy which originally belonged to Wortley Montague, but there is no reason to suppose that he did not get it till the Wortley Montague MSS. were sold. There is a reference to White's copy in an article by Jonathan Scott, vol. i, p. 245, of Sir W. Ouseley's *Oriental Collections*, and in vol. ii. of the same work, pp. 25-35, there is a list, made by Jonathan Scott, of White's seven volumes. Scott also speaks there of a fragmentary MS. of the *Arabian Nights* which he

obtained from James Anderson, see p. 34. At p. 246 of vol. i, Scott quotes a passage from Dr. Russell's *History of Aleppo*, in which it is stated that Mr. Professor White, of Oxford, has got a copy (of the *Arabian Nights*) which formerly belonged to the late Mr. Wortley Montague. Russell's book was first published in 1756, but I do not know if the passage quoted, or any part of it, appears in the first edition.

In conclusion, I would point out that it is highly improbable that Jones, while an impecunious student at Oxford, could have been the owner of an extensive Arabic manuscript.

H. BEVERIDGE.

LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

Communication

1. Le conseil de la fondation a éprouvé une perte douloureuse par le décès de M. J. A. Sillem; au mois de mai 1912 la section des lettres de l'Académie royale d'Amsterdam l'a remplacé par M. le docteur T. J. de Boer, professeur à l'université d'Amsterdam. Le conseil est donc composé maintenant comme suit: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. de Boer, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le conseil a accordé une subvention modérée pour faire illustrer une communication de M. N. Scheltema, imprimée par la section des sciences de l'Académie royale d'Amsterdam, et se rapportant à la détermination astronomique (en 1910/11) de la position de la Mecque ainsi que de la route joignant Djiddah à la Mecque.

3. Le capital de la fondation a été augmenté d'un montant nominal de 2,000 florins hollandais (4,000 francs), provenant de revenus antérieurs, de sorte qu'il se monte actuellement à 21,500 florins (43,000 francs). En outre, au mois de novembre 1912 les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 1,800 florins (3,600 francs).

4. On se permet d'attirer l'attention sur ce qu'il est encore disponible un certain nombre d'exemplaires de la reproduction de la *Ḥamāsah d'al-Buḥturī*. En 1909 la fondation a fait paraître chez l'éditeur Brill à Leyde cette reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde réputé unique. C'est au profit de la fondation que ces exemplaires sont vendus ; le prix en est de 200 francs. Ainsi les acheteurs contribueront à atteindre le but que se propose la fondation : de favoriser l'étude des langues orientales et de leur littérature.

Novembre, 1912.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE SOUTHERN DRAVIDIANS

Scholars who are masters both of Dravidian and of Indo-Aryan literatures are rare, and Dr. Hastings has been fortunate in securing Mr. Frazer's co-operation in writing the article on South Indian Dravidians in the fifth volume of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The article is a summary of the religious history of the southern Dravidians, and its chief interest consists in the very complete, though condensed, account of the Śaiva Siddhānta. The Vaiṣṇavas are also dealt with, but quite properly in less detail, for the tenets of this aspect of Hinduism have had a good deal of literature devoted to them in Europe during the past few years.

That Śiva,¹ the Red God, Rudra, was an old Dravidian deity of southern India incorporated into the North Indian pantheon, is, I believe, doubted by few; on the other hand, most scholars also consider that the germ of the formulated doctrines that now obtain in the Siddhānta reached the Dravidians from the north.² The Vēdānta doctrines of northern India appear to have been well known in the South in the fifth century A.D., and their main features had been incorporated into Śaiva devotional literature by the seventh or eighth centuries,³ the earliest work in which they were formulated being the Tamil *Śiva Jñāna Bōdham* of the early part of the thirteenth century.

¹ As is well known, "Śiva," besides being a Sanskrit word meaning "auspicious", is also a Dravidian word meaning "red".

² Cf. Professor Barnett in JRAS., 1910, 707 ff.

³ In the early centuries of the Christian era it was Śaivism, not Vaiṣṇavism, that supplied the general needs of those who craved for a personal God. See ERE. ii, 548a, and Hopkins, *Religions of India*, 488 ff.

For an account of these doctrines the reader is referred to the article itself. Here I would merely draw attention to the family likeness that exists between the two great forms of South Indian Hinduism. By one who, like the present writer, has devoted his chief attention to the Vaiṣṇavism of the southern Bhāgavatas, it might almost be said of Śiva, *mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*. There is the same inculcation of *bhakti* devoted to a First Cause, who is defined by the same terms, *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*; the same claim that the belief is *advaita*, and yet the same contention that the Cosmos is not an unreal dream product of Māyā. There are similar systems of phases of conditioned spirit connecting the immaterial First Cause with the material universe,—amongst the Bhāgavatas the three *vyūhas*, amongst the Śaivas the five *paratattvas*, Nāda, Vindu, Sadā Śiva, Īśvara, and Rudra.¹ The Śaiva treatment of the blissful trinity, *sat*, *cit*, *ānanda*, closely resembles that which we find in the Bhāgavata Śuddhādvaita system of the Rudra—note the name—Saṃpradāya, and in both systems the same word, *aṇu*, is used for the soul, and the same verb, *tirō-dhā*, for the obscuration of one or more of the members of the trinity from the soul. Nay, even in the sects of each church the same similes are employed, and each has its “kitten” and its “monkey” school, perpetuating the distinction between irresistible and co-operative grace.

While the Western study of southern Vaiṣṇavism is quite modern, that of the Śaiva Siddhānta has been maintained for more than sixty years.² But this study has been fitful, for the number of Tamiḷ scholars has always been small, and, as one went, there was not always another to fill his place. Hence, so far as I am aware,

¹ So the *Tattva-Kaṭṭalai* (JAOS. iv, 13). In the fifth *tattva* knowledge (*jñāna*) predominates (18). Hence Mr. Frazer designates this *tattva* as “pure knowledge”.

² Hoisington's valuable series of articles on the Śaiva *āgamas* commence in the second volume of the JAOS. (1851).

Mr. Frazer's is the first formal account in the English language of this belief as a whole, and is therefore the more welcome. Its perusal has suggested to me a problem that hardly falls within its compass, and yet is closely connected with it. We grant that Śiva was a Dravidian god and that he originally belonged to the south of India. But there is another Śiva, the dread God of northern India, the son-in-law both of Dakṣa¹ and of the Himālaya, the husband both of Sati and of Umā Haimāvati (*Kēna Upaniṣad*, iii, 12), the tribal god of the Khasās of Gōrakṣa, who expelled Buddhism from the Valley of Nēpāl, and the god whose great prophet in northern India was Gōrakṣanātha. At the present time these two gods, the Śiva of the Himālaya and he of Draviḍa, are, and have been for many centuries, worshipped as one and the same person, and the problem is "when and under what circumstances did these two deities become combined". The Dravidians do not appear ever to have reached the Himālaya. If language is any test, the earliest inhabitants of that tract of whom we have any trace seem to have been Muṇḍās, who were conquered from the north-west by Khasās and from the north by Tibeto-Burmans. The language of the Khasās was an old form of the Piśāca languages of the North-West Frontier, and all Indian tradition shows the Himalayan Śiva, with his Piśāca hordes, as having his real home far beyond the Hindū Kush. In the article already referred to and elsewhere, Professor Barnett has shown how closely connected is the worship of Śiva in Kashmīr (a "Piśāca" country) with the southern Śaiva Siddhānta. Was the northern deity originally named "Śiva", or was he simply the Mahādēva,

¹ Can the fact of the close etymological connexion between "Dakṣa" and *dakṣina*, "the South," have any bearing on the point? Dakṣa, whose daughter was Śiva's first wife and also the first "suttee", was destroyed and revived by him. The second father-in-law was the Himālaya, while the second wife's name was Umā, a word of which the Aryan etymology is at least doubtful.

the Great God, to whom was subsequently applied the southern appellation, or had each the same word for his name, although in one case that word was Aryan and in the other Dravidian? That the later ideas regarding Śiva-Durgā are the result of syncretism most people agree, but that is not the point in question. Above these—apart from the history of Kālī and her bloody rites—there loom through the mists of antiquity the two giant forms of the North and of the South. When and how did they become one? That is a question which no one is more competent to examine than Mr. Frazer, and I venture to express the hope that some day, when he has time, he will devote himself to its solution.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

December 10, 1912.

KALIDASA'S MEGHADUTA, edited from manuscripts with the Commentary of Vallabhadeva and provided with a complete Sanskrit-English Vocabulary. By E. HULTZSCH. Royal Asiatic Society, Prize Publications Fund, Vol. III.

With the publication of this work Professor Hultzsch has made a new and important departure in classical Sanskrit research. Though several commentaries on Vedic texts have been critically edited in Europe, this is the first on any classical Kāvya that has been dealt with according to Western critical standards. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the fact that it supplies the earliest known scholium on Kālidāsa's masterpiece, giving us the text of the *Meghadūta* as current in Kaśmīr about 900 A.D., five or six centuries before the time of Mallinātha,¹ whose commentary has hitherto dominated the text and interpretation of this famous poem. The evidence of

¹ On Mallinātha's date see Keith, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Appendix (Oxford, 1909), p. 23.

Vallabhadeva's recension will undoubtedly contribute towards bringing the critically constituted text of the *Meghadūta* considerably nearer to the form in which it left the hands of the poet himself. It is a strange phenomenon that a Kāvya which is perhaps more widely read than any other should, though a century has elapsed since the appearance of H. H. Wilson's *editio princeps* in 1813, till now have remained subject to uncertainty in three respects—the genuineness of several of its stanzas, the original order of the genuine stanzas, and the authenticity of a large number of its readings.

Vallabhadeva's text of the *Meghadūta* contains only 111 stanzas,¹ or ten fewer than Mallinātha's. The remarkable critical acumen of Gildemeister is well illustrated by the fact that, in spite of the scanty manuscript material at his disposal, he more than seventy years ago rejected in his edition of the text,² nearly all the interpolated stanzas of Mallinātha, retaining only two stanzas not to be found in Vallabhadeva's text. The only other critical edition of the text of the *Meghadūta* that has since appeared is Stenzler's.³ That very sound scholar, having more critical material at his disposal, rejected the two spurious stanzas retained by Gildemeister. But, curiously enough, he reinstated one⁴ which Gildemeister had already excluded and which there can be no doubt is an interpolation.⁵ I think we can already assert with confidence that no stanza which does not appear in Vallabhadeva's text is genuine. We have thus come much nearer to certainty regarding the original compass of the poem. The next step will be to ascertain, with the help of the evidence that is now available or may become available, whether the authenticity

¹ The Nepal MS. mentioned below contains 110 stanzas.

² Bonn, 1840, with critical notes and a Sanskrit-Latin vocabulary.

³ Breslau, 1874, with critical notes and a Sanskrit-German vocabulary.

⁴ Stanza 110 in his edition, beginning *āsvāsyaiivam*.

⁵ See p. 64 of Professor Hultzsch's edition. It is omitted in the Nepal MS. of the *Meghadūta*.

of any of the stanzas included in Vallabhadeva's text can be disproved. Two or three at most may ultimately have to be rejected. Doubt has already been cast by Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara¹ on 62 and 70, and on the latter by the *Vidyullatā*² also. Professor Hultzsch's edition contains a useful appendix giving nineteen spurious stanzas with various readings and notes indicating in what editions they occur.

There is also a synoptical table (pp. xv-xix) showing the correspondence in order between the stanzas according to Vallabhadeva and nine other recensions of the *Meghadūta*. This will doubtless prove very useful in investigating the question of the original sequence of the stanzas of the poem. In the meantime I may here point out that two stanzas (85 and 86) which are separated by others in all the other recensions but one, not only appear together in Vallabhadeva, but are treated by him as an interdependent couplet.

As regards divergences of reading, I have found on comparing the text of Vallabhadeva with those of Mallinātha and Stenzler, that twenty-five stanzas show no variation, twenty-seven differ in one syllable only, and seventeen in two syllables. Not many go much beyond this; in only four (54, 60, 61, 62³) do the discrepancies extend to the equivalent of between one line and one line and a half. I find further that Stenzler, though he was unacquainted with Vallabhadeva's recension, in a large number of cases agrees with the readings of

¹ In his edition of the *Meghadūta*, Calcutta, 1869.

² A commentary composed in Cochin State, probably three centuries ago, and edited by Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar, Srirangam, 1909; see Professor Hultzsch's notes, pp. 34, 38.

³ This stanza, in which the differences amount to twenty-four syllables, is one of those considered an interpolation by Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara. It may be noted that the third line, in which the variations are greatest, in Vallabhadeva's text reads *dhunvan vātaiḥ sajalapṛṣṭaiḥ kalpavṛkṣāṃ-śukāni*. The reading of the Nepal MS. is identical with this except that it has *svajala-* for *sajala-*.

Vallabhadeva as opposed to Mallinātha. At the same time, it is pretty clear that Vallabhadeva's readings are often not the original ones. In fact, both his text and Stenzler's are still a considerable way from Kālidāsa's original.

Between Stenzler's time and the appearance of the present edition much important critical material (briefly described by Professor Hultzsche in his preface and utilized in his footnotes) has become available. The most important is that contained in the *Pārśvābhyudaya*, a Jain poem,¹ which in the form of a biography of the Arhat Pārśvanātha includes the whole text of the *Meghadūta*. In this poem, composed in accordance with the process called *samasyāpūraṇa*, the author borrows absolutely unaltered from the *Meghadūta* one or two lines for each stanza, which he completes with words of his own. Its early date alone (before 783 A.D.) would give this work great importance for the textual criticism of the *Meghadūta*. One curious fact proved by it is that many of the spurious verses are very old. For, though it is more than a century anterior to Vallabhadeva's text, it already contains nine of these spurious stanzas,² five of which Mallinātha himself five or six centuries later designated as interpolated (*prakṣipta*). Another valuable aid to the criticism of the *Meghadūta* made accessible in recent years is the Tibetan translation of the poem, which has been edited and rendered into German by Dr. Beckh.³ This version contains six of the spurious stanzas.⁴

With the help of all the new evidence now available the text of the *Meghadūta* as constituted by Stenzler can undoubtedly be much improved. Professor Hultzsche's

¹ Edited by Pathak, Poona, 1894.

² The Nepal MS. also has nine spurious stanzas.

³ Berlin, 1907.

⁴ Cf. Professor Hultzsche's synoptical table.

critical notes alone are in many cases sufficient to establish the original reading. Such are, among many others I have noted, the following :—*bhāyayes* (61),¹ not *bhāyayes*; *āyusmān brūyād* (98),² not the vocative *āyusman* with *brūyād*, the reading of Mallinātha, who is obliged to add the note *bhavān iti śeṣaḥ*! In many cases the variation in form is so slight that the unaided evidence of the MSS. is not sufficient: it may have to be supplemented by considerations of palæography, grammar, poetics, or the usage of Kālidāsa himself. Thus in 80 Vallabhadeva and Jinasena both read *jānīyās*,³ while Mallinātha and Stenzler have *jānīthās*. Here the agreement of the oldest evidence favours the former reading; but the fact that Kālidāsa uses the verb *jñā* in the Ātmanepada with the same sense ("recognize") and under similar conditions in another stanza of the *Meghadūta* (63) has to be taken into consideration; and the rule of Pāṇini (i. 3, 76) that the verb *jñā* when uncompounded takes the Ātmanepada, if the action results in an advantage to the agent, seems applicable in the present case. In 67 the moonstones are described as "caused to drip by the pure moonbeams", *viśadai⁴ ścotitāś candrapādaiḥ*. Here Stenzler and one of the Vallabhadeva MSS. read *viśadaiś coditāḥ candrapādaiḥ*, an easier reading (though *coditāḥ*, "impelled," is much less appropriate) arising from a misunderstanding of the Sandhi. In 58, when the poet is describing the dazzling whiteness of Kailāsa

¹ This is also the reading of the fourteenth century Nepal MS.

² The commentary expressly says that the form in the text is the nominative, not the vocative, and that *brūyād* is used because the third person is required (*āyusmān iti vacane kartṛpadam na tv āmantraṇam; brūyād iti prathamapurūṣaprayogāt*).

³ This is also the reading of the Nepal MS.

⁴ Visarga being dropped before a sibilant followed by a mute, according to the optional rule stated in the Vārttika on Pāṇini, viii. 3, 36. This dropping is required by the Prātisākhya in Vedic texts. It is applied throughout by Aufrecht in his edition of the Rigveda; cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 78, 2.

towering up to the sky, there occur the three readings *pratidiṣam*,¹ "towards all the quarters" (Stenzler and two Vallabhadeva MSS.),² *pratiniṣam*, "every night", (Vallabhadeva),³ and *pratidinam*,⁴ "every day." Here the manuscript evidence is pretty equally divided; but the first reading seems to account best for the other two, unless special palæographical considerations can be adduced to the contrary. As between Vallabhadeva's *pratiniṣam* and *pratidinam* the former seems preferable, because the suggested contrast between the white mountain and the dark background of the night sky is more appropriate.⁵

It is to be hoped that some old MSS. of the *Meghadūta* going back to a time anterior to Mallinātha may turn up, so as to furnish textual evidence unaffected by his influence. One such MS., dating from 1364 A.D., which contains the text only, from the Library of the Mahārāja of Nepal, is at present at Oxford for the purpose of being photographed at the Clarendon Press.⁶

Professor Hultzsch's edition is based on one Devanāgarī and three Śaradā MSS. A fifth MS. of Vallabhadeva's commentary is in the British Museum, but Professor Hultzsch was unable to come to London in order to collate this one MS.⁷

¹ Cf. the alternative readings *pratidiṣam* and *pratidinam* in Thomas' edition of the *Kaṇḍavacaśasamuccayaḥ*, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1911), p. 157, on stanza 503.

² Supported by the Nepal MS.

³ Paraphrased by *anukṣapam*.

⁴ Jinasena and Mallinātha.

⁵ Cf. the somewhat similar contrast between the dark cloud and the brilliant rainbow in stanza 15.

⁶ This MS. has the reading *pratidiṣam* in the above passage.

⁷ It is most unfortunate that the British Museum is one of the few libraries that still continue the policy of not lending MSS. and thus obstructing the progress of scholarship. MSS. are on quite a different footing from books, especially Oriental MSS., the students of which are few. The coincidence of a resident in London being inconvenienced by not finding an Oriental MS. lent for a short time to a public library elsewhere would scarcely ever occur. Oriental scholars are generally poor men who practically never receive any remuneration for editing

His text of the *Meghadūta*, of course, corresponds in all its readings to the commentary.¹ Besides stating the various readings of his MSS. for the text, to which he adds those of Jinasena, Mallinātha, and Stenzler, he of course gives the various readings for the commentary also. He has traced all Vallabhadeva's quotations, supplying the exact references in each case. He also occasionally furnishes valuable explanatory or illustrative notes.

Vallabhadeva anonymously quotes the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Kumārasambhava*, the *Raghuvamśa*, Manu, and Bhartṛhari; mentioning also Māgha by name.² He also refers vaguely in two passages (on stanzas 2 and 25) by the term *kecit* to predecessors, whom he criticizes. It is to be noted that, unlike Mallinātha, he never quotes authorities on lexicography, poetics, metre, and omens. But he is fond of quoting grammatical rules, often referring to Pāṇini, of whose system he evidently had an exact knowledge, as is shown both by his comments on the text, and incidentally by his own practice. Thus he points out (on 15) that according to Pāṇini, viii. 3, 45, the correct form is *dhanuṣkhaṇḍam*. On this point Mallinātha is silent, and apparently all the editions read *dhanuṣkhaṇḍam*. Sometimes Vallabhadeva adversely

texts. That they should have to incur the expense of a long journey as well for the purpose of collating a single MS. is to add a positive hardship. The result is that many a MS., the collation of which might have valuable results, is never consulted at all.

¹ In one stanza (103) he has corrected the reading of the text, *nīśi* in three MSS. and *mayā* in one, to *sati*, the comment of Vallabhadeva being *he sati guṇavati*. The critical principle that the text supplied must represent the commentator's recension does not seem to be recognized in India. At any rate, an Indian scholar, who in a pamphlet published a few years ago was held up as a model of critical achievement, has in the very first line of the first stanza of the *Meghadūta* a different reading from that which Mallinātha explains in the commentary; a reading too which is not in agreement with Pāṇini, ii. 1, 39. What is the unfortunate student to do when confronted with such contradictions?

² He says nothing about the Buddhist teacher Dinnāga, to whom Mallinātha sees an allusion in stanza 14.

criticizes the grammatical forms used by Kālidāsa. Thus in his comments on 76 he remarks that the use of the participle *śīṅjat* ("tinkling") is due to carelessness, because *śīṅj* is an Ātmanepada verb. Again, the form *vāsavīnām* ("belonging to Vāsava or Indra") is, he says, hard to justify on account of Pāṇini, iv. 2, 114.¹ He, himself, in paraphrasing *mā* with the injunctive aorist is scrupulous in employing the imperfect injunctive with *mā sma* only according to Pāṇini, iii. 3, 176, as *mā sma bodhayaḥ*, *mā sma bhavat* on stanza 94. He never uses pure imperative forms with *mā*, unlike Mallinātha, who has *māstu*, *mā gaccha*.

He sometimes mentions other readings, which he criticizes. Thus, on stanza 72 he pronounces the reading *gṛhād* for *gṛhān* as governed by *uttareṇa*, "northwards of," to be inferior (*pañcamyantaḥ pāthas tv anāryaḥ*). In stanza 2 he has the reading *praśumadivase*, "on the last day," which Mallinātha so elaborately refutes. But he was acquainted with the reading *prathamadivase*, "on the first day" of the month Āṣāḍha, for he remarks: "Some people, confused by the similarity in writing of the letter *ś* and the letter *th*, read *prathama* and manage to arrive at the same sense, saying that the first day is mentioned because the rainy season is in question." "But this," he adds, "is extremely inconsistent." In another passage (25), however, he merely states that some read *apraudha* instead of *praudha*, adding their reason, but without criticizing it.

Sometimes he also criticizes the diction of Kālidāsa himself. Thus, on 25 he says that the use of the word *viśrāma* is due to carelessness (*pramādaja*), though why it is so he does not explain. In another passage (47) he points out that certain adjectives qualifying *karūḥala* should really qualify *netra*. Once (99) he even proposes an emendation, *pratanu* for *tanu ca*, on the ground

¹ According to this rule the adjective should be *vāsaviya*.

that *ca* here has no sense. This emendation has been adopted in the text of Mallinātha, of Stenzler, and of the Nepal MS.

Vallabhadeva's explanation of several words differs from that of Mallinātha. Thus *vali* (35) is according to him a "fold of the skin", while Mallinātha makes it the "handle" of the chowrie. The word *caitya* occurring in a Bahuvrīhi compound (23) is alternatively interpreted as a neuter meaning a "Buddhist temple" (*buddhālaya*), or a masculine meaning a "forest tree famous for its great girth", while Mallinātha paraphrases it with "road-side tree" (*rathyāvṛkṣa*). The sense attributed by Vallabhadeva to some words is very strange. Thus *cātaka*, the well-known rainbird, and *sāraṅga*, "spotted deer," are both explained by *mayūra*, "peacock," and *nīla*, "dark-blue," is twice stated to mean *harita*, "green" !

Several words occurring in the text are explained by others which are much more obscure, as *apanayana* by *utpamsana* (26), *phena* by *diṇḍīra* (50), *pravalana* by *sphiraṇa* (16), *saṃgīta* twice (56, 64) by *guṇanikā*, *kṣobha* by *utphalana* (92), *vṛti* by *varṇikā kanthī* (75). Professor Hultzsch has given a complete Sanskrit-English vocabulary of all the words in the text of the *Meghadūta* at the end of his edition. It would have been well had he explained, either there or in the footnotes, at least all the obscure words that occur in the commentary also, for they will prove a stumbling-block to beginners and probably to a good many others also.

Vallabhadeva's chief aim is evidently to elucidate the meaning of Kālidāsa on all points. He accordingly does not crowd his commentary with learned quotations to the detriment of interpretation. His style being simple, direct, and concise, makes the sense of the text as a rule clearer than does Mallinātha, whose commentary is about twice as long, being overloaded with quotations, and much more

difficult for the beginner to understand with its involved style and discussions.

The edition seems to be singularly free from misprints. Though I have carefully read through both text and commentary, I have discovered only two very slight inaccuracies (in addition to the three corrected in the errata): *kīḍārtham* for *krīḍ-* (p. 3), and *śikhādāma* for *śikhā dāma* (p. 45). The top of the letter *o* has, in the process of printing, been broken off in *lola* and *kṣobha* (p. 17), *°vopapādyah* (p. 18), and *ghoṣam* (p. 35).

The unusual spelling *asru* (pp. 3, 46, 103) and *śārikā* (p. 44) is, I suppose, that of Kaśmīr, as is *dugūla* (63) for *dukūla*.

Besides the present commentary Vallabhadeva also wrote others on the *Raghuvamśa*, the *Kumārasambhava*,¹ on Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, on Mayūra's *Sāryaśataka*, and on Ratnākara's *Vakroktipañcāsikā*.² Professor Hultsch has evidently studied that on the *Śiśupālavadha* with great care, for in his preface (pp. x, xi) he gives a list of the references to numerous works and authors found by him in the commentary on the first fifteen *sargas* of the poem.³ If he could see his way to editing that commentary also in the manner in which he has dealt with that on the *Meghadūta*, he would confer a great benefit on Sanskrit scholars.

From what I have said it is probably clear that Professor Hultsch's edition is not only an important work of research, but also has considerable educational value. It is, in my opinion, the best book yet published for introducing beginners to the study of native Indian commentaries on Sanskrit Kāvya.

A. A. MACDONELL.

¹ I may here draw attention to the fact that in the Stein Collection of Sanskrit MSS. from Kaśmīr there are copies of Vallabhadeva's commentaries on the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*; see JRAS. for 1912, pp. 596, 598.

² Edited in the *Kāvyamālā*.

³ See also the supplementary list in the JRAS. for 1912, p. 735.

THREE PLAYS OF BHASA IN THE TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES

The October number of the *Journal* (pp. 1109-10) contained a note on the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series down to vol. xiv. Since then I have received five more volumes, all published in the year 1912. The last two of these are of minor importance, xviii being a somewhat extensive *stotra* of the nature of a *kāvya* by Nārāyaṇa, a poet who lived in the latter half of the sixteenth century, while xix, entitled *Mānameyodaya*, is an easy introduction to the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system of philosophy, partly by the same Nārāyaṇa, partly by a later author. But the preceding three volumes (xv-xvii) deserve the close attention of Sanskrit scholars. These also have been edited by my indefatigable friend Gaṇapati Śāstrī, whose acquaintance I made five years ago at Trivandrum, and who as head librarian there showed me over the Palace Library, which contains a well-arranged and well-cared-for collection of over 2,000 Sanskrit MSS. Here we have three plays, entitled *Svapna-nāṭaka*, *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*, and *Pañca-rātra*, the importance of which lies in the fact that they appear to be three of the long-lost works of the once famous poet Bhāsa.

When touring in search of Sanskrit MSS. in South Travancore Gaṇapati Śāstrī discovered a codex between three and four centuries old written on palm-leaves in Malayālam characters and containing ten complete plays all hitherto unknown. All these dramas have certain structural characteristics in common. Without a *nāṇḍī* or invocatory stanza, they begin with the words *nāṇḍyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhārāḥ*. The *prastāvanā* or introductory dialogue is here called *sthāpanā*. In this prologue (unlike that of Kālidāsa and other dramatists) the name of neither author nor work is mentioned. Every one of these plays ends with the same prayer, followed by the

title (e.g. *svapna-nāṭakam avasitam*). Another feature of these dramas is that they have several passages in common, as pointed out by the editor in his introduction (p. xix). They therefore all appear to be the work of the same author. Of the most important and longest of the three now published, the *Svapna-nāṭaka*, which consists of six acts, the Paṇḍit succeeded in obtaining two other copies, the various readings of which are given at the end of the volume. In one of these MSS. the title appears as *Svapna-vāsavadattā*, which is identical with the title of a work mentioned by two commentators of the tenth and the twelfth century, and attributed by Rājasekhara (c. 900 A.D.) in his *Sāktimuktāvalī* to the poet Bhāsa.¹ Vāmana, moreover, in his *Kāvya-lanṭkāra-sūtra-ṛitti* (iv. 2) quotes a *śloka* occurring in the present edition of the *Svapna-nāṭaka*. (It is, however, to be noted that in the *Dhvanyāloka-locana* of Abhinavagupta a line is quoted as occurring in the *Svapna-vāsavadattā* which is not to be found in the Trivandrum text.) On the strength of the foregoing evidence Gaṇapati Śāstrī identifies all these ten hitherto unknown plays as the works of Bhāsa. The poet Bhāsa himself is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*² as "far-famed" (*prathita-yaśas*) and alluded to as ancient (*purāṇa*); and Bāṇa, in a *śloka* of his *Harṣacarita*,³ speaks of Bhāsa as having "gained splendour by his plays (*nāṭakaiḥ*) with introductions spoken by the stage manager" (*sūtradhāra-kṛtārambhaiḥ*).⁴ Bhāsa is also mentioned by name in a verse occurring in two

¹ See vol. xv, Introduction, p. xxi; cf. Thomas, *Kaṇḍavacana-samuccayaḥ*, Bibliotheca Indica, 1911, p. 87.

² Shankar Pandit's edition, 1889, p. 3; cf. note, p. 164; see also Weber, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 205, n. 213.

³ See Cowell & Thomas' translation, p. 3, *śloka* 15.

⁴ Gaṇapati Śāstrī understands this to mean "plays directly begun by the stage manager" (i.e. without a *nāndī*) as a characterization of Bhāsa's plays.

anthologies.¹ There are at least ten stanzas which in various anthologies² are attributed to Bhāsa. One of these in the *Kavīndravacana-samuccayaḥ*³ is ascribed to Lakṣmīdhara, but in two other anthologies is attributed to Bhāsa.

From the fact that neither author nor work is named in the *sthāpanā* Gaṇapati Śāstri argues that these plays must have been written before the practice of mentioning them there came into use. He moreover infers from a passage of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*, and from the fact that Bhāmaha mentions a number of poets unknown to us but says not a word about Kālidāsa, that that author could not have known Kālidāsa. He also endeavours to show that Bhāmaha, who virtually quotes a passage from the *Pratijñā-nāṭikā*⁴ of Bhāsa, cannot have known the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, and must therefore have been prior to the latter and have lived in the first century B.C. He thus concludes that Bhāsa, whom Bhāmaha quotes, cannot be placed later than the third or second century B.C. Finally, he points out that a stanza found in the *Pratijñā-yaugundharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, whom he considers to have been the borrower. If this view were correct Bhāsa would even go back to the fourth century B.C., at any rate on the assumption that Professor Jacobi, in his recent critical examination of the authenticity of the *Arthaśāstra*,⁵ is right in concluding that suspicion of the genuineness of Kauṭilya's work is unjustified and that its genuineness is supported by a number of internal reasons.

¹ Thomas, op. cit., Introduction, p. 91.

² Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, 1286, 1353, 1619, 1628, 1821, 1994; *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, 3292, 3330; *Harīhārāvalī*, Peterson, Report ii, p. 58; JRAS., 1891, pp. 331-2.

³ 163 in Thomas' edition, p. 50; cf. Peterson, JRAS., 1891, p. 332.

⁴ The abridged title for *Pratijñā-yaugundharāyaṇa* (vol. xvi).

⁵ In *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxxviii, pp. 832-49, 1912.

But the validity of several of the arguments in this chronological chain of reasoning is doubtful. We do not in the meantime seem justified in admitting that these works of Bhāsa, if authentic, are earlier than about the second century A.D.

Gaṇapati Śāstrī is enthusiastic on the high literary merits of these plays, comparing several passages with similar ones in Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti (pp. xxxvii f.).

It is noteworthy that one of this group of plays, the *Cārudatta-nāṭaka*, and Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭikā* contain very similar and to some extent verbally identical prose passages as well as some *ślokas* in common, and that Cārudatta is the central character in both dramas. One of these two plays must therefore be based on the other. Gaṇapati Śāstrī argues that the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, which is much the longer, must be the later of the two because the author is not mentioned in the *Cārudatta-nāṭaka*. Supposing this view to be correct, we should arrive at the highly interesting conclusion that Bhāsa was the author of the original form of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*. It may here be added that the famous *śloka* beginning *limpatīva tamo 'ṅgāni*, which is found in many anthologies and works on poetics,¹ occurs both in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*² and the *Cārudatta-nāṭaka*, as well as one of the other unpublished plays assumed to be by Bhāsa.³

It may prove to be a point of some critical importance that the well-known line *yatne kṛte yadi na sidhyati ko 'tra doṣaḥ* occurs as the first line of a stanza in the *Dātāghaṭotkaca*, one of these plays, while it is elsewhere the fourth of an otherwise different and often quoted stanza beginning *udyoginam puruṣasimham*, which appears in the introduction of the *Hitopadeśa*⁴ and elsewhere.⁵

¹ See Thomas, op. cit., p. 105, and cf. Pischel, Introduction to Rudrata's *Śṛṅgārakāṇḍikā*, pp. 16 sqq.

² Ed. Stenzler, p. 14.

³ Gaṇapati Śāstrī's Introduction to vol. xv, p. xxiii.

⁴ *Śloka* 22.

⁵ See Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, I, 255.

If the authenticity of these plays can be established by carefully following up all external clues and critically examining all the internal evidence, the recovery of the long-lost works of a once celebrated poet, together with the ascertainment of his approximate date, will prove an event of the highest interest to the Sanskrit world and of far-reaching importance for the literary history of India.

A. A. MACDONELL.

THE DAŚARŪPA, A TREATISE ON HINDU DRAMATURGY
BY DHANAMJAYA. Now first translated from the
Sanskrit with the text and an introduction and
notes by GEORGE C. O. HAAS. Columbia University
Indo-Iranian Series, vol. vii. 8vo. New York, 1912.

In the rich scholastic literature of India, Rhetoric or Ars Poetica, *Alaṃkāra*, holds a prominent place; and despite the pedantry into which its professors—and especially its later professors—often lapsed, a knowledge of it is indispensable to the student of Sanskrit literature, for it is a development of the scholastic tradition which shaped the classical masterpieces. The idea of “wood-notes wild” is foreign to India; every Hindu poet wears with more or less ease, according to his genius, the chains of panditship. But because it is so profoundly tinged with the immemorial spirit of Indian scholasticism, *Alaṃkāra* is a study that is beset with difficulties; and we cannot withhold our tribute of admiration from Mr. Haas, who with the characteristic intrepidity of the American nation has approached the *Daśa-rūpa*.

The present edition contains an introduction dealing with the author, his literary method, life, and times, *Dhanika* and his commentary on the *Daśa-rūpa*, and an account of the present and previous editions, after which comes the text in Roman type with translation, an abstract of *Dhanika*'s commentary (unfortunately very meagre),

and notes, followed by indexes. The notes are likely to be very useful, as they give many references to Indian and European works which will greatly aid the student. Probably the least satisfactory part of the work is the translation, which is often so free as to border on inaccuracy. Thus, in i, 2 he renders *bhāvakāḥ* by "senses" and "sensibilities", in flat defiance of Dhanika, who rightly explains it as "worshippers" and "men of taste". In i, 6 *vyutputti* is not "knowledge" but "education". In i, 19b he renders "that which contains an incident connected with him [is called] *ādhikārika*"; it would be more correct to translate it "a continuous course of action brought to a successful issue by him is *ādhikārika*". *Kārya* (i, 24) is not "dénouement", nor is *apāya* (i, 32) "risk". In i, 47 *adbhutāvēśa* is not "intentness upon something marvelous", but rather "the being seized by a sense of miracle". He renders *narma* by "joke" in pp. 16-17, and by "pleasantry" on p. 68, but with curious inconsistency makes it "affection" on p. 69. His uncertainty becomes more marked when he enters the arcana of *Alaṃkāra*, the theory of *Rasa* and *Bhāva* in book iv. He misses the whole point in translating iv, 1, "Sentiment results when a Permanent State produces a pleasurable sensation," etc.; the idea is that a permanent condition (*sthāyī bhāvō*) itself becomes *Rasa*, "taste," when it is raised into consciousness by the *vibhāvas*, etc., so that the percipient becomes aware of its existence in himself. And why translate *sāttvika* by "involuntary" when it obviously means "expressive of sincere feeling"? Again, he renders iv, 2a, "A Determinant(*vibhāva*) is that which causes the development of the States by its being recognized"; but the meaning is that a *Vibhāva* causes a "State" of which the percipient was previously unconscious to become an object of his consciousness. To take another instance, he renders iv, 5, *sukhaduḥkhādikair bhāvair bhāvas tadbhāvabhāvanam*, by "a State (*bhāva*), [which is brought about] by emotional

states such as pleasure and pain, is the realization of such states"; which effectually obscures Dhanamjaya's meaning, viz., that a Bhāva is the process in which by means of conditions such as pleasure and pain (represented by an actor, etc.) the percipient's soul is inspired with the sentiment of those conditions. Lastly, we note that in the concluding stanza he renders *vidvanmanorāganībandhahetuḥ* as "the cause of [the preparation of] literary productions of interest to the discerning"; it means simply "a cause of the production of delight to the mind of the learned". Altogether we venture to think that, while the courage of Mr. Haas in entering the domain of the pandit is to be admired, the success of his incursion would have been greater if he had provided himself with more of the pandit's technical knowledge.

L. D. BARNETT.

BRUCHSTÜCKE BUDDHISTISCHER DRAMEN, herausgegeben von HEINRICH LÜDERS. (Königlich Preussische Turfan - Expeditionen; Kleinere Sanskrit - Texte, Heft i.) 4to. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1911.

The modest title of this book notwithstanding, Professor Lüders has given us a work of high importance. The palm-leaf fragments which he has fitted together and transcribed with infinite patience and edited with scholarly elaboration form part of the treasures found by Dr. von Le Coq in a temple at Ming-öi, and come from a manuscript brought thither from India. There are about 144 of these precious morsels of literature, and together they make up a considerable portion of two Sanskrit-Prakrit plays, which are *the oldest specimens of the Indian drama* that have survived. Their age is attested by the character of the writing, which is identical with that of the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and Kushans. Now a colophon of one of these plays

from another MS. has been discovered by Professor Lüders and edited by him in the *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* for 1911 (pts. xvii-xix, pp. 388 ff.), from which we learn that the title of this drama is *Śāradvatī-putra-prakarana* and the author no less a personage than the famous *Aśva-ghōsha*, for whose date we may accordingly fix as lowest possible limit the first century A.D. If we adopt the chronology of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Kennedy for the Northern Kshatrapas and Kushans, we may assign the period of *Aśva-ghōsha* to c. 50 B.C., and this fact strikingly confirms the Buddhist traditions which connect him with Kanishka.

To return to the dramas, we find that the first is an allegorical play, similar in several respects to *Kṛishṇa Mīśra's* well-known *Prabōdha-chandrōdaya*, with *Buddhi*, *Dhṛiti*, and *Kīrti*, as well as the *Buddha*, appearing as characters to inculcate the moral lessons of Buddhism. The second play, likewise Buddhist in its teaching, is more human and interesting in its method. The hero is apparently a monk, and the *Buddha*, *Śāriputra*, *Maudgalyāyana*, and *Kaundinya* appear as characters, besides several less exalted personages. In the language also there are some interesting features. While the higher characters speak Sanskrit (not always quite correctly), the language of the lower personages is Prakrit. This is also the rule of the classical drama. But here we find two remarkable points of difference. The stage directions are in the language used by the character to whom they refer, i.e. either in Sanskrit or in Prakrit. And the Prakrit belongs to three dialects, *Māgadhi*, *Ardha-māgadhi*, and *Śauraseni*, all of them in stages earlier than those which are stereotyped in the works of the classical dramatists and the theoreticians who laid down the canons of dramaturgy on the basis of the latter.

These observations will suffice to indicate the capital importance of these fragments as regards both the history

of Indian literature and the development of classical technique. Professor Lüders deserves congratulations on the good fortune which brought them to him and the scholarly skill with which he has treated them.

L. D. BARNETT.

ETHISCHE PROBLEME AUS DEM "MAHĀBHĀRATA". By
OTTO STRAUSS. Florence, 1912.

Dr. Strauss, who co-operated with Professor Deussen in the valuable translation of *Vier philosophische Texte des Mahābhārata*, in his new work, which forms an extract from vol. xxv of the Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society, has collected the main ethical doctrines of the great epic. Recognizing the difficulties attending either a philosophic arrangement of topics or a mere summary of texts, he has tried to select some leading topics and to illustrate them fully by giving the important passages in some detail with all their inconsistencies. Undoubtedly he is right in adopting this plan of action, and his work, carefully carried out and based on elaborate studies of the great epic, affords a valuable summary of the ethics of the epic which supplements excellently the important work already done by Hopkins in *The Great Epic of India* and elsewhere.¹

The *Mahābhārata* is essentially in ethics a reflex of various influences and the repository of much popular philosophy and of philosophic doctrines remodelled to meet popular feeling. There is on the one hand the strict doctrine of Karman; the act produces its result automatically, and in one version death is immediately followed by rebirth in the shape of entrance into the Yoni. But the strict doctrine is subject to innumerable modifications; the older idea of rewards in heaven for

¹ e.g. JRAS. 1906, pp. 587 seqq.

goodness and punishment in hell for evil survives;¹ a reward is possible in this life and not merely after death in a new life; again, the action of Karman may be changed by the active intervention of a personal god, and he himself may merely act himself through Karman; or, again, he may stand beyond Karman, and he may be moved by good deeds to confer his favour on his worshipper, or he may be accessible by Bhakti, an idea which through all Indian religion is ever a potential presence, as the history of the Bhāgavatas and of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa shows us. The strict doctrine of Karman leads unquestionably to pessimism on the one side, and on the other it develops as ethical characteristics the indifference and passivity of the sage. From the two sides there also is derived a gentleness of disposition, the Ahimsā or Mārdava or Ānṛśamsya of the texts, which is also furthered by the tradition of the Ātman doctrine of the unity of all existence and the ideal of the householder. But this tendency of character is like the friendliness of Buddhism, as Oldenberg² has shown, essentially in ultimate essence selfish, in that it is done for the sake of one's own self, much as some Catholic teachers of ethics hold that e.g. towards animals the Christian has no duties, but has duties to himself as regards animals. On the other hand, as opposed to this state of Nivṛtti, the spirit of Pravṛtti lays stress on the positive side of the Karman doctrine, on the benefits of good actions, and supports a more active and positive morality. In the *Gītā* the two are found blended in the form of duty without hope of gain, where the power of Nivṛtti has not indeed banished Pravṛtti but has fundamentally modified its ethical content.

These are a few of the complex trains of ideas which

¹ How far this view is really independent at any time of the other it is impossible to say. Both can coexist, and that in any one passage the one is independent cannot be proved, or effectively denied.

² *Aus dem alten Indien*, pp. 1 seqq. (a criticism of Pischel's view of *mettā*).

the epic presents, and which Dr. Strauss patiently and clearly expounds. Of real philosophic merit there is little or nothing; of human interest there is much. It is not unsatisfactory to find that attempts were made,¹ feebly and illogically no doubt, to see a moral ground for the caste differences which are an essential feature of epic life, and the different strands of belief in the *Gītā* are happily discriminated by Dr. Strauss in a way that deserves consideration even after Garbe's² and Hopkins'³ work on the subject. But detailed examination of that question—on which no absolute result is possible—would carry us too far, and it must be sufficient to note some minor points of interest.

It seems to me very doubtful if Dr. Strauss is right (p. 205, n. 2) in rejecting in xii, 202. 18, the version of Hopkins⁴ of *kāyam adṛśyam anyad viśate śarīram*, "enters another unseen body," in favour of an adverbial sense of *adṛśyam*. Without denying the possibility of this rendering, it must be admitted that in view of the place of *adṛśyam* the sense "unseen" as applicable to body is too obvious to be passed over. On the other hand (p. 195), he seems wisely to follow Hopkins⁵ in seeing in xii, 190–2 rather an Epic Upaniṣad than a Dharma Sūtra, as is Deussen's⁶ view. In iii, 32. 16 the author (p. 231, n. 1) seems somewhat surprised at the use of *haṭha* rather in the sense of "Zufall" than as usual of *daiva*. But the seeming difference of use is hardly real; the passage runs—

*akasmād iha yāḥ kaścid artham prāpnoti pūruṣaḥ
taṁ haṭheneti manyante sa hi yatno na kasyacid.*

The sense *daiva* is perfectly good here also; the contrast

¹ See pp. 326–35. It is of interest to compare these efforts with the Aristotelian doctrine of slavery as only justifiable on the ground of the moral superiority of the master.

² In his translation (Leipzig, 1905).

³ Especially in JRAS. 1905, pp. 384–9.

⁴ *Great Epic of India*, p. 174.

⁵ Ibid. p. 266.

⁶ *Allg. Gesch. d. Phil.* i, 3. 90.

is not between conscious striving (*yatna*) and accident, but between conscious striving and the overpowering strength of fate.

Although in the main Dr. Strauss seems content to regard the *Gītā* as a real synthesis of different strands of opinion rather than as a mere working over of a basis (e.g. theistic) by a new faith (e.g. pantheistic), as is Garbe's view, he seems led (p. 312, n. 1) to approve Schrader's¹ theory of a pre-Viṣṇuitic *Mahābhārata* by the contradiction of ii, 37, where, in a work whose end is duty without reward, Kṛṣṇa is assured of heaven if he falls, earth if he conquers. Schrader holds that Garbe's theory is to be supplemented by yet an earlier stage (ending at ii, 38 of the present text or a little later) of a non-theistic, non-pantheistic *Bhagavadgītā*, based on the Ātman doctrine of the Upaniṣads in a pluralistic sense, a sort of Nirīśvara Sāṃkhya, but neither he nor Dr. Strauss adduces any real evidence for this view. Neither the inconsequence of ii, 37 nor the attack on the Vedas in ii, 46 (if the passage is so interpreted with Pavolini against the majority of renderings) can support so serious a theory.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

RGVEDA, VII-X. TEXTKRITISCHE UND EXEGETISCHE NOTEN. By HERMANN OLDENBERG. Berlin, 1911.

The continuation of Professor Oldenberg's work on the *Rgveda* exhibits all those high qualities which were noted

¹ ZDMG. lxiv, 336-40.

² Schrader (ZDMG. lxiv, 333-5) has sought to show that Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iii, 2. 13, and iv, 4. 2-6, does not teach metempsychosis. The attempt is a failure; it contradicts the Mādhyandina text, which is perfectly clear, and it causes the author to adopt a series of alternative and improbable explanations of the words *anyeṣāṃ vā bhūtānām*, which naturally include men, and to deny that *sādhur bhavati* can mean "he is born again as good", though he admits it can mean "he reappears (in the world) in favourable circumstances".

in our review (JRAS. 1910, pp. 224 seqq.) of his notes on books i-vi. The editor has had no reason to alter the fundamental principles on which his work is based, and the few changes which he has introduced, such as the writing of *tanúvā* for *tanūā*, are unquestionably improvements. It is only, therefore, necessary to note a few of the many important points in which he adds to our knowledge of the *Samhitā*.

Professor Oldenberg refuses to find in the *Rgveda* the doctrine of metempsychosis, whether in its direct expression or presupposed in the view of the pre-existence of the soul. He rejects Geldner's¹ theory of the pre-existence of Vasiṣṭha's soul in vii, 33. 9, and his² reading of Samsāra into x, 14. 2, and he agrees with me³ in rejecting Boyer⁴ and Windisch's⁵ discovery of it in x, 14. 14. The conclusion thus rendered inevitable is that metempsychosis is not Rgvedic, a fact which sets a very wide gulf between the early and the later Vedic world.

In x, 55. 3, the editor suggests that we find the earliest mention of the Nakṣatras as twenty-seven, making up the thirty-four lights with the sun, the moon, the five planets, and this view of Ludwig's is also accepted by Griffith in his translation. But is it possible to rear any structure involving the decision in the affirmative as to the existence of both the Nakṣatras and the planets on so slender a basis as a modern conjecture (Sāyana has it not) as to the meaning of a vague phrase giving the number thirty-four, a number which is very possibly merely suggested by thirty-five in the preceding line, and so is purely artificial? Oldenberg⁶ elsewhere has expressed the view that twenty-seven is the early Indian number, but he relies on the citation of passages by Weber,⁷ and Weber

¹ *Vedische Studien*, ii, 142.

² *Ibid.* 288, 289. Cf. my note, ZDMG. lxiii, 347.

³ JRAS. 1910, p. 215.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, 1901, ii, 464.

⁶ GGA. 1909, p. 551.

⁵ *Buddha's Geburt*, p. 58.

⁷ *Nakṣatra*, ii, 278 seqq.

could not in 1861 use the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*. That text (ii, 13. 20) has twenty-eight, including the suspect Abhijit and the deity Brahman as personal, and its evidence must be set against the silence of the *Taittirīya* and the *Kāthaka* lists, so that the question of the number cannot be lightly disposed of. It is true that Brahman, who makes thus his first appearance for certain¹ in the Vedic texts, is not primitive, but this fact is in harmony with the view that the series of the Nakṣatras is a post-Rgvedic introduction from some foreign source. The idea that the Nakṣatras are again referred to in x, 138. 5 is very far from convincing. Again, the Rgvedic evidence for the planets is surely very weak. Ludwig, indeed, has already seduced Professor Oldenberg into seeing a reference to them in i, 105. 16, though elsewhere² he emphasizes the doubtful character of the Vedic evidence for knowledge of the planets. Whitney³ was of opinion that no hint of the existence of planets can be found in the *Rgveda*, and the further alleged cases since adduced by scholars rest on the most unsatisfactory foundations.⁴

Unfortunately Charpentier's article⁵ on viii, 100, appeared too late to be criticized. In that article Charpentier seeks to solve the hymn by the aid of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (iii, 2. 4. 1-6) instead of by the aid of iv, 1. 3. 1 seqq., as does Oldenberg. I regret that Charpentier's version satisfies me as little as did⁶ Oldenberg's, and it seems to me that this is one of those cases where the riddle of the hymn can never be solved by the instruments at our command. Charpentier,

¹ He is probably found in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 2. 17. 1 (not an early Mantra) and certainly in the late chapter (ii, 9. 1) of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*. But not in *Rgveda*, x, 141. 3, which Weber (*Über den Vājaapeya*, p. 37, n. 9) regards as possible; the *ca* practically forbids this.

² GGA. 1909, p. 568.

³ JAOS. xvi, p. lxxxviii.

⁴ See Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, i, 241-3.

⁵ VOJ. xxv, 290-310.

⁶ See JRAS. 1911, pp. 992 seqq.

indeed, by inversion of vv. 6 and 12, and by supplying a new set of dramatis personæ, including the bird-form of Viṣṇu, makes a sort of sense out of the hymn, but Oldenberg accomplished the same in a totally different way, and, as both use the same method, the legitimate conclusion is that the method is fundamentally imperfect. Charpentier,¹ however, rightly rejects the Ākhyāna theory on the ground of its needlessness to explain the facts.

On the question of the Tr̥tsus, Oldenberg has a brief appendix² in which he controverts Geldner's theory of the name as that of the royal family of the Bharatas, and not of the priestly Vasiṣṭhas.³ The facts are admittedly hard to decide, for in vii, 83 the name appears to mean the priests, in 18 and 33 a people. It is impossible to assert positively that either Geldner or Oldenberg is right; in favour of Geldner's view, however, must be set the phrase, vii, 33. 6, *Tr̥tsūnām viśah*, which naturally means "subjects of the Tr̥tsus" rather than "people connected with the Tr̥tsus", and perhaps more distinctly the words in vii, 33. 14, *ā vo gachāti Pratrdo Vasiṣṭhah*, where it is hardly possible to doubt Sāyana's view that the Pratr̥ds are the Tr̥tsus. When Oldenberg says that more than Sāyana's authority is needed for this purpose, has he overlooked Geldner's legitimate argument from the name Pratardana Daivodāsi? That the priests should in vii, 83. 8 be called Tr̥tsus is surely not at all impossible, when they are conceived as securing the victory of the head of the royal house which they served. In later times the reverse process would be more likely, but the *Rgveda* is, as Oldenberg himself has often shown, not on the same level as the later texts. Nor am I sure that he is right in refusing to accept Hopkins'⁴ view that Viśvāmitra is aimed at in vii, 18, and in denying the reality of the conflict of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra for

¹ VOJ. xxv, 308-10.

² pp. 16-18.

³ *Vedische Studien*, ii, 136 seqq.

⁴ JAOS. xv, 259 seqq.

the *Rgveda*. Certainty indeed is impossible, but the hypothesis is clearly the natural inference from all the texts, and Geldner's hint that vii, 103. 10*d* is a reference to iii, 53. 7*d* is attractive, though Oldenberg rejects it also. On the other hand, Oldenberg seems to me right in rejecting the ingenious theory of Bloomfield¹ of the existence of a people or place Ambara (viii, 8. 16; i, 47. 7).

These instances must suffice to show the extraordinary variety of interest in this great commentary, and I shall conclude with a reference to the appendices on *tura* (p. 25), on the relation of Uṣas and Sūryā (p. 53), and on the apparent cases of contraction over *m* (pp. 69, 79), all models of convincing argument.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

BUDDHISM: A STUDY OF THE BUDDHIST NORM. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge.

Buddhist studies might be called a large province fifty years ago; and the frontiers have been carried outwards by a series of annexations. For some of the latest of these we have to thank the archæological services of the European Governments presiding over India, Further India, and Indo-China, and the collective work of Indianists and Sinologues on Central Asian documents. In the meantime knowledge of the literature of China, Japan, and Tibet advances year by year. Therefore, if a work pledged to be both small and instructive would bear the name *Buddhism* without reproach, only one aspect of this vast subject can be chosen by the writer, and the reader must be warned that he is reading of only one.

Mrs. Rhys Davids—whose appearance in the Home University Library is most welcome—makes her choice

¹ JAOS. xxxi, 52 seq.

as those who have studied her other valuable works would expect. She selects for treatment the philosophical and moral aspect of the old-school Buddhism of the Pali Sutta- and Abhidhamma-piṭakas. She illustrates her explanation of these with a telling choice of passages from the older texts. Other sources are drawn upon to illustrate some later phases, to show how the Theravāda doctrine was handled, after the fixing of the canon, in a free, picturesque, and captivating exposition, in the *Milinda-pañha*, and, later still, developed in more scholastic style by the learned Buddhaghōṣa. Mrs. Rhys Davids does not fail to make it clear that some differences of period are to be taken into consideration in following the authorities on which her study of Theravāda Buddhism is based. By this precaution she will save the inexperienced reader of translations from some pitfalls.

Buddhaghōṣa is her strong ally. Buddhaghōṣa tempts some of us to endless idle reading of his charming romances and long digressions on life religious and secular. But the writer of *Buddhism*, studying his earliest commentary (*Atthasālini*), found that the great commentator was a notable psychologist. The Abhidhamma text *Dhammasaṅganī* afforded him no opportunity for anecdote, but much for analysis of human feeling and mental processes, and he proved that the study of the latest piṭaka could be fruitful. According to Buddhaghōṣa (says Mrs. Rhys Davids) the Abhidhamma was "calculated to check those excesses in thought away from the Norm which were shown by the Buddha to lead to loss of mental balance, craziness, insanity" (p. 39). The end was certainly good; the means chosen by some of the early Abhidhammikas to attain that end are rather distressing to the novice. But when Buddhaghōṣa takes the texts in hand we feel ourselves on safer ground. Besides, the history of Buddhism in Burma shows how firmly the Theravāda Buddhists of that country, even

more than those of Ceylon, attached themselves to the Abhidhamma; therefore a complete knowledge of this ancient school of Buddhism supposes a careful study of the third great section of its canon. Mrs. Rhys Davids has not shirked the task of bringing it within our reach. Her "Buddhist Psychology" editions of canonical Abhidhamma texts and the twelfth century Abhidhammattha-sangaha (translated in collaboration with Mr. S. Z. Aung) are in themselves an important chapter of modern Buddhist studies.

Arising partly from these special researches the present work shapes itself naturally around certain main points, of which one is thus stated (p. 64): "For Buddhist thought, from the start, psychological insight is an integral part of philosophical, nay, of religious insight. It started not with the external universe and its first or final cause, but with the heart of man, sentient and desiring. 'In this fathom-long, conscious, *beminded* body, I declare the world to be and the uprising of the world and the ceasing of the world and the course leading to that cessation.' Training in mental analysis was considered essential both as ethical discipline and as clearing the way for sound philosophy."

Few subjects would appear, at first sight, less easy to adapt for uninitiated readers. But Mrs. Rhys Davids has had the courage to take Theravāda thought as first-hand research has shown it to her. She judges rightly that to adapt even the unexpected and difficult too much would be to falsify the character of the old system. The first chapter introduces the Pali tradition to the reader in a (necessarily brief) explanation of its difference from the other Buddhist traditions, and a sketch of the earlier fortunes of Buddhism. Incidentally the author seems to deplore the religious achievements of Aśoka: "no creed needed so much as Buddhism to be left severely alone by political patronage." What would the author of

the old Mahāvamsa say to this? He thought kings very useful sometimes. No doubt there were theras, the most conservative of the ancients, who looked unfavourably on Aśoka's managing zeal. But it is not sure that we should have a Pali canon to study in our day if the secular arm had withheld its aid altogether.

However, this is only a small point. The principal theme of the book is the Norm (the Dhamma), and its great interest lies in the writer's most able discussion of that subject. As far as limited space allows she outlines the beliefs or speculations prevailing at the time of the rise of Buddhism, and partly revealed to us by discussions occurring in the Piṭakas and their commentaries. Naturally it was impossible to enlighten readers much on the Upanishads or on the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga systems within the limits fixed, but some essential points are dwelt upon. Some stress is laid on the character of Buddhism in contrast to contemporary systems. We see it first as a reaction against the "overwrought metaphysical speculation of the age", especially the Brahmanic doctrine of the Absolute (known to us in the Upanishads). Secondly, the theory of causation, a vital doctrine in Buddhism, was "a protest against a certain variety of scepticism current at the time". Probably, as Mrs. Rhys Davids observes, this scepticism was a "more extreme recoil" than Buddhism itself from Absolutist beliefs. The Nihilists of the Buddha's time are said to have refused to recognize "any human energy or power that is effective". Another school taught "that there was no fruit or result of good or evil deeds", and so forth. The saying of the Buddha given here as his gospel, his central doctrine or Dhamma, in answer to a Jain and against the speculations then rife, is a short passage of the Majjhima Nikāya (Sutta 79): "I will teach you the Dhamma: 'that being present, this becomes; from the arising of that, this arises. That being absent, this does

not become ; from the cessation of that, this ceases ” (p. 89). From this point Mrs. Rhys Davids grapples with the question of the “chain or wheel of the twelve bases”, giving the explanations of the commentators for each of the twelve links, and in discussing the wheel she defends the position which she holds to be more truly Buddhist than the tendency to give “the fact of Ill” the chief place in the doctrine. In her own words (p. 92): “The prominence given in the doctrine to this fact of Ill or the ills of life, and the accounting for those ills in the foregoing formula by a string of natural causes, have proved for students of the doctrine the supreme, nay, the only interesting features in it. The emphasis on the general method or point of view as illustrated by this stock genealogy of Ill is relatively passed over.

“Now a comparative study of the many contexts of the formula, in the Pitakas, may show that the general principle involved, namely, natural causation, was at least as important as the classic illustration and application of the principle.”

This argument is very attractive and has (like all views advanced here and elsewhere by the same writer) a good base of texts to stand upon. It is well said too (p. 97): “*The fact* of suffering does not come as a revelation to the Buddha, thinking hard beneath his Bodhi-tree, nor the fairly obvious causes of it. That fact drove him restless from home, station, and ease. It was the process of the natural, necessary, universal law by which all things, bodily and mental, *happened* or became nascent, static, and expiring.” This is, no doubt, too often overlooked, and one of the greatest claims of Buddhist thought is worthily defended by the writer in many other passages. Nevertheless there exist in the old Pali texts, and in this very story of the enlightenment and the first preaching of the Dhamma, some other elements that were destined to pass into the Buddhism of all the Buddhist world and to hold

the dominant place while the schools separated one from another in wide doctrinal differences. There is therefore some justification for the more obvious and usual view, i.e. that the recognition of universal sorrow and the way to end it, first and last of the "Four truths", are the chief points in the teaching of an all-knowing and compassionate Buddha. And these have been, in fact, of supreme interest to believing Buddhists since the days of the discourse in the Deerpark. Still, even readers but little versed in the subject are hardly likely to take the Dhamma to be the whole of Buddhism, and if any should it will not be Mrs. Rhys Davids' fault. Her theme is clearly marked out in the closing words of the introduction: "My aim here is not to controvert, but only to expound a few salient philosophical standpoints which, whether they be derived or original, are involved in the ethical views and methods advocated in the Pali canon."

The discussion is continued in chapters iv and v on the Norm as law of causation and the Norm as moral law. The three principal chapters are developed from a passage in Buddhaghosa explaining the four meanings of the word *dhamma*. That passage is quoted by Mrs. Rhys Davids (p. 49) as containing "the whole of Theravāda Buddhist philosophy in a nutshell". Incidentally some of the modern notions on Buddhism prevailing in the outside world are met and corrected. These chapters, the fruit of long study and pondering on the Pali texts, might well be expanded into a larger book.

Buddhism is literally packed with thought and learning, but this very abundance leads sometimes, in the earlier chapters, to a terseness which comes near obscurity. It may be impossible to give many pages to preliminary matter in so short an account of a particular philosophy, but more repetitions and a little more amplification would have made some paragraphs much clearer. Still, the needs

of the general reader have certainly been present to the writer's mind as a rule and many difficult Buddhist terms are discussed with full allowance for their difficulty. Instances are: *attā*, *karma*, *jhāna*, *dukkha*, *nibbāna*. There is also frequent comparison of Buddhist with Western philosophy and psychology and explanation of certain Buddhist ideas which can be most easily misinterpreted, half-translated by Western equivalents in speech or confused with the thoughts underlying the language of Christianity.

Buddhism could not, and evidently its author did not intend that it should, be only a statement of the intellectual standpoint given in the Pali Sutta and Abhidhamma. A plain and even statement entirely on those lines would have made the little volume a useful textbook, perhaps lacking in colour and persuasiveness. But Mrs. Rhys Davids has added to her explanation of the Theravāda philosophy a description and eloquent praise of the early Buddhist ideal. This side of the matter is important to the reader wishing not only to understand the ideal of the past but the force of some currents of modern feeling and belief. The chapter on the Buddhist ideal leads to the "quest" where the writer returns to a subject on which she was heard some little time ago. Profoundly in sympathy with the early Buddhists, living for years, so to speak, with the Sisters in the Theri-gāthā, the writer of *Buddhism* has traced in their utterances—and still more in those of the Brethren—much beside weariness of the world and the still joy of meditation. She tells us, and was the first to tell us, of their love of nature. She gleans with care the few small earthly flowers that the compilers of the ancient book of stanzas left as they went their way, meditating on impermanence. These blossoms have the more charm in contrast with the miraculous and celestial decoration of some scenes in the Tipitaka, prose and verse. The quotations here

are aptly chosen as illustration and very gracefully rendered.

A word or two more must end these few notes, which, having no pretension to be "criticism", may, however, serve as a reference to some points in the book and as an occasion to express hearty admiration. To conclude, one observation: the bibliography given at the end might, and should, have been more comprehensive. In this connexion it would be a good thing, or rather it is a duty, to say something about the possible new recruits that such a book may bring to Buddhist scholarship. Those of us who are pledged to the service of the Pali language have the most reason to pray that Pali and Sanskrit studies may prosper in a close alliance. A separation must always be doubly unfortunate for Pali. In order that Pali may keep its deserved place in Indian philology, intending students must know the great importance of Sanskrit for Palists, and Sanskritists should support and encourage the study of Pali language and literature. The study of both together should not languish here where the means of following it are abundant.

The new generation of Pali students has much to be thankful for—most of the Tipiṭaka ready to its hand in the Pali Text Society's editions and enough of the later works to illustrate the development of the language; besides, an array of Sanskrit texts irreproachably edited; next, plenty of inscriptions; lastly, plenty of translations. Good students will work the better if much is demanded of them, and it is to be hoped that some will set themselves with a hearty goodwill to Pali and Sanskrit both, that some may be equipped beforehand with classical scholarship like Mrs. Rhys Davids and some, if not all, prove to be gifted with her admirable energy and patience. Our debt to her is increased now, but before the publication of the present work she had given liberal help, as many besides

Palists know, to pilgrims in an unfamiliar world of thought. Meanwhile, as a scholar, she has literally never ceased from toil in the cause of Pali and Buddhist philosophy.

M. H. BODE.

THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY. Vol. I, Parts I and II; Vol. II, Part I. Rangoon, 1911, 1912.

In general, I venture to think, the appearance in the field of Oriental research of a new periodical is rather a doubtful blessing. We already have more than we can find time to keep in touch with, even though the *Orientalische Bibliographie* helps us to feel our way amongst them. But in the present case I am convinced that everyone interested in Indo-China and the Far East, at any rate, will give a hearty welcome to a new publication which was sorely needed. Burma is by far the least explored of the Indian provinces, by far the most complex from the point of view of ethnology and linguistics, and it yields to none in wealth of interest or variety of subjects suitable for research. For years this province has been literally waiting for the formation of a society to stimulate inquiry into matters of local interest. It was no particular credit to the resident community that it had to wait so long. The little colony to the southward with which I formerly had the honour to be connected has had such a society for more than thirty years past, and its records testify to the good work it has done. It was high time for Burma to follow (and if possible improve on) such a worthy lead.

The Burma Research Society has now been in existence for more than two years, and has issued three numbers of its Journal. I understand that a list of the principal contents of these numbers will appear on another page of this Journal, and I therefore confine myself to a brief

mention of a few articles that have struck me as being particularly interesting or important. Mr. J. S. Furnivall's paper on Matriarchal Vestiges in Burma seems to me very suggestive but somewhat inconclusive; the subject has need to be further investigated, but the facts he brings forward are of great interest, whether we regard them as proving his thesis or not. A rather gruesome account by Mr. G. E. R. Grant Brown of Human Sacrifices near the Upper Chindwin illustrates the wide range from barbarism to civilization which is so eminently a characteristic of the province of Burma. The Rev. C. B. Antisdell contributes some valuable linguistic notes on Lahoo, Ahka, and Wa. Lahoo and Karen traditions also have papers devoted to them, and the most recent number contains an English version of a Lahoo poem on the Hunt for the Beeswax which is truly remarkable, both for its primitive structure and its descriptive power and touches of imagination. I can only express my regret that the translator, Mr. Ba Te, has not seen fit to supply us with the original text as well. I trust this omission will be made good later on. We need texts of little-known languages and can hardly have too many of them.

In part ii of vol. i Mr. Taw Sein Ko has a somewhat controversial article on Chinese Antiquities at Pagan: while fully prepared to believe in the reality of Chinese influence on Burma at certain periods of her history, I for one am not ready to accept all the conclusions which Mr. Taw Sein Ko draws from the ascertained facts until the case has been made much clearer. There is a very curious and interesting article in part i of vol. ii entitled Hypnotism in Burma, though it deals with a considerable variety of "occult" and more or less unexplained phenomena. This is by Maung Shwe Zan Aung, and in this connexion I may perhaps be permitted to remark that it is one of the most satisfactory features of the new society and its journal that natives of the

province are taking a large share in both, and are thus exhibiting in this new field of work the cordiality so happily prevalent in the relations of Europeans and Asiatics in Burma.

There are many other articles of interest besides those that I have referred to, and the short notes and reviews of publications contain much that is valuable. The new journal owes a great deal to its Honorary Editor, Professor C. Duroiselle. I can only express the hope that this auspicious beginning will be followed by permanent success. There seems to be no reason why it should not.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

RENWARD BRANDSTETTERS MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR INDONESISCHEN SPRACHFORSCHUNG. IX. DAS VERBUM DARGESTELLT AUF GRUND EINER ANALYSE DER BESTEN TEXTE IN VIERUNDZWANZIG INDONESISCHEN SPRACHEN. Luzern : Buchhandlung Haag, 1912.

We have here yet another monograph of Dr. Brandstetter's, and it maintains the high standard he has set himself. After a first chapter devoted to the explanation of his method and an account of the materials on which his study is based, he gives us a succession of chapters on the simple (or uncompounded) verb, the verbal formatives, the three kinds of verbs characteristic of Indonesian languages in general, the moods, the tenses, the persons, and two chapters on different aspects of syntax in relation to the verb. Inevitably other parts of speech are involved in the discussion of these matters, and, in fact, we get in chapter vii a very valuable dissertation on the personal pronouns, which, in some of the Indonesian languages, appear in duplicate or even in triplicate, different forms being appropriated to different functions. It is interesting to note that in Rottinese there is actually an incipient conjugational inflection, the abbreviated forms of the

personal pronouns being welded on to the verb in much the same way as in the older forms of the Indo-European languages, save that in Rottinese the pronoun is put first, not last.

One fundamental difficulty underlying the whole subject of the monograph under review is the question as to what, in the Indonesian languages, may be called a verb. That is a point on which there has been extreme divergence of opinion. Some little while ago I came across an article whereof the thesis appeared to be that Malay at least possesses hardly any, if any, verbs at all. And some Dutch scholars, without going to such lengths as these, have solemnly averred that all the intransitive verbs in the Malay language are really adjectives. The reason of all this trouble is that most Indonesian languages are devoid of, or at any rate habitually dispense with, a copula. Consequently an adjective can be attached predicatively to a subject just as though it were a verb. This does a good deal to obliterate the distinction between the two. Further, as the typical Indonesian verb does not necessarily modify its form to indicate differences of tense and person and is often used participially—well, I must admit that it is not easy to draw a hard and fast line. Dr. Brandstetter outflanks, rather than meets, the difficulty, by treating as verbal stems all those that indicate action, or being acted on, or condition. But I have no wish to enter into a discussion on these thorny matters at present, and can only refer the reader to the work itself for a justification of the author's position.

Another point of general interest is the fact that some at least of the verbal formatives appear to have been originally separate parts of speech, chiefly prepositions or articles. *A priori* that was to be expected, but it is satisfactory that in certain cases our reasonable anticipations should be confirmed by the evidence. Perhaps the most interesting of the identifications given

by Dr. Brandstetter is that of the widespread formative *n̄* with the article *n̄*. Connected with this, too, is his ingenious explanation of the well-known assimilation that takes place between the formative *n̄*, even when preceded by another formative, such as *ma*, and the initial consonant of the verb-stem; he regards it as the result of analogy with the cases where *n̄* is prefixed by itself to a stem with a consonantal initial. As a double initial consonant is in general repugnant to the Indonesian phonetic system, some simplification was often inevitable, and this was then extended to cases where there was no such necessity.

As in all Dr. Brandstetter's works, there is in this little monograph a great deal of learning. It is no small matter to have collected so many apt illustrations from actual texts in twenty-four different languages. This implies not merely patient toil, but also an extraordinary capacity for mastering a large quantity of very diverse material. Besides these qualifications Dr. Brandstetter also possesses a thorough grasp of scientific method and a rare gift of lucidity in exposition; and these valuable characteristics are traceable in every page of his latest work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SUPPLEMENT OP DEN CATALOGUS VAN DE JAVAANSCH
EN MADOEREESCH HANDSCHRIFTEN DER LEIDSCH
UNIVERSITEITS - BIBLIOTHEEK. Deel II. Nieuw-
javaansche Gedichten en Oud-, Middel-, en Nieuw-
javaansche Prozageschrijfte. Door Dr. H. H. JUYNBOLL.
SUPPLEMENT OP DEN CATALOGUS VAN DE SUNDANEESCH
HANDSCHRIFTEN EN CATALOGUS VAN DE BALINEESCH
EN SASAKSCH HANDSCHRIFTEN DER LEIDSCH
UNIVERSITEITS - BIBLIOTHEEK. Door Dr. H. H.
JUYNBOLL.

Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1911 and 1912 respectively.

The University of Leyden is in the way of accumulating a very fine library of Indonesian MSS. Besides its Malay

and Javanese collections it now possesses a number of MSS. in Sundanese (the language of Western Java), Madurese, Balinese, and Sasak (the native language of Lombok), as enumerated in these catalogues and the previous ones to which they are supplementary. The MSS. seem to be mostly in the Javanese character, or its archaic variant the Balinese; but some are in the Arabic script and a few in the Roman. The sources from which they are ultimately derived, so far as they are not purely native, are partly Muhammadan and partly Hindu. It will be remembered that these races were under Indian influence for a considerable time before Islam became established amongst them and supplanted the Brahmanism and Mahayanist Buddhism which formerly prevailed. In Bali, as is well known, these older religions still maintain themselves, though in a more or less modified or corrupted form, for Bali was the refuge where the fugitive Hindus of Java managed to concentrate their forces, and Muhammadanism never succeeded in gaining any footing there. Both poetry and prose are represented in these collections, but the latter somewhat predominates. It is to be noted that the first above-named volume contains (apart from a short appendix) only Javanese works, yet it is more than double the size of the other one, thus illustrating the greater relative importance of the Javanese literature. Both volumes are furnished with the necessary indexes and also with lists of titles of the works catalogued, both in the native character and the Roman.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SOME RECENT ARABIC LITERATURE

Abū Hanifah al-Dinawarī, *Kitāb al-aḥbār aṭ-ṭiwāl* preface, variants, et index; Leyden, Brill, 1912. The Chronicle of Abū Hanifah al-Dinawarī was published in

1888 by V. Guirgass; a reprint of this chronicle by a Cairene publisher is announced in the *Muktabas* for July of this year. M. Ignace Kratchkovsky, of St. Petersburg, has accomplished the useful task of providing Guirgass's edition with the needful indices and variants, and has besides added a careful preface, utilizing such material as was procurable for the biography of Abū Ḥanīfah. This chronicle is of value especially for the early relations of Moslems with Persia; the Russian scholar's service deserves our gratitude.

Monuments of Arabic Philology, by Paul Brönnle, vols. i and ii: commentary on Ibn Hisham's Biography of Muḥammad; F. Diemer, Cairo, 1911. These volumes constitute the first of a series of editions to be issued by Dr. Brönnle under the high patronage of the German Emperor and the King of Württemberg. Dr. Brönnle has selected grammatical texts, of which the first is the gloss of Abū Dharr al-Khushanī on the familiar Biography of Muḥammad edited by Wüstenfeld, and afterwards reprinted at Zubair Pasha's expense. A commentary by an author of the sixth century A.H. on one of the second may or may not be valuable; that depends on the nature of his sources and whether he had any which are not now accessible to us. Doubtless in the "European Edition", which is to follow, Dr. Brönnle will tell us what is necessary on this matter; to the present writer the commentary seems poor stuff. We may glance at the notes (p. 149) on a poem ascribed to Abū Bakr (in Wüstenfeld's edition, p. 417)—

هروا . معناه وثبوا كما تثب الكلاب "leaps as dogs leap."

This is certainly erroneous; the word means "whine".

المحجرات . يعني الكلاب التي احجرت والجئت الى مواضعها
 "He means the dogs that have been . . . and forced to
 their places."

Clearly what is intended is محجرات, as the text of

Wüstenfeld has the word; but the gloss is evidently erroneous, as is shown by the verse in the *Amālī* of Kālī, App. 11:

وانع المغيرة للمغيرة اذ غدت شعواء مجاورة لنسج النابج

The dogs are not driven to their lairs, but drive other animals to theirs.

متتنا. اى اتصلنا, "have connected ourselves." The correct gloss is تونسلنا, "appeal."

اى غير كارت. اى غير محزن, "not vexing." The correct gloss is "such as cause him no concern".

تحدى. اى تسرع, "hasten." This means a reading تحدى, which is no improvement.

The other pages which the reviewer has consulted appear to be no better; but appearances are deceptive, and we must wait for the European edition before we can definitely state that Dr. Brönnle might have employed his time more profitably than in editing this work.

Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China, bearbeitet von Dr. Hans von Mzik; Hamburg; Gutenberg-Verlag, 1911. This is a German translation of the Travels of Ibn Batuta in India and China, which occupy from iii, 93 to iv, 310 in the edition of his work by Defrémery & Sanguinetti. It contains a useful introduction and index, one or two maps, and a few geographical and chronological notes. The translation itself commences somewhat inauspiciously with the rendering of *يفيض في أوان البحر* by "mündet in der heissen Zone", which appears to be absolutely impossible for "overflows in the hot season", which besides the context requires; and in general where the German renderings differ from the French the latter are to be preferred. Some examples may be cited, showing the difficulty of rendering these texts. Defrémery, iii, 389, Mzik, p. 211, the author is presented with ten captive Hindu girls. He

فاعطيت للذى جاء بهن واحدة منهن فما رضى بذلك proceeds the French rendering is "je donnai une de ces filles esclaves à celui qui me les amena, et il ne fut pas satisfait". The German rendering is "ich gab demjenigen der sie brachte eine davon; doch hatte er keinen Gefallen daran". The correct rendering is "I offered the man who brought them one of them, but he declined". The next sentence runs والسبي هنالك رخيص الثمن لانهم قد رات لا يعرفن مصالح المحضر, which is rendered in German "die kriegsgefangenen Frauen sind hier wohlfeil zu haben denn sie sind schmutzig und wissen nichts von den Umgangsformen der Stadtbewohner". There follows: والمعلومات رخيصات rendered "selbst die besser unterrichteten stehn billig im Preise; niemand ist darauf angewiesen sich kriegsgefangene Frauen zu kaufen". This is very clearly a *non sequitur*; if the "better instructed" are among the captives, the conclusion must be "so no one needs to buy the uneducated". What the author means, then, is "Moslem women are low in price"—for even the free woman has an assessment in Moslem law—"whence no one need buy a captive." It is probable, but not perhaps certain, that we should read والمسلمات. The rendering of the preceding clause may be intentionally euphemistic, and should not be assailed; yet an archæological note (possibly in Latin) would have been desirable.

The next sentence runs: والكفار ببلاد الهند في برمتصل وبلاد, rendered "die Heiden in Indien bewohnen ein geschlossenes Gebiet und Bezirke welche an die der Muslime grenzen, welche jene besiegt haben". The true meaning appears to be "the heathen in India live with the Moslems in contiguous fields and towns, only the Moslems are the dominant community".

Hence the praise which can be given to some translations, though not many, that they render further consultation of the original unnecessary, cannot be assigned to this; nevertheless, it marks some advance in the study of Ibn Batuta.

The *Salām* Press of Buenos Ayres, in addition to its bi-weekly journal which always devotes much attention to the affairs of Syria and the Ottoman Empire, has recently published a series of works in Arabic chiefly for the use of the Syrian community in Argentina. The *Guida Assalam*, with Arabic title دليل السلام, contains statistics of great interest and other matter dealing with the immigration and the immigrants. The number of Syrians who came to reside in Argentina in 1890 was 210, in 1891 twenty-one; the figures increased slowly until 1897, since when they have gone up by leaps and bounds: the figure for 1909 was 11,765 gross and 10,137 net. The net total for twenty years comes to 51,223. Of these the greater number are employed in trade, but agriculture is also represented. A companion volume is a history of Argentina, تاريخ الأرجنتين, by Wadi' Shim'un, proprietor of the journal *Salām*. The same office has also issued a Spanish-Arabic Vocabulary. It would seem that the proportion of the immigrants that returns to Syria is small, about 16 per cent; the remainder are being absorbed by the Spanish-speaking population, and it is not to be expected that the use of the Arabic language in these communities will have any protracted existence.

The history of the effect of the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution on Lebanon is told in the Guide (pp. 17-24), and contains much that is scarcely known to specialists even in Ottoman affairs. It appears that the Syrians of Lebanon endeavoured when the new regime commenced to exercise certain rights which under the older regime they had waived; but that they found

difficulties put in their way, and the stream of emigration has in consequence been increased and accelerated since the change of government. The author of the Guide speaks with bitterness of the treatment accorded Lebanon by the European Powers. The rights and wrongs of this matter do not concern this Journal; but the reference to this Guide for a clear statement of the case from the Syrian side may be useful to some readers.

Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Turque, par Bedros Effendi Kerestedjian, édité par son neveu Haig, M.R.A.S.: Londres, 1912. Few languages can escape the charge of being mixed, but the title *Mischsprache* seems to suit Turkish in an extraordinary degree. It is acknowledged even by Ottoman savants that the best dictionary of their language is that by Redhouse; little space is devoted in that great work to comparative philology, though its statements even on that subject are ordinarily trustworthy; and nothing in the nature of a historical dictionary, doing for Turkish what e.g. the Venetian savants have done for Armenian, appears to be in existence. Probably much will have to be done in the way of editing Turkish MSS. before such a work becomes possible; the visitor of Bookseller's Row in Constantinople is astonished at the paucity of printed works which have emanated from Ottoman presses, and at the bookshops which have sprung up in numbers in Istambul since the new regime there is very little variety; a few historical manuals, novels, and volumes of modern poetry constitute the whole stock. Kerestedjian Effendi has made a selection of Turkish words to which he endeavours to find analogues in numerous languages belonging to very different families; clearly his linguistic studies have a very wide range.

D. S. M.

JADE. A study in Chinese Archæology and Religion.
By BERTHOLD LAUFER. 68 plates, 6 of which are
coloured, and 204 text-figures. Chicago, U.S.A.,
February, 1912.

In 1907 the authorities of the Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago, commissioned Dr. Laufer to carry on research work and make collections in Tibet and China, under an endowment provided by Mrs. T. B. Blackstone of that city. Dr. Laufer went, saw, and collected. On his return it was decided to work up the Chinese material in a series of monographs. This handsome volume of 370 pages is the first of them, and, even were no other to follow, both the Field Museum and the author would well deserve congratulations, the former on the selection of so keen and competent an agent, and the latter on the success with which he has carried out his quest and the subsequent researches demanded by the specimens acquired.

Singanfu, *alias* Hsianfu, the capital city of Shensi Province, appears to have proved a rich mine of antiquarian treasures for Dr. Laufer, who was well advised to explore, and well financed to exploit, this ancient home of wealth.

The plan of the book is, after preliminary matter, to divide and classify the specimens of jade secured in China for the Museum into the various categories of use and application to which Chinese culture from the earliest period has put objects of this fascinating stone, or rather stones; and while doing so, to discuss the various points of custom and belief which they illustrate and help to explain. The book is thus partly a *catalogue raisonnée* of the jade exhibits in the Field Museum, and partly a series of studies of Chinese antiquity as it discloses itself in these characteristic relics.

The way of the reader is greatly eased and lightened by the very numerous illustrations. Among these



Dr. Laufer has most appropriately included a number of the drawings in the late Wu Ta-ch'êng's *Ku Yü T'u K'ao*, "Investigations into Ancient Jades with Illustrations." Happy that land whose ancient jades can so well stand investigations. As an admirer of that great scholar in another branch of learning, I cannot refrain from quoting the words, both generous and just, in which Dr. Laufer speaks of him (Introduction, p. 13): "Wu Ta-ch'êng is not bound by the fetters of the past and not hampered by the accepted school traditions. With fair and open mind he criticizes the errors of the commentators to the *Chou li*, the *Ku Yü T'u P'u*, and many others, and his common sense leads him to new and remarkable results not anticipated by any of his predecessors. Because my own collection is a counterpart of his, being made from an archæological, not an artistic point of view, I could choose no better guide for the interpretation of this collection than him; I have followed him with keen admiration and stand to him in the relation of a disciple to his master."

Another excellently true appreciation of the absurd figures of ceremonial and other antiquarian objects evolved (like a certain camel elsewhere) from the inner consciousness of the Sung dynasty scholars, will be found on p. 16 of the Introduction. I, too, have often wondered "that such figures could find their way into foreign books (Biot, Pauthier, Zottoli, Legge, Couvreur) . . . without a word of comment or criticism".

The whole Introduction is a valuable and interesting essay, but I must pass on to give some sketch of the scope of the chapters that follow, twelve in number. The first is devoted to Jade (whether Jadeite or Nephrite) and other stone implements, and figures numerous chisels, hammers, knives, axes, and hatchets of jade, attributed to the Chou dynasty, and mostly discovered in Shensi province. Among them is one, illustrated on p. 43, of

which, but for the perforation, the miniature in my collection, figured on Plate V, B, of my paper on Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty, in the Journal for October, 1911, might almost be a model. Dr. Laufer treats all this part of the subject in a most interesting way. Then come other chapters treating of Jade symbols of Sovereign Power; of Astronomical Instruments; of the stone, used as writing material; of its use in religious worship for images of the cosmic deities, Earth, Heaven, North, East, South, and West, and of the Dragon, a long and valuable contribution to a difficult and obscure subject. Chapters vi to xii deal respectively with Jade Coins and Seals; Personal Ornaments; Amulets of the Dead; Objects used in dressing the corpse; Carvings of animal and human figures in the grave; Jade Vases; and, lastly, of Jade in the eighteenth century. These headings will give an idea of the scope of the work. For the manner of it Dr. Laufer brings a trained intelligence and great keenness to his task, but above all a certain refreshing and vivid sense of reality, so that in his hands the things of the past lose that ancient and fish-like savour that is apt to hang about them, and are made to appeal to us as guests of a rational curiosity, not as dim ghosts of a distant and distasteful antiquity.

In the course of these pages there naturally occur a number of passages translated from native authors. Dr. Laufer's renderings of these are not in all cases satisfactory. The Chinese written language is a hard taskmaster, and demands before all a long experience which probably the author's other studies and occupations have prevented him from devoting to it. I shall only therefore mention one instance, and that simply because Dr. Laufer has been led to infer a phallic symbolism through misunderstanding of the text. On p. 44 he illustrates from the *Chin Shih So*, of the brothers Fêng, two ancient bronze hatchets, and writes: "The latter

(Fig. 6) is interesting with reference to the jade dance-axes in exhibiting a more primitive form of the triangular pattern, and it is very interesting to take note of the interpretation of the brothers Fêng that this ornament is a *yang wên*, 'a pattern of the male principle.' To this he appends the note: "They expressly deny that it has the function of a written character. The Chinese wording certainly means in our language a phallic emblem." This statement is gravely erroneous. The passage from the *Chin Shih So* is reproduced with the figure, and it really runs thus: "Probably used in ancient times as a ceremonial weapon. The face has the figure  in relief [*yang-wên*], which is probably the character *yüeh*, 'battle-axe.' [Note by the brother Fêng Yün-]P'êng. With regard to the figure  it is an ornament, and not necessarily a character."

But this is a mere speck in an admirable contribution to knowledge, which I greatly hope will, in due course, be followed by the others projected by the author.

L. C. HOPKINS.

A CHINESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY IN THE CANTONESE DIALECT. By Dr. E. J. EITEL. Revised and enlarged by I. G. GENÄHR. Hong-Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1912.

The Cantonese-English Dictionary, the first half of which was reviewed in a recent number of the JRAS., is now completed.

It contains 8,349 Chinese characters, as against 8,092 in Williams's Tonic Dictionary and 10,644 in Eitel's. The first edition of Professor Giles's Mandarin Dictionary has 13,848 characters. In Dr. Wells Williams's Tonic Dictionary there are 707 different syllables given; in Eitel's 731; and the number has not been increased in this latest issue. There are as many as 780 syllables

in the Cantonese, that language being one of the richest in that respect in China, as far as is known at present. Some of these syllables represent words which Mr. Genähr has doubtless considered too trivial to be included in the dictionary, yet it is to be hoped that a future edition will not entirely ignore these additional half-hundred syllables.

The highest praise is due to Mr. Genähr for the admirable manner in which the work has been carried out, and the publishers are also to be congratulated on the most creditable way in which the book has been passed through the press.

The student of Cantonese will find it a perfect pleasure to turn over the pages of this Cantonese-English Dictionary, as pains have been taken to banish much of the wearisomeness of word-hunting, and the type is clear and distinct.

This dictionary may be put on the shelf by the side of Giles's splendid dictionary without any fear of disparagement by comparison with it.

J. DYER BALL.

CONFUCIUS AND HIS PORTRAITS. By Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER. With illustrations. Reprinted from the *Open Court*, March and April, 1912.

This is a most interesting and unique little pamphlet on a subject which has not hitherto been taken up in a systematic manner. The portraits and pictures in which Confucius appears are used in this brochure to point out some of the characteristic features of the career of the sage. The Buddhistic and Taoist influences affecting these portraits are well brought out by Dr. Laufer. He also states that it is forbidden to set up an image or likeness of Confucius in a Buddhist or Taoist temple, but he does not call attention to the fact that there are temples in which appear the images of

"the Three Founders", Confucius, Laotsz, and Buddha, seated together as a trinity.

We would add another exception to the two which the writer of this pamphlet gives of statues of Confucius in Confucian temples, viz., one we saw some years ago in a district city not far from Swatow. Here the sage was represented as of a very swarthy countenance.

J. DYER BALL.

CHINESE POEMS. Translated by CHARLES BUDD. Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press: London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne, 1912.

In this book of 174 pages we have some fifty-five poems by over thirty Chinese poets. To Fu and Lao Tsien head the list with five each. There are biographical notices of eleven of the poets from whose works selections are made.

Mr. Budd tells us that some of the translations are "nearly literal". Some Chinese poems can be turned into English with almost absolute fidelity to the original, but with others the attempt is impossible and a bald prose rendering is the result. In almost all, however, there is more or less of expansion necessary from the terse Chinese original due to the exigencies of English rhythm and rhyme, and a literal verbal accuracy will not always enable the Western reader to understand the thought of the Far Eastern poet.

The Introduction gives a very short and concise outline of the history of the poetic art in China from its early dawn in ancient Chinese life till it reached its zenith in the great Tang School of Poetry, and even maintained a high position in the Sung and other dynastic periods, when it played a no mean part in Chinese literature.

It is Mr. Budd's intention to publish in a separate volume the originals of these translations, when the

student of Chinese will be able to enjoy these charming morsels as they fell from the pencils of their composers.

A few pages in the present volume are devoted to an account of the technique of Chinese poetry. In them the mysteries of the tonic system as applied to poetic compositions, or in short Chinese rhythm, and some of the different forms which Chinese poems take, are explained.

But why does Mr. Budd write Song and Tong and Eo and Bay and a few other peculiarities in the transliterations of Chinese names? Hyphens are also scattered about too profusely in the names of these poets. The rule that prevails and is generally followed in the transliteration of the names of persons from Chinese into English is that surnames are not joined by a hyphen to the other syllables forming the name unless the surname is a double one. This rule is not adhered to in this book, being sometimes observed and sometimes not.

J. DYER BALL.

CHINESE LEGENDS AND LYRICS. By W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D., President Emeritus of the Imperial Tung-Wên College, Peking, etc., author of *A Cycle of Cathay* and other books. Second edition. Shanghai: Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, 1912.

This veteran sinologue is well known for his admirable rendering of Chinese poems. The selection he originally made for translation was small but choice, but as the years have passed he has added to their number till we have now in the volume before us of 123 pages some fifty odd pieces, of which nearly thirty are reproductions in English poetic form of Chinese masterpieces, while others are translations from German, etc., and a few are from the lyric muse of Dr. Martin himself. Among the number appears the curious and remarkable poem entitled "A Chinese Raven", which, written nearly 2,000 years

ago, bears striking points of resemblance to Edgar Allan Poe's celebrated poem of the "Raven".

The book is illustrated with half a dozen reproductions of photographs.

J. DYER BALL.

A HISTORY OF JAPAN. By HISHO SAITO. Translated by ELIZABETH LEE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1912.

A succinct and well-written history of the Island Kingdom. The book is divided into periods, these into parts, and these last into chapters. Beginning with the earliest inhabitants of the land and then passing on to the origin of the Japanese, we are carried through all the ages to modern times, for the narrative ends on p. 250 with the date of August 29, 1912. Sufficient is told to interest the reader without surfeiting him with lengthy detail. Thus we get accounts of Japan's dealings with Korea in the far distant past as well as in modern times. The intercourse with China, the introduction of Chinese civilisation and culture, and the resultant improved condition of the people, with the progress in their economic life, are acknowledged. The Greek style in the architecture of the Horiuji shrine in combination with Indian and Chinese influences is noted. The Buddhistic movements are touched on and the tragic episodes connected with the suppression of Christianity. Bushido, the relations with foreign nations, the Chino- and the Russo-Japanese wars all come under notice, but it is impossible to mention all the interesting points which are brought under review in this admirable little history. 1661 is given as the date of the foundation of the Manchu dynasty in China instead of 1644.

J. DYER BALL.

THE TOSA DIARY. Translated from the Japanese by
W. N. PORTER. London: Henry Frowde, 1912.

The Tosa Diary is a record of a long journey home to Kyoto of a retiring Japanese Governor from one of the provinces nearly a thousand years ago. It occupies a high place in Japanese literature. Unlike many of the literary productions of the East, its style is simple and yet the language is elegant. The narrative is a plain statement of the incidents which occurred to this old-world traveller along a part of the extensive sea-girt coast of Japan, and everything is told in an artless manner with a touch of humour. There is a sad note in a minor key, a pathetic wail from a desolate parent's heart for the little daughter who went with him to his distant governorship, but he now returns without her "bereft and sad".

Not only was the author famous as a prose writer, but he was also renowned as a poet, and the suspicion occurs to one whether the prose in this little book was not written as a vehicle for the production of the poetry, for the verse is as frequent as plums in a Christmas pudding. At every opportunity, or, if none presents itself, one is made for the presentation of a little five-lined *tanka* poem with its thirty-one syllables. The translation has retained the original metre of this form of Japanese verse. The Japanese in romanized form is printed on one page, and on the opposite page is the English translation. The binding of the book is attractive and the whole format is tasty.

J. DYER BALL.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. THE MUSEUM. Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. I, No. 1. Babylonian Hymns and Prayers. By DAVID W. MYHRMAN. Eckley Brinton Coxe, Junior, Fund. Philadelphia: published by the University Museum, 1911.

This portion of the extensive publication of the Babylonian tablets in the collections at Philadelphia,

U.S.A., has thirty-four autographed and thirteen photolithographed plates of inscriptions, being copies of eighteen texts in all. From the introduction we learn that the documents were found at various periods between 1888 and 1900. They are stated to be apparently made of a special kind of carefully prepared clay, and, being thoroughly well baked, they all present the same colouring—a pale brown, as though all forming part of the same batch. Though fairly clear and distinct, the writing of the earlier ones is small and somewhat crowded, and the constant use of a “tube” (? magnifying-glass), and a good light, were needed to produce trustworthy copies. All the tablets have suffered considerably, and consist of two or more pieces joined together.

The Sumerian portion of this collection contains hymns to Innanna (Ištar), Gišdar, Ninā, Enki (Ēa), Nin-mah, Mullil (the dialectic form of the name of Enlil, Ellil, or Illil), Ninip, etc.; and the Semitic Babylonian addresses to Šamaš, Ēa, Enlil, Merodach, the Anunnaki, etc. These latter were inscribed, to all appearance, by the orders of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Saosduchinos), the brother of Aššurbani-āpli, king of Assyria, and, unlike those of an earlier date, are clearly and legibly written.

Dr. Myhrman is right in describing the earlier tablets as difficult. This is caused partly by their incompleteness, but is in some cases due to the closeness of the characters in certain places. With documents of this nature the copyist is naturally the proper person to make the translation, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Myhrman will undertake the task. With regard to the photographs, though to all appearance sharply focussed, the lighting is probably not the best for the decipherment of Babylonian inscriptions, and the plate-paper, though smooth, has not the surface needed to show all the detail. It may also be remarked, by the way, that the tablet proto-lithographed on pl. xlii is printed upside down.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is probably the tablets regarded as being of the time of Šamaš-šum-ukīn which are the most attractive. They give hymns or addresses to the gods similar to many already known, some of them being of the same form as those to Tammuz and Ištar published by me in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology for February, 1909 (plate, and pp. 62, 63). The following are the opening lines of the hymn to Enlil, on pl. xxxii, compared with pl. xlvii:—

“Mighty lord, protector of the Igigi;
king of the Anunnaki, prince, arbiter.
Enlil,¹ mighty lord, protector of the Igigi;
king of the Anunnaki,² prince, arbiter;
exalted (?) lord, the utterance of whose mouth is not
changed—³

No-one annuls the pronouncement of his lip.

Bel (?),⁴ lord of kings, father, begetter of the great gods,
lord of the fates and the destinies (?), director of heaven
and earth, lord of the land[s],” etc., etc.

Though but a small contribution to the mass of inscriptions published, this portion of the Philadelphia collection furnishes a welcome addition to Sumerian and Babylonian poetical and mythological literature.

T. G. PINCHES.

BUSINESS DOCUMENTS OF MURASHU SONS OF *NIPPUR, dated in the reign of Darius II. By ALBERT T. CLAY. (Vol. II, No. 1, of the Publications of the Babylonian Section of the Pennsylvania University Museum.) Philadelphia, 1912.

This volume consists of 123 plates, with a total of 228 new Babylonian inscriptions, supplemented by 54 Aramaic

¹ Such is the word here, judging from the traces shown by the photograph, pl. xlvii.

² In the original *Anunnaku*.

³ The original seems to read [*bél* (*EN*)] *dū*[?]-*ku-u ša la ut-tak-ku-ru e-piš pi-i-šu*.

⁴ The traces seem to be those of 𒀭𒌷

dockets, most of which have been already published, though some of them are new. About two-thirds as many texts as are contained in this volume remain to be published, and are of the reign of Artaxerxes I. In addition to the plates there is an introductory preface of two pages, thirty-four pages of names of men, women, cities, gates, and canals, an index of words and names in the Aramaic dockets, a tabulated list of the texts, a list of the Aramaic dockets, and a table of equivalent numbers, from which we learn that sixty-three of the tablets are in the Imperial Museum, Constantinople, and the remainder in the College Museum, Philadelphia.

These documents are of the same nature as those already published in the ninth and tenth volumes of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts*, edited by H. V. Hilprecht, the copies and introductions being by the author of the present work. The inscriptions deal with such things as bailing a man out of prison, engaging to repay loans in kind or money lent, the receipt of rent of fields, the hire of slaves, oxen, or other cattle, the leasing of fishponds and houses, etc. In the present volume the great proportion of these inscriptions refer to dates, but some deal with grain of various kinds, slaves, oxen, fields, silver, wine, and meal; and other matters. Many of the inscriptions are unfortunately imperfect, but restorations will in many cases be possible by comparing them with more complete documents of the same class. The following, being short, may be quoted as a specimen:—

"1 *gur* of wheat (?) (*kibti*), belonging to Ninip-uballit, servant of Ribat, unto Iddia, son of Nanâ-iddina. In the month Iyyar, year 4th, the wheat (?) (*kibta'*), 1 *gur*, by the measure (𐤁𐤓 𐤓 = *mašihu* ?) of Ninip-uballit, in the city Naqadin, he shall repay.

"Witnesses: Ellil-dânu, son of Kalkal-iddina; Âblaya, son of Linuḥ-libbi-îli; Ninip-uballit, son of Bulluṭ-a;

Ellil-ittannu, son of Ellil-kašir. Scribe: Nidintum-Ellil, son of Iqšaya. Nippur, month Chisleu, day 2nd, year 3rd, Darius, king of the lands."

Aramaic docket, as transcribed by Professor Clay: **שטר חג (?) (?) כר ו קדם אדי**, "Document (concerning) wheat (?), 1 *gur*, against Iddiya."

The word which I render as "wheat" is expressed by the Sumerian *še-gig-ba* (*še-gib-ba*), possibly so called as "the heavy" grain. The second word of the Aramaic docket is very doubtful on account of the careless writing of the beginning and the mutilation of the end. Professor Clay reads the first three uprights as two characters, **ח**, and the remaining strokes of the word, three in number, may be the badly written traces of **טה**, making the word **חנטה**, Heb. **חטה**, "wheat." Both reading and meaning, however, are doubtful.

Besides the inherent interest of these inscriptions, the names they contain are of considerable importance. Many of them are Hebrew, and testify to the influence of that race in the land of their captivity. There are several names ending in *Yāma* (-*Yāwa*), now generally recognized as the Babylonian spelling of Jehovah, and, as Professor Clay has pointed out, the plural of the ideograph for "god", **𐤔𐤌𐤍**, is used for the Hebrew *El*. At that early date it was probably pronounced with a vocalic termination, making *Eli* or something similar, as contended by Hilprecht. The "Legend of Chedor-laomer", as pointed out by Sayce, uses the plural ideograph to express the singular when speaking of Merodach. The list contains many identifications of the numerous Persian names found on these tablets. Egyptians traded in the district, and there was a town inhabited by Hittites. The publication of such texts as these forms a body of commercial and legal inscriptions with which any editor might well be content.

T. G. PINCHES.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE TEMPLE ARCHIVES OF NIPPUR
DATED IN THE REIGNS OF THE KASSITE RULERS.

By ALBERT T. CLAY. 8 by 10½ inches. Philadelphia:
published by the University Museum, 1912.

This is the second part of the same volume of the publications of the Babylonian section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and consists of 32 pages of letterpress and 72 plates of inscriptions (144 texts). These documents are all of the Kassite period, and form a further instalment of the excellent series published under the editorship of Professor Hilprecht, vols. xiv and xv of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, with the same sub-title as the present contribution. Many refer to the payment of taxes, and are in a tabulated form. Some, however, record deliveries and receipts of various productions, including manufactured drinks, bronze for the metal-workers, gold for the goldsmiths, skins for covering things, leather for cuirasses, chairs, etc. Those which are dated were written in the reigns of Burna-Buriaš II, Kurigalzu II, Nazi-Maruttaš, Kadašman-Turgu, Kadašman-Enlil II, Kudur-Enlil, Šagarakti-Šuriaš, and Kaštiliašu (p. 64), between 1450 and 1309 B.C. Among the more interesting tablets is that giving a list of the amounts received at the gates of the city (Nippur)—“the festival-gate, the water(?)—gate, the gate of Addu (Hadad), the gate of the elders of Uriwa (Ur), the upper and lower gates of the city Hiluni, and the gate of the King's sons.” No. 105, which is to all appearance an inventory of stones and articles of jewellery has a number of interesting words. Of a different nature is the inscription referring to “6 fetters with their rings, 1 talent 36 *mana* their weight”, mentioned in connexion with 6 men *ša sarta ipušu*, “who have done wrong.” Unfortunately, this inscription is in an imperfect state, so that its real drift is doubtful. Of more than ordinary interest, also, is No. 20, dated in the fourth year of

Nazi-Maruttaš. This document bears on all six surfaces the impressions of a seal showing men and humped oxen at the plough. The owner's name was Ârad-Ninšar, and it is to be hoped that other impressions of a like nature may be found—Professor Clay points out that the plough was provided with a tube for sowing the grain, similar to some that are found in Syria to-day. There is an interesting alphabetical list of names, many of which are Kassite, and will form useful material for the study of that language. The few (seeming) misprints—*A-mi-lu-ujū* (-*aya*), *Amēl-Halska* (-*Halsha*), *MAN-GAR-U-AD^{ki}* (*NAM*-)—are easily corrected by reference to the author's copies. Translations of selected texts are not given, but are promised in a separate volume, which all students will look forward to.

A scholarly production, full of interest, in which the reputation of the University of Pennsylvania and the author is well sustained.

T. G. PINCHES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1912).

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

November 12, 1912.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, took the chair, and afterwards Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President.

The Chairman referred to the death of the late Director, Sir Raymond West, and spoke of his great learning and attainments. A full obituary notice appears in the current number of the Journal.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Ram Rakha Mal Bhandari.

Professor Rama Deva.

Dr. Alfred Westharp.

Yacoub Artin Pasha.

Twenty-seven nominations were announced for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. Legge read a paper on "Western Manichæism and the recent Discoveries at Turfan".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, Professor Bevan, Professor Browne, Professor Margoliouth, and Dr. Denison Ross took part.

December 10, 1912.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Kandadai Vaidinath Subramanya Aiyer.

Mr. I. T. O. Barnard.

Mr. A. Walton Battersby.

Babu Surendra Nath Chowdhury.

Mr. Godfrey F. S. Collins,
B.A., I.C.S.

Mr. Suresh Chandra Gupta,
M.A.

Moulvi Wahed Hossain.

Rev. B. M. Jones.

Mr. Radhakumud Mookerji.
Munshi Mohammad Muin-ud-
din.

Mr. Rajani Nath Nandi.

Captain B. E. A. Pritchard, I.A.

Rev. W. C. B. Purser, M.A.

Kumar Sarat Kumar Rai, M.A.

Babu Giriya Prasanna Sanyal,
M.A.

Rev. W. Sherratt.

Sardar Arjan Singh.

Sardar Darshan Singh.

Babu Lal Sud.

Mr. Mohan Lall Tannan.

Professor Hira Lal Basu.

Professor Lutfi Levonian.

Rev. C. T. Lipshytz.

Mr. G. R. T. Ross, M.A., I.E.S.

Rev. C. T. H. Walker, M.A.

Major Horace Hayman Wilson.

Mr. John Hilditch.

Two nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. A. M. Blackman read a paper entitled "The Decorated Tomb-Chapels at Meir, Upper Egypt".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Pinches, Mr. Legge, and Professor Hagopian took part.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

December 10, 1912

The McGill University Oriental Society was admitted as an Associate Society at a Special General Meeting summoned for that purpose.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. LXVI, Heft ii.

Baudissin (W. W. G.). Tammūz bei den Harrānern.

Spoer (H. H.). Four Poems by Nimr Ibn 'Adwān.

Franke (R. O.). Die Suttanipāta - Gāthās mit ihren
Parallelen.

Heft iii.

Weinheimer (H.). Die Einwanderung der Hebräer und
der Israeliten in Kanaan.

Torczyner (H.). Anmerkungen zum Hebräischen und
zur Bibel.

Wünsche (Aug.). Die Zahlensprüche in Talmud und Midrasch.

Mills (L. H.). Yasna XLIV, 11-20, a study *re* a new edition.

Nielsen (D.). Der semitische Venuskult.

Sukthankar (V.). Miscellaneous Notes on Mammata's Kāvyaaprakāśa.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome XIX, No. ii.

Amar (E.). Prolégomènes à l'étude des historiens arabes par Khalil ibn Aibak Aṣ Ṣafadī, publiés et traduits d'après les manuscrits de Paris et de Vienne.

Ronkel (Ph. S. van). Une amulette arabo-malaise.

Poussin (L. de la Vallée). Essai d'identification des Gāthās et des Udānas en prose de l'Udānavarga de Dharmatrāta.

Bloch (J.). Le dialecte des fragments Dutreuil de Rhins.

Grierson (G. A.). Etymologies tokhariennes.

Biarnay (J.). Six textes en dialecte berbère des Beraber de Dadès.

III. RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. IV, Fasc. iii.

Meloni (G.). Testi assiri del British Museum.

Rossini (C. Conti). Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia.

Lammens (H.). Zīād ibn Abīhi, vice-roy de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'awia I.

Rescher (O.). Arabische Handschriften des Top Kapu Seraj.

Belloni-Filippi (F.). Di una redazione inedita del Comento Mallināthiano all'ottaro sarga del Kumārambhava.

IV. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT. Tome XI, Nos. iii-iv.

Huber (E.). Études Indochinoises, VIII-XII.

Deloustal (R.). La Justice dans l'ancien Annam, traduction et commentaire du Code des Lê.

Peri (N.). A propos de la date de Vasubandhu.

Coedes (G.). Études Cambodgiennes.

Cadière (L.). Notes sur quelques emplacements Chams de la province de Quang-tri.

Quynk (Pham). Nhân nguyệt vân đáp. Dialogue entre l'homme et la lune, poème annamite traduit.

Tome XII, No. i.

Maspero (H.). Études sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite. Les initiales.

V. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. XXXII, Pt. iii.

Blake (F. R.). Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic.

Lichte (O.). Das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Barschuschan an den Catholicus der Armenier.

VI. DER ISLAM. Bd. III, Heft iii.

Goldziher (I.). Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-din al-Rāzi.

Massignon (L.). Ana al-Haqq. Étude historique et critique sur une formule dogmatique de théologie mystique d'après les sources islamiques.

Becker (C. H.). Vorbericht über die islamkundlichen Ergebnisse der Innerafrikaexpedition des Herzogs Adolf Friedrich von Mecklenburg.

Seidel (E.). Medezinisches aus den Heidelberger Papyri Schott-Reinhardt IV.

Heft iv.

Amedroz (H. F.). The Vizier Abu-l-Fadl Ibn al 'Amîd.

Stephani (F. v.). Legende über den Ursprung der Fulbe und der Boraro nach der Erzählung des Malam Ali Babali.

Jacob (G.). Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte islamischer Bauwerke.

Bell (H. I.). Translations of the Greek Aphrodite Papyri in the British Museum.

Becker (C. H.). Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus.

VII. GIORNALE DELLA SOCIETÀ ASIATICA ITALIANA.

Vol. XXIV, 1911.

- Zanolli (A.). Studio sul raddoppiamento allitterazione e ripetizione nell'armeno antico.
- Tessitori (L. P.). Il Rāmacaritamānasa e il Rāmāyaṇa.
- Belloni-Filippi (F.). Dharmavijaya-sūre.
- Meloni (G.). Alcune riflessioni intorno alle similitudini dei Semiti.
- Strauss (O.). Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahābhārata.
- Ballini (A.). La Upamitabhavaprapañcā kathā di Siddharsi.
- Pavolini (P. E.). Recenti lavori sulla Bhagavadgīta.

VIII. JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. I, No. i.

- Thompson (J. P.). The Tomb of the Emperor Jahāngīr.
- Abdul Qadir (Sheikh). Abulfazl.
- Vogel (J. Ph.). Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort.
- Griswold (H. D.). Vedic Social Life.
- Irving (M.). The Shrine of Bāba Farid Shakarganj at Pākpatan.
- Whitehead (R.). A new Pathān Sultān of Delhi.
- MacLagan (E. D.). The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Panjab, 1641.

IX. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. v.

- Reischauer (A. K.). A Catechism of the Shin Sect (Buddhism).

X. ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. XXXIV, No. lxxvii.

- Waddell (L. A.). Tibetan MSS. and Books, etc., collected during the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa.
- Steuart (F.). Letters from the Nizam's Camp, 1791-4.
Edited with an Introduction.

XI. THE QUEST. Vol. III, No. iv.

- Mead (G. R. S.). Some Features of Buddhist Psychology.
 Eisler (R.). John the Baptist in the light of a New
 Samaritan Document.
 Hardcastle (Miss A. L. B.). A Mandæan Mystery Ritual.
 Chatley (H.). The Kabbalism of China.

XII. TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE JAPAN
SOCIETY. Vol. IX, Pt. iii.

- Spiers (R. Phené). Japanese Reefs.
 Cheshire (H. F.). The Japanese Game of "Go".
 Strange (E. F.). The Art of Kyōsai.
 Koop (A. J.). The Construction and Blazonry of *Mon*.

XIII. TŌYŌ-GAKUHŌ. Vol. I, No. i (in Japanese).

- Tsumaki (T.). Study on Taoism.
 Imanishi (R.). Ruins and Relics at Kyon-jyu, the ancient
 capital of Silla.

Vol. I, No. ii.

- Hamada (K.). An Ancient Tomb at Tiao-chia t'un in
 Lüshun.
 Haneda (T.). An explanation of the Historical Materials
 relating to Sin-king Province in China.

Vol. I, No. iii.

- Shiratori (K.). Geographical and Historical Study of the
 Western Regions of Chinese History.
 Tsumaki (C.). Explanation of five old Buddhist Records
 discovered in the Tun-huang Grotto in Sinkiang.
 Tsuda (S.). Relation of the Chinese Plays of the Yüan
 Dynasty to the *Nō* of Ashikaga Era in Japan.

Vol. II, No. iii.

- Hashimoto (M.). A Study of the Ancient Chinese Classic,
 Shu-ching.

- Tsumaki (T.). Essay on the Engraving of the Buddhist Scripture, *Tai tsang ching*, in Kitai.
 Hamada (K.). An Archæological Investigation in Southern Manchuria.

XIV. JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.
 Vol. I, Pt. i.

- Furnivall (J. S.). Matriarchal Vestiges in Burma.
 Taw Sein Ko. The Earliest Use of the Buddhist Era in Burma.
 Brown (R. Grant). Human Sacrifices near the Upper Chindwin.
 — The Kings of Burma.
 Antisdell (Rev. C. B.). Elementary Studies in Lahoo, Ahka, and Wa Languages.
 — The Lahoo Narrative of Creation.
 Houghton (B.). Anthropometric Data of the Talaings.
 Gilmore (Rev. D.). Karen Folk-lore.
 Maung Tin. Missionary Burmese.

Vol. I, Pt. ii.

- Taw Sein Ko. Chinese Antiquities at Pagan.
 Furnivall (J. S.). The Foundation of Pagan.
 Saya Thein. Shin Sawbu.
 Brown (R. Grant). Linguistic Survey of India.
 S. A. The Derivation of Prome.
 Stewart (J. A.). Burmese Nursery Rhymes.
 R. A. S. Burmese Folk-lore.

XV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL
 ARCHÆOLOGY. Vol. XXXIV, Pt. iv.

- Legge (F.). The Lion-headed God of the Mithraic Mysteries.
 Hall (H. R.). Note on the Reign of Amenhotep II.
 Pinches (T. G.). The Bird of Temple Z at Babylon.

Mahler (Dr. E.). Notes on the Funeral Statuettes of the Ancient Egyptians.

Langdon (Dr. S.). The Originals of Two Religious Texts of the Āsurbanipal Library.

— A Cylinder Seal of the Hammurabi Period.

XVI. T'OUNG PAO. Vol. XIII, No. ii.

Petrucci (R.). Le Kie Tseu yuan houa tchouan.

Cordier (H.). Le premier traité de la France avec le Japon.

Vanhée (L.). Algèbre Chinoise.

Pelliot (P.). La fille de Mo-tch'o qughan et ses rapports avec Kül-tegin.

Lévi (S.). Wang Hiuan ts'ö et Kaniska.

Vol. XIII, No. iii.

Petrucci (R.). Le Kie Tseu yuan houa tchouan.

Pelliot (P.). Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao to king.

Moule (A. C.). Marco Polo's Sinjumatu.

XVII. TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR INDISCHE TAAL-LAND EN VORKENKUNDE. Deel LIV, Af. i-ii.

Krom (N. J.). A propos d'une tête de statue trouvée à Tjandi Sêwou.

Rinkes (D. A.). Les Saints de Java.

Moquette (J. P.). La date de l'épithaphe de Malik Ibrahim à Grissé.

Ronkel (Ph. S. van). Mahâjana en sanscrit—mahdjana en malais.

XVIII. NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 1912. Pt. iii.

Rogers (Rev. E.). Rare and Unpublished Coins of the Seleucid Kings of Syria.

Allan (J.). The Coinage of the Maldiv Islands, with some Notes on the Cowrie and Larin.

XIX. ANNALS OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
(Liverpool). Vol. V, Nos. i-ii.

Garstang (J.). Second Interim Report on the Excavations
at Salije-Geuzi in North Syria, 1911.

—— Third Interim Report on the Excavations at Meröe.

—— and T. D. Lee. The Linen Girdle of Rameses III.

XX. LE MONDE ORIENTAL. Vol. VI, Fasc. ii.

Mattsson (E.). Tūlit il'umr, texte arabe vulgaire transcrit
et traduit avec introduction, notes et commentaire.

Charpentier (J.). Zur altindischen Etymologie.

Wiklund (K. B.). Anlautendes θ im finnisch-ugrischen.

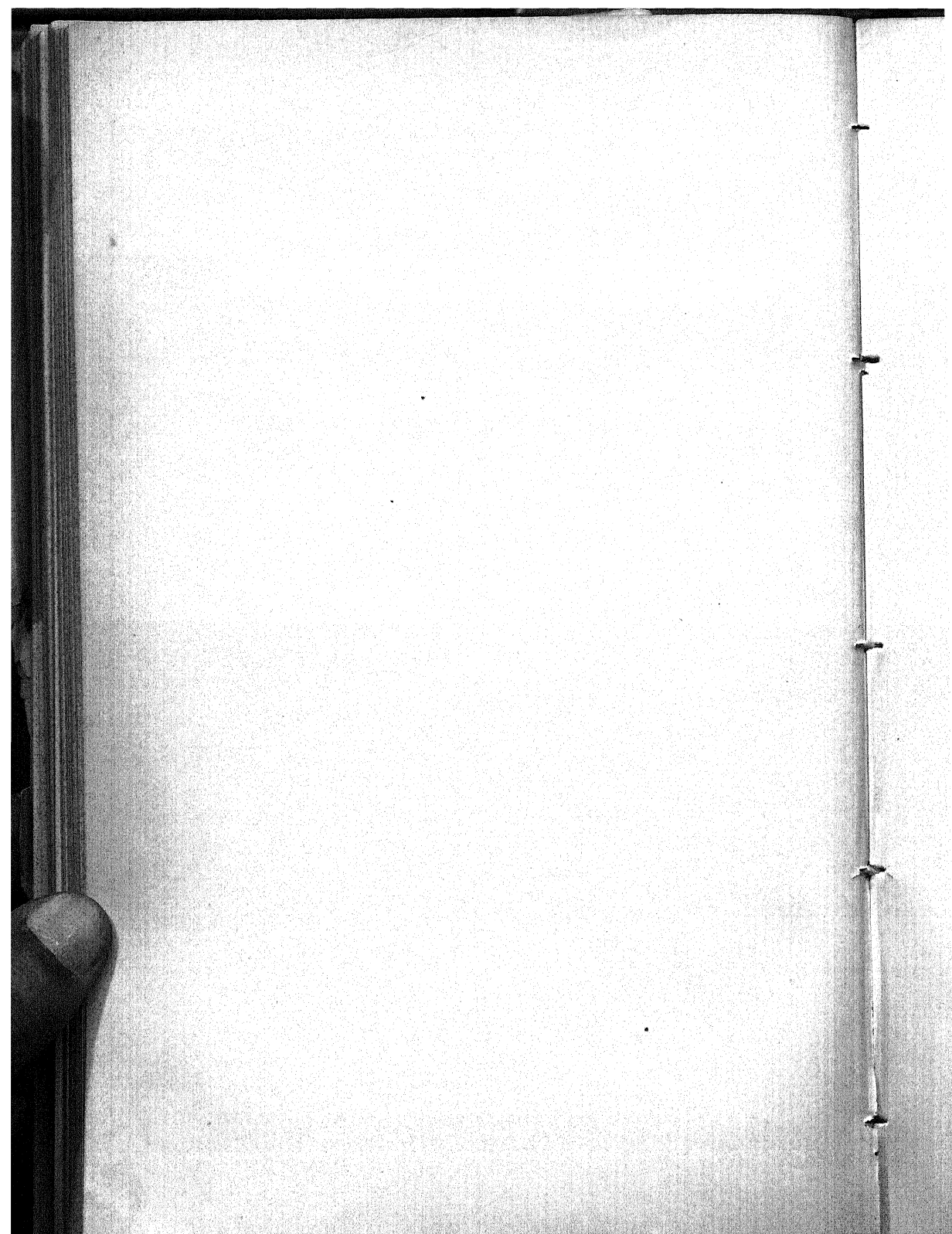
XXI. THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLI, Pt. dxxiii.

Bhandarkar (D. R.). Some Unpublished Inscriptions.

Kane (P. V.). Outlines of the History of the Alamkara
Literature.

Ojha (Gaurishankar H.). Coins of Ajayadeva and
Somaladevi.

Rose (H. A.). Contributions to Panjabi Lexicography.



OBITUARY NOTICES

SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E., LL.D.

RAYMOND WEST, the second son of Frederick Henry West and his wife Frances *née* Raymond, was born in county Kerry on September 18, 1832. His father seems to have frequently shifted his residence from England to Ireland and from one place in Ireland to another, returning for a time to England probably on medical advice. He was a man of ready wit and artistic tastes who devoted his short life to literary pursuits, in which he attained some distinction. The mother, a daughter of Richard Raymond, of Ballyloughrane, Kerry, belonging to the Essex family of that name, was endowed with a mind and personality of a high order, and to her the son owed the intellectual atmosphere and encouragement which a good education and the companionship of clever associates bring within the reach of most boys intended for the public service. For Raymond West's whole educational equipment consisted of attendance at the nearest school, whether in Kennington, Dublin, or other parts of Ireland, followed by matriculation at Queen's College, Galway, where he won first-class honours both in Classics and Physics. He was seriously contemplating the adoption of the medical profession when public notice was given that twenty writerships in the service of the East India Company would be awarded by competitive examination to be held in July, 1855. For these well-advertised and much coveted prizes 126 candidates were examined by an eminent Board of Examiners, which included Sir James Stephens, the late Archbishop Temple, Max Müller, G. G. Stokes, Professor Liveing, Rawlinson, and other well-known men. West passed 19th on the list with

1,134 marks, one-half of the marks obtained by the first successful candidate, finding amongst his colleagues Charles Aitchison, John Cordery, James Peile, and G. Pedder, of whom the last two went with him to Bombay. His almost illegible handwriting and the disadvantages of his education no doubt contributed to this result.

A year's preparatory study in London preceded his arrival in Bombay on September 18, 1856, and almost at once West advanced to the position which his industry and natural abilities deserved. Within four months he had passed in Marathi, and was sent to Belgaum to study Canarese, in which language he attained such unusual proficiency as induced Government to entrust to him in 1861 the task of translating into Canarese the Penal and the Criminal Procedure Codes.

Whatever of Irish spirit was in him was soon called into play. Whilst James Peile was watching scenes of mutiny and sending to the *Times* graphic descriptions of the punishment of mutineers at Ahmedabad, West as assistant to G. B. Seton Karr was not less actively engaged in the south of the Presidency in the stirring scenes which followed the disloyal attitude taken up by the brother of the Raja of Kolhapur with the rebels in 1857, the murder of the political agent Manson by Bhaskar Rao, brother of the Chief of Ramdurg, at Nargund, and the Savant disturbances. For his services he received the Mutiny medal, and until 1860 he continued to hold executive appointments in the Revenue Department, which gave him an insight into the lives and habits of Indian society, soon to be turned to good account in his subsequent judicial service.

In 1860-1 he commenced his judicial career as assistant Judge in Dharwar, attracting notice by the thorough manner in which he supervised and controlled the subordinate civil courts. He was transferred to Kaira in 1862, thence joining the Secretariat of Government, and

was next made Registrar of Her Majesty's High Court, Bombay, in the following year, where he employed his leisure hours in the important work of editing the first three volumes of the Bombay laws and regulations, with valuable notes and annotations. After an interval of much needed rest he resumed charge of the office of Registrar in 1864, having declined the tempting offer of the Judgeship of Ahmedabad because he wished to complete his training for such an office. His self-denial only strengthened his claim on preferment, and in 1866 he acted as Judge of Kanara, being further promoted in 1868 to the responsible office of Judicial Commissioner in Sind. That outlying but integral part of the Presidency of Bombay was outside the jurisdiction of the High Court, and its judicial administration needed the hand of reform and reorganization. West had already acquired a high reputation for thoroughness and legal knowledge, and the publication in 1867 of his masterly digest of the Hindu law of inheritance, partition, and adoption, in which he was assisted by the great Sanskrit scholar Dr. Bühler, had attracted attention far beyond the limits of India. His deputation to Sind was not only deserved, but it was fruitful of good results, although a long course of overwork compelled him to take furlough for two years in May, 1869. He proceeded to England with his wife, Clementina Fergusson, only daughter of William M. Chute, of Chute Hall, county Kerry, to whom he had been married at Tanna on February 16, 1867. It may be mentioned here that she died on April 28, 1896, leaving one son and three daughters surviving her. One of her daughters married Mr. Claude Hill, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, now Member of the Council of Bombay, and another is the wife of Mr. L. S. R. Byrne, a master at Eton College.

Furlough without occupation would not have been any relaxation to West, and although a call to the Irish Bar

could add nothing to his qualifications for judicial work, he returned to duty in 1871 with the added titles of Barrister-at-law and M.A. and with the fruits of extensive study in all branches of law. The next period of his service from 1871 to 1886 constituted a record of eminent distinction as a High Court Judge such as few judges, whether barristers or civilians, have achieved. A few breaks in his continuity of service were caused by acting appointments until he was confirmed as Judge in 1873, and by his deputation to Simla in 1879 on the Indian Law Commission, to whose report he contributed the chapter on principles of codification, and then in 1884 to Cairo as Procureur Général of Egypt. Of his work in Egypt it is sufficient to say that his thorough scheme of reform hardly realized the temporary difficulties of the situation, but his labours materially assisted those who followed him. His activities, moreover, were not confined to his duties on the Bench. In 1878 he became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, he was President of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and to his own service he gave valuable aid in administering and then arranging the transfer of the Civil Service Provident Fund to Government. But his title to lasting remembrance as a public servant rests upon the learned judgments which he delivered in the High Court. The Bombay High Court Reports and Indian Law Reports are accessible to all who may wish to realize the wide range of information and the trained judgment which distinguished Raymond West as a Judge, and no important case of Hindu law is to-day argued or settled in the Privy Council without constant reference to his monumental treatise and his decisions from the Bench.

With his appointment as Member of Council, an office held by him from November 12, 1887, until his resignation in April, 1892, a period covering parts of the Governorships of Lord Reay and Lord Harris, West entered upon

new duties for which his early life of comparative isolation and his strictly judicial experience had not so fully equipped him. So far as the judicial work of Government and especially its appellate jurisdiction in native states were concerned unusual success and public satisfaction resulted from his administration. But having never experienced the insensible education which a public school freely distributes out of the class-room, he was not predisposed to compromise, and he applied to executive questions and revenue administration a strict and conservative view of justice that led him into conflict with his colleague in Council and the administrative heads of departments who desired to free the ryots and helpless masses of the population from the technicalities of the law. Believing that civil judges were the best human interpreters of right and wrong, West strenuously opposed measures like the Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act, which invaded the "sanctity of contracts", or projects which involved a curtailment of the peasants' right of sale and mortgage of land, which he regarded as unwarrantable restrictions of the rights of property. His nature was perhaps too sensitive, and a want of pliability, with something of pedantry, prevented recognition by others of his really kindly nature. Yet he rendered invaluable services to Government, and his minutes were a mine of deep and far-flung study. If a question of cantonment jurisdiction in a native state came up, Grotius, Vattel, and Puffendorf were accurately and aptly quoted, or a Bhayad dispute from Morvi would suggest an essay on feudal tenures or property in land worthy of Seebohm or Maine. If the power of reading his notes is not a lost art they must always guide future wayfarers on the dusty paths of the Bombay secretariat. He knew by heart the pithy sayings of famous judges, and was never at a loss to write on any subject. But if his industry through life was thus rewarded by a ready

pen, he paid the penalty of overwork in sleeplessness, and the writer can well remember his somewhat distressing experience of the learned judge's paces up and down the verandah by the seaside at Bombay in the very early hours of the morning.

After his retirement West found interest in teaching Indian law at Cambridge to selected candidates for the Civil Service, in discharging modest duties at the Penge police-court as a Justice of the Peace, and in continuous reading. Amongst the honours which he received the honorary degree of LL.D. given by the University of Bombay on March 24, 1892, was much appreciated. He was honoured by the University of Edinburgh on the occasion of its tercentenary celebrations with the degree of LL.D., and received the same honour from the Queen's University of Ireland. The French distinction of *Officier de l'Instruction Publique* was conferred on him in 1910. In June, 1888, he had received from his own Sovereign the dignity of a Knight Commander of the most eminent order of the Indian Empire. In the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society he took a prominent part, being President of the Bombay Society, and after his retirement he became Vice-President and subsequently Director of the London Society.

Modest as well as learned, philosophic in temperament, and yet of a broad sympathy which endeared him to many Hindu friends, he lived to the age of 80 despite the strain of overwork and sleeplessness which he bore with undaunted courage. He died at Upper Norwood on September 8, 1912, and was buried at Shirley Churchyard on the 12th of that month, leaving his widow Annie Kirkpatrick, daughter of Surgeon-General H. Cook, whom he had married on June 12, 1901, and the four children by his previous marriage mentioned above surviving him.

WILLIAM LEE-WARNER.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- Allan, J. The Coinage of the Maldivé Islands. 8vo. *London*, 1912. *From the Author.*
- Asakawa, K. Some of the Contributions of Feudal Japan to the New Japan. Pamphlet. 8vo. s.l., 1912. *From the Author.*
- BARHEBRÄUS. Buch der Strahlen. Übersetzung usw. von A. Moberg. 1^{er} Teil. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1912. *From the Publisher.*
- Blackman, A. M. The Temple of Dendûr. 4to. *Le Caire*, 1911. *From the Author.*
- Budd, C. Chinese Poems. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1912. *From the Publishers.*
- BURNEY PAPERS. Vol. ii, pt. vi; vol. iii, pt. i. 4to. *Bangkok*, 1912. *From the Vajirañāna National Library.*
- Caland, W. Die Jaiminiya-Samhita. (Indische Forschungen, Heft ii.) 8vo. *Breslau*, 1907. *Purchased.*
- Campbell, Rev. W. Notes of Work in South Formosa during 1911. 8vo. *Tokyo*, 1912. *From the Author.*
- Coomaraswamy, Dr. A. K. Art and Swadeshi. 8vo. *Madras* [1912]. *From the Author.*
- Cordier, H. Bibliotheca Sinica. 2^{me} éd. 4 vols. 8vo. *Paris*, 1904-8. *Purchased.*
- Crosthwait, Major H. L. Investigation of the Theory of Isostasy in India. 4to. *Dehra Dun*, 1912. *From the Government of India.*
- Culalongkorn, H.M the late King. The Festivals of the Twelve Months. 8vo. *Bangkok*, 1912. *From the Vajirañāna National Library.*

- Dahlmann, J.** Die Thomas-Legende. 8vo. *Freiburg*, 1912.
From the Publisher.
- Davids, Mrs. Rhys.** Buddhism. 8vo. *London* [1912].
From the Author.
- Deussen, P.** System of the Vedānta. Translated from the German by C. Johnston. 8vo. *Chicago*, 1912.
From Messrs. Luzac & Co.
- DHANAMJAYA.** The Daśarūpa. Translated (and edited) by G. C. O. Haas. 8vo. *New York*, 1912.
From the Columbia University Press.
- EIGHT QUESTIONS** of King Bedraja of Ayuddhya, solved by Somdej Phra Buddha Ghosacariya A.D. 1690, with Preface by H.R.H. Prince Damrong. 8vo. *Bangkok*, 1912.
From the Vajirañāna National Library.
- Ephraim, S.** Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan. Transcribed by C. W. Mitchell. Vol. i. (Text and Translation Society.) *From the Publishers.*
- Evans, D. Tyssil.** Principles of Hebrew Grammar. Part i. 8vo. *London*, 1912.
From the Publisher.
- Farquhar, J. N.** A Primer of Hinduism. 2nd edition. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1912. *From the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.*
- Fergusson, James.** History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. Revised and edited by J. Burgess and R. Phene Spiers. 2 vols. 8vo. *London*, 1910. *From the Publisher.*
- Finot, L.** L'Inscription de Ban That. 8vo. *Hanoi*, 1912.
From the Author.
- Flury, S.** Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee. 8vo. *Heidelberg*, 1912. *From the Publisher.*
- Fraser, Lovat.** India under Curzon and after. 8vo. *London*, 1911.
Purchased.
- Garstang, J.** Land of the Hittites. 8vo. *London*, 1910.
Purchased.

Gartner, E. Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit. 8vo. Berlin, 1912. *From the Publishers.*

GAZETTEERS.

Bengal. Vol. xxx: Jessore. 8vo. Calcutta, 1912.
From the Government of Bengal.

Burma. Mergui. Vol. A. 8vo. Rangoon.
From the Government of India.

Central Provinces. Amraoti. Vol. A. 8vo. Bombay, 1912.
From the Government of India.

United Provinces. Vol. ix, Farrukhabad; vol. xiii, Bareilly. 8vo. Allahabad, 1912. *From the Government of India.*

Ghose, Babu B. M. Gharer Katha. Calcutta, 1911.
From the Author.

Gollancz, H. The Book of Protection. 8vo. London, 1912.
From the Publisher.

Graham, W. A. Siam, Handbook. 2nd edition. 8vo. London, 1912.
From the Publishers.

Grünwedel, A. Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan. 8vo. Berlin, 1912. *Purchased.*

Heber, E. A. Japanische Industriearbeit. 8vo. Jena, 1912.
From the Publishers.

Hilka, A. Die Altindischen Personennamen. (Indische Forschungen, Heft iii.) 8vo. Breslau, 1910. *Purchased.*

Hiriyanna, M. Īsāvāsy- and Kēnōpanishad translated into English. 2 vols. 8vo. Srirangam, 1911-12.
From the Translator.

Horton, M. Theologie des Islam. 8vo. Leipzig, 1912.
From the Publisher.

Huart, Cl. Histoire des Arabes. Tome i. 8vo. Paris, 1912.
From the Publishers.

Hussey, M. I. Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum. Part i. Harvard Semitic Series, vol. iii. 4to. Cambridge, U.S.A., 1912. *From the Editorial Committee.*

- INDIA.** Classified Catalogue of the Library of the Director-General of Archæology. Supplement II. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1912. *From J. H. Marshall, Esq.*
- Iyer, L. K. Ananta Krishna.** Cochin Tribes and Castes. Vol. ii. 8vo. *Madras*, 1912. *From the Author.*
- Jastrow, M.** Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. Lief. xix. 8vo. *Giessen*, 1912. *From the Publishers.*
- Kagwa, Sir Apolo.** Ekitabo kya Basekabaka Bebuganda. 8vo. *London*, 1912. *From the Publisher.*
- Kanazawa, S.** Untersuchungen über die Japanischen und Koreanischen Ortsnamen in Alten Zeiten. 8vo. [*Seoul*], 1912. *From the Government-General of Chosen.*
- Kerestedjian, Bedros Effendi.** Quelques Matériaux pour un Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Turque. Ed. par son Neveu Haig. 8vo. *Londres*, 1912. *From the Editor.*
- KITĀB TĀRĪKH NABOLIYAN BONAPARTA AL-AWAL.** 8vo. *Bairout*, 1868. *From Dr. A. Tien.*
- Lal, Behari.** Science, Religion, and Philosophy. Part i: Cosmogony. 8vo. *Agra*, 1912. *From the Author.*
- Lammens, H.** Fāṭima et les Filles de Mahomet. 8vo. *Romæ*, 1912. *From the Publisher.*
- Laufer, B.** Confucius and his Portraits. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Chicago*, 1912. *From the Author.*
- Jade, a study in Chinese Archæology and Religion. 8vo. *Chicago*, 1912. *From the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.*
- Lidaya, Phraya.** "Traibhumi" Buddhist Cosmogony. Ed. with Preface by H.R.H. Prince Damrong. 8vo. *Bangkok*, 1912. *From the Vajirāṇāna National Library.*
- Macdonell, A. A., and Keith, A. Berriedale.** Vedic Index of Names and Subjects. 2 vols. *From the India Office.*

- Manassewitsch, B.** Lehrbuch die Arabische Sprache. 4^{te} Aufl.
Sm. 8vo. *Wien* [1912]. *From the Publisher.*
- Marçais, W.** Textes Arabes de Tanger. 8vo. *Paris*, 1912.
From the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
- Martin, W. A. P.** Chinese Legends and Lyrics. 2nd edition.
8vo. *Shanghai*, 1912. *From the Publishers.*
- Meyer, E.** Histoire de l'Antiquité. Tome i. Trad. par
M. David. 8vo. *Paris*, 1912. *From the Publisher.*
- Nallasvami Pillai, J. M.** Studies in Śaiva Siddhanta. 8vo.
Madras, 1911. *Purchased.*
- NEWARK MUSEUM.** The Tibet Collection, Ed. N. Crane
Memorial. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Newark*, 1912.
From Dr. Berthold Laufer.
- PENNSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.** E. B. Coxe, jun., Expedition to
Nubia. Vol. vi: Karanòg, by F. Ll. Griffith. 4to.
Philadelphia, 1911.
From the Publishing Committee of the Expedition.
- Penny, Rev. F.** The Church in Madras. 8vo. *London*, 1904.
Purchased.
- Pitsudski, B.** Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language
and Folk-lore. 8vo. *Cracow*, 1912.
From the Academy of Sciences, Cracow.
- Pongrácz, Dr. A.** Urgeschichte der Magyaren. 8vo. *Gyer-
gyószentmiklós*, 1912. *From the Author.*
- Roemer, H.** Die Bābi Behā'ī. 8vo. *Potsdam*, 1912.
From the Verlag der Deutschen Orient Mission.
- SĀID L'ANDALOUS, ABOU QĀSIM.** Kitāb Tabaqāt al-Umara.
Publié par le P. Louis Cheikho. 8vo. *Beyrouth*, 1912.
From the Editor.
- Saito, Hisho.** A History of Japan. Translated by Elizabeth
Lee. 8vo. *London*, 1912. *From the Publishers.*

Sen, R. R. The Holy City (Benares). 8vo. *Chittagong*, 1912.
From the Author.

Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel J. Lushei Kuki Clans. 8vo.
London, 1912. *From the Publishers.*

SINHALESE MSS.

Kāvyadīpaniya of Samarajīva.

Rājāvaliya. (A History of Ceylon to 300 A.D.)

Pali poem with Sinhalese paraphrase.

Vassantara-jātaka (Sinhalese version). 2 copies.

From the Rev. H. Anderson Meaden.

SIYARAT AL-GADISIYYIN AL-YAUMIYAT. Abrégé de la Vie des
Saints. Tome i. 8vo. *Mossoul*, 1870. *From Dr. A. Tien.*

Soane, E. B. To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise. 8vo.
London, 1912. *From the Publisher.*

Tagore, Rabindra Nath. Gitanjali. 8vo. *London*, 1912.
From the India Society.

Tisdall, W. St. C. Christianity and other Faiths. 8vo.
London, 1912. *From the Publisher.*

Travancore, H.H. Swati Tirunal Sri Rama Varma Kula-
sekharā Perumal, Maharaja of. Bhaktimanjari. Edited
by T. Gaṇapati Sastri. 8vo. *Trivandrum*, 1904.
From the Travancore Government.

TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES. Nos. xi-xvii. Ed. by T.
Gaṇapati Sastri. 8vo. *Trivandrum*, 1911-12.
From the Travancore Government.

Tsurayuki, Ki no. The Tosa Diary. Translated from the
Japanese by William N. Porter. 8vo. *London*, 1912.
From the Publisher.

Van der Tuuk, Dr. H. N. Kawi-Balinesesch Woordenboek.
Deel iv. 8vo. *Batavia*, 1912.
From the Batavian Government.

Varma, A. R. Rajaraja. Laghu Paniniyam. 8vo. *Trivandrum*,
1911. *From the Author.*

Vidyadharm, Phra Maha. A Translation and Commentary on the Kalyani Inscription in Pegu. 8vo. *Bangkok*, 1912.

From the Vajirañāna National Library.

Viśākhadatta. *Mudrārākṣasa*. Edited by A. Hillebrandt. (Indische Forschungen, Heft iv.) 8vo. *Breslau*, 1912.

From the Publisher.

Wagiswara, W. D. C., and **Saunders**, K. J. The Buddha's "Way of Virtue". Translated from the Dhammapada. 8vo. *London*, 1912.

From the Publisher.

Whitworth, G. C. An Anglo-Indian Dictionary. 8vo. *London*, 1885.

From the Author.

Wied, K. Leichtfassliche Anleitung zur Erlernung der Türkischen Sprache. 4^{te} Aufl. Sm. 8vo. *Wien* [1912].

From the Publisher.

Yang Chu. Garden of Pleasure. Translated by A. Forke. 8vo. *London*, 1912.

From the Publisher.

Zadeh, H. Kazem. Relation d'un Pélerinage à la Mecque en 1910-11. 8vo. *Paris*, 1912.

From the Author.

JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1913

VIII

THE PRITHVIRAJA VIJAYA

BY HAR BILAS SARDA, B.A., F.R.S.L., M.R.A.S., F.S.S.

THIS celebrated historical poem, written to sing the glories of the last Hindu emperor of India, the illustrious Prithvirāja Chauhān, records the gallant deeds of the Chauhān kings of Ajmer, and is of great importance to the history of India. Only one manuscript copy of the poem is known to be in existence. It is a birch-bark MS. in Śāradā characters and is in the Deccan College library, Poona, where it is numbered 150 in the catalogue¹ of the collection of 1875-6. It was discovered in Kashmir in A.D. 1875 by Dr. Bühler in the course of his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS.²

All that is known of the contents of this poem is from (1) the few lines in Dr. Bühler's report³ of his Kashmir tour; (2) Dr. Bühler's article on "Ajmer", in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvi, pp. 162-3; (3) his letter to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, published in the Proceedings of the Society for April-May, 1893, pp. 94-5; and (4) Mr. J. Morison's short article headed "Some Account of the Genealogies in the Prithvirāja Vijaya", in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 188-92.

¹ *Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College*, by S. R. Bhāndarkar, 1888, p. 81.

² *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the RAS.*, extra No. xxxiv, 1877 A.D., p. 63.

³ *Ibid.*

The condition of the MS. is far from satisfactory. "In many places," says Mr. Morison, "the material has been frayed away, and the text is therefore defective." In fact, the lower portions of most of the bark leaves is gone, and of the twelve sargas (cantos) contained in the MS. not one is complete. Dr. Bühler says: "It is a great pity that the old MS. is mutilated and in such a condition as to make the work of reading it very difficult. The beginning is wanting. The leaves which contain cantos i-x have been broken in the middle by the friction of the thick string used for sewing the volume. Further, the lower portions of a considerable number of leaves have been lost, and as the lower left-hand side of the margin on which stood the figures numbering the leaves have also been broken off, it is impossible to determine the connection of the upper and the lower halves by any other means than by the sense."¹

Last year I got a transcript of this MS. made by a pandit for P. Gauri Shankar on payment of an honorarium through Mr. Belvalkar, of the Deccan College, Poona, and after a careful perusal of the poem a brief summary of such of its contents as are of any historical value is given below.

The name of the author of the poem has, unfortunately, not been preserved in the MS. He appears, however, to have been a court poet of Prithvirāja, as, in the first sarga, the emperor is expected to listen to the recitation of the poem. He was probably a Kashmiri pandit,² as (1) his style closely resembles that of Bilhana, the author of *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*; (2) the *Mangalācaran* and criticism of other poets in the beginning of the poem are on the same lines as in Bilhana's work; (3) Kashmir is

¹ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the RAS., extra No. xxxiv A, 1877 A.D., p. 63.

² See also Dr. Bühler's letter in the Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1893, p. 94.

praised (sarga xii, leaf 83); (4) the camel, perhaps the most useful animal in Rajputana, is ill-spoken of in the poem, which no poet of Rajputana would do; (5) the Kashmiri poet, Jonarāja, the author of the second *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*, has written a commentary on it, and (6) so far as is known, the work has been mentioned and quoted from only by a Kashmiri writer, Jayaratha, and that soon after the composition of the work.

It is possible that Jayānaka, the Kashmiri poet, whose entry in the court of Prithvirāja is recorded in sarga xii just at the end of the MS., was the author of Prithvirāja Vijaya, but until a complete copy of the work is discovered, the mystery is likely to remain uncleared.

As regards the date of the poem, it appears that it was composed during the lifetime of Prithvirāja. This finds confirmation from the fact that the poet Jayaratha, who flourished about A.D. 1200,¹ quotes in his work *Vimarśini*,² from the Prithvirāja Vijaya. And though the probabilities are that the poem was composed after the achievement of Prithvirāja's chief exploit, his great victory over Sultān Shahāb-ud-din Ghori in A.D. 1191,³ it is clear that, as the poem mentions in sarga ii the defeat of the Ghori Sultān at the hands of the king of Gujarāt (Bhimadeva), which event, according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, took place in A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178),⁴ the poem must have been composed some time after A.D. 1178, but before A.D. 1200.

Apart from the literary merits of the poem, which are considerable, the accuracy of the historical information contained in it is not only vouched for by the fact that the well-known historian Jonarāja, the author of the second *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* and the well-known commentary

¹ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 171. His brother Jayadratha lived about A.D. 1150 (ibid., p. 153).

² Bombay edition, p. 64.

³ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 167.

⁴ Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 452; also Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 162.

on Kirātārjuniya (written in A.D. 1448), has written a commentary on it, but receives full support from important inscriptions discovered in various places. The mention by Jonarāja of various readings shows that the poem enjoyed great popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D.

SUMMARY OF ITS CONTENTS

The first sarga sings the praises of the poets Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Bhāsa,¹ the author of Viṣṇudhārmah, and mentions the contemporary poets Kṛiṣṇa and Viśvarūpa; and, while running down Kṛiṣṇa, eulogizes Viśvarūpa and the emperor Prithvirāja, who is said to have been conversant with six languages. Viśvarūpa is stated to have belonged to Ajmer and to have been the friend and guide of the author. It is stated that the author was greatly esteemed by Prithvirāja. He (the author) then dilates on the promise of greatness given by Prithvirāja in his childhood. The author's residence in Pushkar² is then mentioned, and we are told that a temple of Śiva named Ajagandha Māhādeva existed there at the time. The poet makes Brahmā say to Viṣṇu that originally there were three *zagnakunds* (sacrificial pits), but in course of time they became lakes. The wrongdoing of the Mlechhas (Musalmāns) at Pushkar is then described, as well as the fact that lands given in charity were resumed by them. The Brahmins of Pushkar were in tears owing to the oppression of the Musalmāns, and it is stated that Turushka women bathed while in their menses in the sacred lake. The sarga ends with an account of the great sanctity of Pushkar.

¹ The greatest of the dramatists who flourished before the time of Kālidāsa. Only recently some thirteen dramas of Bhāsa were discovered in Travancore, though Viṣṇudhārmah is not one of them. *Vide* Svapna Vāsavadatta (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. xv), Introduction, p. 1.

² For a detailed account of Pushkar see *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive*, pp. 136-46.

The second sarga contains an account of the descent into this world of Chāhāmāna — the founder of the Chauhān clan of Rajputs—from Sūryamandal. In several places he is mentioned as belonging to the Solar dynasty of kings. His brother, Dhananjaya, was his commander-in-chief. In his family was born Vāsudeva, who was greatly respected by his contemporaries.

The third and the fourth cantos are taken up with an account of Vāsudeva and of his going to Śākambhari (Sāmbhar), the famous salt lake which is situated at a distance of 53 miles (by railway) north-east of Ajmer. The origin of the salt lake is thus described by the poet :—

Vāsudeva one day went on a hunting expedition. Being impelled by good omens he did not return to his capital, but had a lofty palace built there which no one else was allowed to enter. One day, after spending the midday in the hunt, he retired to his palace, where he found a divine being, decked in jewels, sleeping on his bed. The king was very much surprised, and from a magic pill which slipped from the sleeper's half-open mouth and rolled towards the king's feet, he inferred that the sleeper was a Vidyādhara. Suddenly the Vidyādhara awoke, and as the power to fly in the air which these celestial beings possess depends on the possession of the pill, he was very disconsolate at losing it. The king offered him the pill, at which the Vidyādhara complimented him on his magnanimity in not having taken advantage of his sleep to get possession of a charm of such power, even when lying at his feet. He then told the king that his father was a Vidyādhara named Śākambhari, whose devotions in that forest had pleased the goddess Pārvati so much that she resided there under the name Śākambhari; that the speaker often paid visits to the shrine, the fruit of which he had obtained in meeting such a high-minded personage as the king. He then told the king to send away his army, and at sunset to plant his lance in the ground and

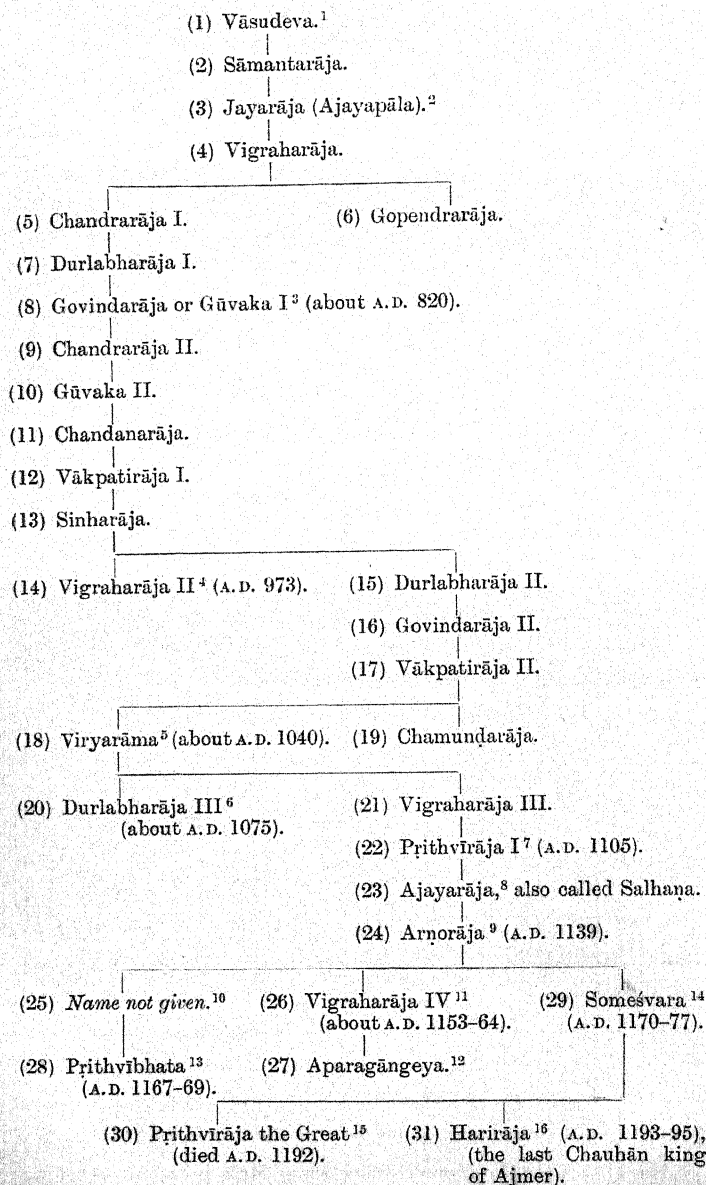
ride away towards his capital¹ without ever looking back, adding that that would be some small recompense to the king for his favour to the Vidyādhara. Saying this, the Vidyādhara vanished. The king did as he was told. While he was riding away at full speed he heard the sound of ocean's waves behind him, and forgetting the advice of the Vidyādhara he looked behind to see what was following him. The Vidyādhara appeared, this time in the sky, and said that that was to be a salt lake. Kurukshetra (5 yojans = 40 miles in extent) conferred benefit in the next world only, while the salt lake would bring renown to the king's line, as it would yield advantages in both the worlds. He added that the goddess Śākambhari and Āśāpuri, the family deity of the king, would keep up the lake, which would always remain in the possession of his family. The Vidyādhara then disappeared, having first pointed out to the king that he had come to the shrine of Śākambhari, to whom he should now go to pay his respects. The king dismounted and tasted the water of the lake, and having spent the night not very far from the feet of the goddess, started for his capital the next morning.²

¹ According to the Bijolian inscription, Vāsudeva's capital was Ahichhetrapur. An inscription recently found in the possession of the descendants of Gyanji Jabi, Colonel Tod's *guru*, says that Ahichhetrapur was the capital of Jāngludēsa—the country which subsequently came to be known as Sapādalakhsh.

² Tradition says that when in s. 741 (A.D. 684) Dula Rai, the Chauhān king of Ajmer, was slain, and his younger brother "Mānik Rai fled, pursued by his foe, the goddess Śākambhari appeared to him and bade him establish himself in the spot where she manifested herself, guaranteeing to him the possession of all the ground he could encompass with his horse on that day, but commanded him not to look back until he had returned to the spot where he left her. He commenced the circuit with what he deemed his steed could accomplish, but, forgetting the injunction, he was surprised to see the whole space covered as with a sheet. This was the desiccated *sirr*, or salt lake, which he named after his patroness Śākambhari, whose statue still exists on a small island in the lake, now corrupted to Sambhar".—Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. ii, p. 490 (Calcutta edition).

The fifth sarga contains the genealogy of the descendants of King Vāsudeva, with short accounts of some of them. After Vāsudeva came Sāmantarāja, but it is not stated whether he was Vāsudeva's son or even his immediate successor. The genealogy given here corresponds exactly with that given in the famous Bijolian (Mewār) inscription of A.D. 1170, which begins with Sāmanta and ends with Someśvara, except that the latter has Gūvaka in place of Govindarāja (No. 8) and Śaśinṛipa (synonym of Chandrarāja) for Chandrarāja (No. 9), and one Sinhata between Chāmundarāja (No. 19) and Durlabha (No. 20), which latter name appears as Dusal. Also, that in the Bijolian inscription Vākpatirāja (No. 12) is called Vappya-rāja, and Govindarāja (No. 16) Gandu. *Vide* the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. lv, pt. i, p. 40. The text is full of mistakes, and some of the names have not been correctly deciphered. I have referred to the correct copy of the inscription prepared by P. Gauri Shankar Ojha. The genealogies given in (1) the Bijolian inscription of A.D. 1170, (2) the Harṣa Stone inscription of A.D. 973 (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, pp. 116-130), (3) at the end of Prabandhakōśa, stated to be four or five centuries old (*vide Gaiḍavaho*, Introduction, p. cxxxvi, n. ii), (4) the *Hammīra Māhākāvya*, written about the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., (5) the *Surjan Carita* (written in the sixteenth century A.D.¹), which last we owe to the courtesy of Māhāmahopādhyāya P. Har Prasāda Śāstri of Calcutta, are given below in tabular form to show that the genealogy in the Prithvirāja Vijaya finds full support from the inscriptions, and that, with the lapse of time and the disappearance of writings like the Prithvirāja Vijaya and inscriptions, the genealogical lists became more and more inaccurate.

¹ No. 1135 of the Government collection of MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is an epic poem of twenty cantos, and was written at the request of Surjana Singh of Bundi, at Chunār, during Akbar's reign, by the poet Chandra Sekhara, a Bengālī Vaidya by caste.



¹ The genealogy given at the end of the Prabandhakosa MS., which is stated to be four or five centuries old, gives v.s. 608 (A.D. 551) as the

The Prithvirāja Vijaya says that Gūvaka II's sister named Kalāvati had twelve suitors for her hand. She

date when Vāsudeva flourished. Vide *Gaṇḍaraho* (Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. xxxiv), Introduction, p. cxxxv, note.

² Called Jayantrāja in Jonarāja's Commentary. According to the Prabandhakośa genealogy, this Ajayarāja was the founder of Ajmer.

³ The Harṣa Stone inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 121, verse 13, n. 26) says that Gūvaka "attained pre-eminence as a hero in the Assembly of the prince" Nāgāvaloka. This Nāgāvaloka was undoubtedly the Pratihāra king Nāgabhatta of Mārwar and Kanauj, whose Buchakalā inscription is dated the v.s. 872 (A.D. 815), and who died in s. 890 (A.D. 833). Gūvaka must, therefore, have flourished about A.D. 820. Mr. Morison omits this "Govindarāja" in the genealogy given in his article in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. vii, pp. 188-92, though the MS. plainly says:—

प्रजापतिपदब्रह्मा शाङ्खपुरुषोत्तमः ।

सुतो गोविन्दराजोऽस्य शक्तिचयमहेखरः ॥

(Sarga v, 21.)

⁴ The Harṣa Stone inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, pp. 116-30).

⁵ Viryarāma was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Mālwa (A.D. 1010-53).

⁶ Durlabharāja III assisted King Udayāditya of Mālwa (A.D. 1059-86) in defeating King Karaṇ of Gujārāt, who reigned A.D. 1063-93.

⁷ The Jina Mātā Temple inscription (unpublished) of v.s. 1162, *vide* Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for 1909-10, p. 52.

⁸ The genealogy after Ajayarāja is given in cantos vi-viii.

⁹ Another inscription in the temple of Jina Mātā, of the time of Arṇorāja, *vide* Progress Report A.S. India, W.C., for 1909-10, p. 52.

¹⁰ Though the Prithvirāja Vijaya nowhere mentions the name of Arṇorāja's eldest son by Sudhavā, we find from the Hammīra Māhākāvya, the Prabandhakośa, and the Surjan Caritra, that his name was Jugdeva and that he succeeded Arṇorāja as king of Ajmer. The Gwalior and Kamaon MS. genealogies consulted by General Cunningham also mention Jugdeva; see A.S. Reports, vol. i, p. 158.

¹¹ The Harakēli Nāṭaka, by Emperor Vighararāja IV (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xx, p. 212), gives the date of the play as Mārgha Sudi 5, s. 1210 (November 22, A.D. 1153), and the Delhi Siwalik pillar inscription of Vighararāja (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, p. 218) is dated the Vaiśākha Śuti 15, v.s. 1220 (April 9, A.D. 1164).

¹² Mr. Morison omits this name in his article in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, but the MS. contains it. Sarga viii, verse 54, says—

सुतोऽप्यपरगाङ्गे यो नित्येस्वरविसुनुना ।

उन्नतिं रविवशस्य पृथ्वीराजेनपञ्चता ॥

The Prabandhakośa genealogy mentions him as Visaldeva's (Vighararāja)

chose for her lord the King of Kanauj, to whom she was married. Gūvaka defeated the remaining eleven princes and gave their wealth to her sister.

Gūvaka's son Chandanarāja's¹ queen was named Rudrāṇi, also called Ātmaprabhā and Yogini. She fixed 1,000 lingas of Śiva on the ghats of the Pushkar lake. They were like lamps to remove darkness. Chandanarāja's son, Vākpatirāja I,² was a great warrior and won 188 victories. He built a large Śiva temple at Pushkar.

Sinharāja (No. 13) also built a Śiva temple at Pushkar.³

successor and names him Amargūngeya. The historian Abū-l-Fazl mentions him, but calls him Amargangu. The Kamaon and Gwalior MS. genealogies call him Gangadeva or Amardeva; *vide* Archaeological Survey of India, vol. i, p. 158.

¹³ The Hansi inscription (*Indian Antiquary* for 1912, p. 19). See also the Maināl inscription of A.D. 1169 in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. lv, pt. i, p. 46. Prithvibhata died in A.D. 1169, as his successor Someśvara is mentioned as reigning in the Bijolian inscription of v.s. 1226, Phalgun Vadi 3 (February 5, A.D. 1170); *vide* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. lv, pt. i, p. 40.

¹⁴ The (unpublished) Ānvaldā inscription of the time of Someśvara in P. Gauri Shankar's collection is dated the Bhādrapad Sudi 4, v.s. 1134 (A.D. 1177).

¹⁵ The earliest known (unpublished) inscription of the time of Emperor Prithvirāja is the Sati Pillar inscription in Lohāri (Mewār), and is dated the 12th day of the dark half of Asārh, v.s. 1236 (A.D. 1179).

¹⁶ The Tāntoli inscription (unpublished) of King Harirāja, dated Vaisākḥ Vadi 4, v.s. 1251 (April 13 or 14, A.D. 1194), discovered in February, A.D. 1912, now in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. The Tāju-l-Ma'āshir of Hasan Nizāmī says that in A.D. 1193, Harirāja drove out Prithvirāja's son (Govindrāja) from the throne of Ajmer, on which Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn (Shahāb-ud-dīn) Ghori had placed him after Prithvirāja's death, and not only proclaimed his independence, but advanced towards Delhi to recover it from Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak (Elliott's *History of India*, vol. ii, p. 225). It was in A.D. 1195 that Harirāja was finally defeated and Ajmer passed under Quṭb-ud-dīn. *Vide* Duff's *Chronology*, p. 170, and Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 519.

¹ The Harsha Stone inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 117), says Chandana defeated or slew in battle the Tomara leader Rudreṇa (probably Tanwar Rudrapāla of Delhi).

² Vākpatirāja I put to flight Tantrapāla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked; see *ibid.*, p. 117.

³ The Harṣa Stone inscription also mentions his building a Śiva temple, and adds that he "defeated the Tomara leader together with

He possessed a large force of cavalry and was called "the enveloper in darkness by the dust raised by the heels of his horsemen". He was very forbearing towards his enemies.

Vigraharāja II (No. 14) conquered the country to the south as far as the Narbadā and defeated¹ King Muḥrāja of Gujarāt, who fled to the fort of Kānthdūrḡa (Kanthkot in Cutch). He (Vigraharāja) built a temple to the goddess Āśāpurā (fulfilment of hope) at Broach, on the banks of the River Réwā (Narbadā).

Durlabharāja II's (No. 15) minister was named Madhava. Durlabha's son Govindrāja² (No. 16) was followed by King Vākpatirāja II (No. 17), who killed Ambā Prasāda,³ ruler of Āghāt (Ahād, the old capital of Mewār), and rent his mouth asunder with a dagger. He was a great warrior and was well remembered at the time the poem was written. King Vīryarāma (No. 18) was killed by the famous King Bhoja of Mālwā. Vīryarāma's brother,

Lavaṇa, and annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction" (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 127). According to the Prabandhakośa genealogy, Sinharāja defeated Hājji-ud-Dīn at Jethān (Jethānā, 20 miles from Ajmer). The *Hamṃira Māhākāvya* (p. 14) says Sinharāja killed the Mussalman general named Hātim.

¹ The *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* of Merutunga also mentions this event; vide C. H. Tawney's Translation, pp. 23-24. The *Hamṃira Māhākāvya* (p. 14) says Vigraharāja killed King Muḥrāja and conquered his country.

² According to the Prabandhakośa (*Gaṇḍavaho*, Introduction, p. cxxxvii), Govindrāja defeated Sultān Maḥmūd. If this Sultān was Maḥmūd of Ghazni, then the event is the one that took place in A.D. 1025 on Sultān Maḥmūd's way to Somnāth (Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 113; also Tod's *Rājasthan*, Calcutta edition of A.D. 1884, vol. ii, p. 493).

³ The Chitor inscription of s. 1331 (A.D. 1254) published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 80, calls him Āmbra Prasāda, while the (unpublished) inscription of s. 1517 (A.D. 1460) found at Kumbalgarh in Mewār (in P. Gauri Shankar's collection) gives the name as Ambā Prasāda; so also the *Eklinga Māhātama*, written during the reign of Rānā Kumbhā of Mewār (A.D. 1433-68). The Chitor and Kumbalgarh inscriptions make him the successor of Śakti Kumāra, whose Ātpur inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxix, p. 191) is dated the v.s. 1034 (A.D. 977).

Harsha Stone Inscription (A.D. 973).	Bijolian Rock Inscription (A.D. 1170).	Prithvirāja Vijaya.
		Chāhāmāna
		Vāsudeva
	Sāmanta	Sāmantarāja
	Jayarāja	Jayarāja
	Vigraha	Vigraharāja I
		Chandrarāja
	Chandra	Gopendrarāja
	Gopendra	Durlabharāja
	Durlabh	Govindrāja
Gūvaka	Gūvaka	Chandrarāja
Chandrarāja	Śaśinripa	Gūvaka
Gūvaka II	Guvāka	Chandanarāja
Chandana	Chandana	Vākpati
Vākpatirāja	Vappayarāja	Sinharāja
Sinharāja	Sinharāja	
Vigraharāja (A.D. 973)	Vigraha	Vigraharāja II
Govindrāja	Durlabha	Durlabharāja
Durlabhrāja	Gandu	Govindarāja
	Vākpati	Vākpatirāja II
	Vīryarāma	Vīryarāma
	Chāmunda	Chāmunda
	Sinhaṭa	
	Dūsala	Durlabha
	Visala	Vigraharāja III
	Prithvirāja	Prithvirāja
	Ajayadeva	Ajayarāja
	Arnorāja	Arnorāja
	○ Vigraharāja	○ Vigraharāja IV
	Prithvirāja	Aparagāngeya
	Someśvara (A.D. 1170)	Prithvibhaṭa
		Someśvara
		Prithvirāja
		Harirāja

Prabandhakosa MS. (probably 14th century A.D.).	Hammira Māhākāvya (early in the 15th century A.D.).	Surjana Carita (16th century A.D.).
	Chāhamāna	
Vāsudeva	Vāsudeva	Vāsudeva
Sāmanta	Naradena	Naradeva
Naradeva		Ajayapāla
Ajayarāja		Ajayarāja
Vigraharāja	Chandrarāja	Sāmantasinha
Vijayarāja	Jayapāla Chakri	Gurjara
Chandrarāja	Jayarāja	Chandra
Govindarāja	Samantsinha	Vajra
Durlabharāja		
	Gūvaka	
	Nandana	Viśvapati
Vatsarāja	Vaprarāja	Harirāja
Singharāja	Harirāja	Bhīma
Duryodhana	Sinharāja	
	Bhīma	Vigrahadewa
Vijayurāja	Vigraharāja	
Vapreyivara		Gundadeva
Durlabharāja	Gangadeva	Vallabha
Gandurāja	Vallabharāja	Rāmanātha
Bālapadeva	Rāma	Chāmunda
Vijayarāja	Chamundarāja	Durlabharāja
Chamundarāja	Durlabharāja	Dūśaladeva
Dūśaladeva	Dūsala	Viśaladeva
	Visala	Vallabha
Visaladeva	Prithvirāja	Analadeva
Prithvirāja	Alhanadeva	Jagadeva
Ālanadeva	Anāladeva	Viśaladeva
Jagadeva	Jagadeva	Ajayapāla
Visaladeva	Viśaladeva	Gangadeva
Amaragāngeya	Jayapāla	Someśvara
Pethaladeva	Gangapāla	
Someśvara	Someśvara	
Prithvirāja	Prithvirāja	Prithvirāja
Harirāja	Harirāja	Manikyarāja

Chāmundaarāja¹ (No. 19), built a temple of Vishnu at Narpur² (Narwar). Durlabharāja III (No. 20), also called Vira Singh, was killed in a battle with the Mātangas (Musalmans). Vighraharāja III³ (No. 21) gave a horse named Saranga to King Udayāditya of Mālwa, who with the help of that horse conquered King Karaṇ of Gujarāt.

Prithvirāja I⁴ (No. 22) attacked and killed in Pushkar 700 Chālukyas who had come to rob the Brahmins. He built an almshouse on the road to Somnāth.

Ajayarāja (No. 23) was also called Salhaṇa. He attacked and vanquished Sulhaṇa,⁵ King of Mālwa. Ajayarāja filled the world with silver coins, and the poets filled it with dramas composed in *suvarṇa* (good letters). His queen Somalekhā (Somalladevi) used to coin fresh rupees every day. She built a *vāpi* (stepped well) in front of a temple. Ajayarāja attacked and defeated the Musalmans in battle. Ajayarāja founded a town and named it after himself. This is the town of Ajayameru or Ajmer. The poet is eloquent in praise of the town and the palaces in it. He says: "Ajayameru is full of temples of gods and fully deserves the title of Meru (the abode of gods). The sacrificial fire is the cause of rain. From its lofty houses one could pick up the stars like flowers, can bow to the celestial river (the Milky Way) and can listen to

¹ The Bijolian inscription (v. 14) also makes Chamundaarāja as the successor of Viryarāma (Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. lv, pt. i, p. 40).

² Narwar is situated in Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer.

³ Vighraharāja III is the famous Vir Visala. According to the Bijolian inscription, his queen's name was Rājadevi.

⁴ Prithvirāja's queen was Rasalladevi: Bijolian inscription.

⁵ The Bijolian inscription says that Ajayarāja captured in a battle Sulhaṇa, the commander-in-chief of the army, tied him to the back of a camel, and brought him to Ajmer. He is further stated to have killed three kings named Chāchig, Sindhul, and Yaśorāja (verse 15). A stone inscription found in the *Adhai dinkā Jhonprā*, Ajmer, and now in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, says that Ajayarāja conquered the country up to Ujjain.

the seven sages (in the Great Bear) reciting the Vedas in the evening. Kaliyuga, though it goes everywhere, cannot see it, although a thing situated on an elevation is visible to all. The god Śiva is present in the hearts of men, and Cupid blazes in the hearts of ladies, the amorous glances from whose eyes fan him. The rulers rule over the country as far as the sea and their fame is not confined to the earth. *Bāories* (stepped wells), wells, lakes, and water depots are full of water. People sitting in *jharokās* enjoy the cool breezes of the Ganges of Paradise. The god Varuṇa, afraid of the oceanly fire, has taken shelter here, which is the cause of water being so plentiful, even in the wells on the hill-fort of Ajmer. The perfumed incense burnt by ladies to dry their hair, gathers in thick clouds and hides the moon. The increasing prosperity of the city has laid low the pride of the city of Indra. Other towns are infested with thieves, have tyrannical rulers, are dependent on rain, have famines, and are poor. People get water from Pushkar and revere it. Lovers exchange excellent repartees. Servants laugh at nurses when the latter cry out at children laying their hands on lamps of jewels (which give forth light but burn not). The big blocks of white stone used in building houses in this city make the black spots in the moon appear white by reflected light. The camphor and musk which drop from the bodies of the citizens in the streets make the clothes of the passers-by white-black. The city Rāma conquered after crossing the sea (the Golden Lankā) and that founded by Kṛṣṇa in the sea (Dwārkā) are not fit to be handmaids of Ajmer. This city is, as it were, the husband of Indra's city, Amravati."

The sixth sarga contains an account of Arṇorāja (No. 24). Arṇorāja completely vanquished the Musalmans who had come via the desert, where for want of water they had to drink the blood of horses. Large numbers of them in heavy armour were killed by the

heroes of Ajmer. The victory was celebrated with great élat, and in order to purify the place where the Musalmans had fallen, the king constructed a lake¹ and filled it with the River Chandra,² which takes its rise in the forest of Pushkar (Pushkarāranya). Arṇorāja built a temple of Śiva in the name of his father Ajayarāja,³ which was, like the Himālayās, to fill up the lake.

Arṇorāja had two queens, one named Sudhavā of Avichi (lit. without waves) or Mārwar, and the other Kānchandevī, the daughter of the celebrated Sidharāja Jayasingh of Gujarāt.⁴ By Sudhavā Arṇorāja had three sons, who differed from one another as the three *guṇas* (Satva, Rajas, and Tamas), Vighararāja being like the Satva. About the eldest the poet simply says that he "rendered to him (his father) the same service as Bhṛigu's son (Parasurāma) had rendered to his mother, and went out like a *batti*, leaving behind an evil smell". Kānchandevī gave birth to Someśvara. As the astrologers had foretold that Someśvara's son would be an incarnation of Rāma, so his maternal grandfather took him (Someśvara) away to his Court. The astrologers said that when Rāma declared that after incarnating as Krishna and Buddha, he would again incarnate, Kauśalyā (Rāma's mother) said she would also incarnate and be his mother, and Lakṣmaṇa

¹ This lake, called Anā Sāgar, after Arṇorāja, who is popularly known in Rajputana as Ānāji, is the most beautiful sight of Ajmer. Sanskrit writers call Arṇorāja, Ānāk Annalladeva; *vide* the Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. xix, p. 218). The *Hamīra Māhākāvya* (p. 15) says that "Anala dug a tank at Ajmer".

² Now called the Bāndī River. Further down its course it is known as the Luni River.

³ This is the well-known temple of Ajayapāla, situated in a beautiful valley 7 miles from Ajmer, to the south of the Taragarh Hill.

⁴ The *Kīrti Kaumadī* of Someśvara says that Sidharāja Jayasingh differed from Vishnu in this respect, that while Vishnu conquered Arṇorāja (ocean) and took his daughter (Lakshmi), Sidharāja Jayasingh conquered Arṇorāja (King of Ajmer) but gave his own daughter to him in marriage (*Kīrti Kaumadī*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, canto ii, verses 27-9, p. 11).

said he would be his brother. Then follows an account of the Somavansa, or the lunar race of kings. The Moon, Buddha, Pururavā, and Bharat are described (here there is a break in the MS.), then Kārtavīrya (or a thousand arms), who is named Kalchuri. In his line was born Sāhasikh (courageous), who came to Tripuri, and in the *māsān* (public burning-place for the dead) there saved a man who was at the point of death.

In canto vii Jayasingh is declared to have been an incarnation of Kumbodhar, a follower of Śiva. Jayasingh was succeeded by his nephew Kumārpāla, and as he brought up young Someśvara, his name Kumārpāla (protector of a child) became a significant one. Kumārpāla always kept Someśvara near himself. Someśvara with his own sword cut off the head of the Rāja of Konkan,¹ during Kumārpāla's invasion of that country. Someśvara married Kārpurdevī,² daughter of the King of Tripuri (Tewar, near Jubbulpur, in Central India), and Kārpurdevī gave birth to Prithvirāja. The poet says that when Kārpurdevī went into the confinement room it was the end of Vaiśākh, bright half, that Mars was in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Jupiter in Pisces, Sun in Aries, Moon in Taurus, and Mercury in Gemini (the portions of the MS. giving the positions of Venus, the ascending and descending nodes are gone). Prithvirāja was born on Jaistha 12 (the bright or the dark half and the year are not given).

The eighth sarga describes the festivities and rejoicings on the auspicious occasion of the birth of Prithvirāja.

¹ Malikarjuna was the name of this prince. An inscription of his time, dated the Śaka year 1078 (April 24, A.D. 1156), is given in Kielhorn's List of Inscriptions of Southern India, No. 311. Malikarjuna must have been killed some time between A.D. 1160 and A.D. 1162 (*vide* Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, pt. i, p. 186, where, however, Ambada, Kumārpāla's general, is stated to have cut off Malikarjuna's head).

² The *Hamīra Māhākāvya* (p. 17) also mentions this marriage. So does the *Surjana Carita* of Chand Śekhar.

A wet nurse was appointed for Prithvirāja. A tiger's claw and illustrations of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu were placed in his necklace. The queen, Kārpurdevī, again became pregnant, and Harirāja was born on Māgh Sud 3.

Vigraharāja IV (No. 26) heard that the earth had been blessed with two sons of his brother (Someśvara); he was pleased and he died in peace. With his death the name "the friend of poets"¹ disappeared. His son, Apargāngeya (No. 27), who was unmarried, also died. Prithvibhata² (No. 28), the son of the eldest son of Sudhavā (the parricide), also departed, as if to bring back Vigraharāja. Then Lakṣmī left the line of Sudhavā, from which males, like pearls, were dropping off, and wished to see Someśvaradeva. The ministers therefore brought Someśvara to the Sapādlakṣ³ country, and Kārpurdevī entered the city of Ajayarāja (Ajmer) with her two sons (Prithvirāja and Harirāja). Someśvara (No. 29) thus

¹ Vigraharāja himself was a great poet and was a patron of learning. His work *Harakeli Nāṭaka*, parts of which inscribed on stone slabs are preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, is described in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xx, p. 201, where Dr. Kielhorn says: "Actual and undoubted proof is here afforded to us of the fact that powerful Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kālidasa and Bhābhuti for poetical fame." According to the Bijolian inscription (verse 22) Vigraharāja conquered Delhi. The Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscription of A.D. 1164 says he conquered the country between the Vindhya and the Himālaya Mountains and cleared the country of Aryāvarta of the Musalmans and again made it Aryāvarta, the abode of Aryas. The Prabandhakośa calls him "the defeater of Turushkas" (vide *Gaṇḍavaho*, Introduction, p. cxxxvii).

² An (unpublished) inscription dated the Jaishta Vadi 13, v.s. 1225 (A.D. 1168), on a pillar in the temple of Ruthi Rāni at Dhod, in the Jahāzpur district of Mewār, says that Prithvirāja (Prithvibhata) "obtained a victory over the King of Śākambhari by the strength of his arms". This plainly shows that he defeated Amargāngeya, the son and successor of Vigraharāja IV (Viśaladeva), and took back the kingdom his father (Jugdeva) had lost to Vigraharāja. This inscription says that Suhavadevi was the queen of Prithvibhata.

³ The kingdom of Ajmer was so called in those days. The Hindi translation *Sawālākh*, or *Siwalikh*, is used by Musalman writers to denote this country.

became king. Where the palaces of Vighraharāja stood he founded a town and named it after his father, to wipe off the blot cast by the murder of Arṇorāja by his (Arṇorāja's) eldest son. His brother, Vighraharāja, had constructed in Ajmer the same number of temples as the hill forts he had conquered; in their midst Someśvara built a temple of Vaidyanath, which towered above them all. In it he placed an effigy of his father on horseback, with his own effigy in front, facing his father's. He placed the images of Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva in one place in a temple. He built five temples, and so Ajmer vied with Meru, which boasted of its five *kalpbrahṃśhes*. He built so many temples in Gaugnak (Gaugwāna, 9 miles north-east of Ajmer) and other places that the population of the City of Gods dwindled away. Someśvara then departed to see his father in Heaven, where all came to receive him from Chāhāmāna to Prithivībhata except the parricide (Jugdeva), who was in hiding in Hell. Someśvara went to Śivaloka. Before leaving this world he had appointed the Devi (Kārpurdevī) to protect his son in his childhood.

The ninth sarga says that during Kārpurdevī's regency the city was so densely populated and there were so many gardens, banks, and wells, that not more than one-tenth of the earth was visible to the sun, and water in the wells was only two cubits from the ground surface. Kārpurdevī also founded a town. Her father's name was Achalarāja. Prithvirāja's minister was named Kādamb Vāsa,¹ who, like Hanumāna, had a projecting chin, and was as able and loyal as that famous servant of Rāma. He always guarded the six virtues of Prithvirāja, and sent the imperial armies in all directions to add to the glory of his sovereign. All the different branches of learning which have their abode on the two thousand

¹ Dr. Bühler read it as Kādamb Vām, but the transcript obtained by me has Kādamb Vāsa.

tongues of the king of serpents (Vāsuki) began to unite and come to Prithvirāja.

The emperor was extremely handsome in body, and Kāmadeva (Cupid) took service with him so that he might learn archery from the king and lose all fear of Śiva. When Prithvirāja came to be of age, the knowledge of all such sciences and arts as a king should have, came spontaneously to him.

In order to find out how Prithvirāja, the son of his elder brother's daughter, though possessing only two arms, was able to protect the world, Bhuvanaik Malla came to the emperor. Varuṇa's direction (west) was thus purified by the dust of Bhuvanaik Malla's lotus feet. He was reckless of his life in battle, and gave away in charity all the wealth that came to him. He did not go to the Deccan to forcibly bring away jewels from that country, as he thought that his doing so would produce agitation in the mind of the Brahmin Agastya,¹ who lived in that country. Prithvirāja and Harirāja were incarnations of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; and, as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa suffered trouble owing to Meghnād's *sarpapāsh* (serpent noose) and Garuḍa eventually saved them from the *pāsh* (noose), so, in this birth, Bhuvanaik Malla, the incarnation of Garuḍa, ever served Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (Prithvirāja and Harirāja) loyally. As the daughter of the Himālayās (Pārvati) with her two sons (Kārtika Swāmi and Gaṇapati) was adorned by Menāka² with his wings, so Kārpurdevī, with the support of this hero—the glory of her father's house—was adorned by her two sons. Like Garuḍa, Bhuvanaik Malla extirpated the Nāgas.³ Just as Rāma, with the help of Garuḍa and Hanumāna crossed the sea and did other things, so Prithvirāja, with the

¹ The sage Agastya was the first Arya who is said to have crossed the Vindhyā Mountains and gone to the Deccan.

² Indra had removed the wings of all mountains except Menāka, the son of the Himālayās.

³ Nāgas evidently means the Nāgavanśi tribe.

help of Hanumāna-like Kādamb Vāsa and Garuḍa-like Bhuvanaik Malla, did many things for the welfare of the people.

The tenth sarga says that when Prithvirāja attained manhood several princesses began to desire to marry him. Good fortune furnished him with opportunities to undertake several wars. Nāgārjuna, son of Vighraharāja—Vighraharāja, who was of extraordinary prowess and valour, and whose prosperity was unsurpassed by any king—desirous of acquiring territory, took possession of Guḍpur.¹ Prithvirāja, without taking Kādamb Vāsa or Bhuvanaik Malla with him, started with a large army of horsemen, infantry, elephants, and camels to attack Nāgārjuna, and laid siege to Guḍpur. Nāgārjuna, relinquishing the *dharma* (duty) of a warrior, fled from the fort, and Prithvirāja slew his warriors and conquered the fort. Prithvirāja brought to Ajmer the wife and the mother of Nāgārjuna, and placed the heads of his enemies on the battlements of the fort of Ajmer.

The land of the North-West, where horses abound, the beef-eating Mlechha, named Ghorī, who had captured Garjani (Ghazni), hearing that Prithvirāja had vowed to exterminate the Mlechhas, sent an ambassador to Ajmer. This man had a wide forehead, but no hair on his head. The colour of his beard, eyebrows, and the eyelashes was of the grapes that come from Ghazni, and his speech was like that of wild birds; it had no cerebrals. His complexion was like that of a leper, and he wore a long *choga*. (A few pages here are missing.) Rājas took shelter in fortresses from fear of him. When these fiends in the shape of men (Mlechhas) took possession of Nadūl (Nadole), the warriors of Prithvirāja took up their bows and the emperor became angry and resolved to lay Ghorī's glory to dust.

¹ I am unable to identify this Guḍpur. The affair may be a rebellion of a son of Vighraharāja IV.

In the eleventh sarga, Kādamb Vāsa submits to the king that there is no occasion for him to become angry, as it shows no strength in Garuḍa to threaten such serpents as even a camel would swallow. He says that just as Sundh and Upsundh destroyed each other for the sake of Tilotmā, so the enemy will ruin himself by his desire to possess the emperor's wealth. The minister has not finished when the Pratihāra (chamberlain) announces the arrival of a messenger from Gujarāt with a letter. Hearing this, the Bharateśvara (the Emperor of India) orders him to be called in. The chamberlain presents the messenger, who informs Prithvirāja that the King of Gujarāt has utterly routed the Ghori forces. On hearing of the rout of the Ghori forces, Prithvibhatta, the chief of the bards, submits to the emperor that he must rejoice that he has got such a minister as Kādamb Vāsa, for the Ghori has been destroyed without any imperial effort. He then gives an account of Tilotmā. The emperor bestows gifts on the messenger and dismisses him. Prithvirāja then retires to his picture gallery, where Prithvibhatta shows him pictures illustrating all the various incidents contained in the Rāmāyana, and describes the emperor's deed in his former birth. As the emperor looks at the portrait of Tilotmā, Kāmadeva (Cupid) overpowers him and he begins to long for Tilotmā. It now becomes noon and the emperor leaves the gallery wounded by Cupid's arrows.

In the twelfth sarga, Padmanābha, the minister of Vighraharāja, introduces a Kashmiri poet to Prithvibhatta the bard, who has come out of the gallery in deep thought, and having heard someone recite a verse saying that everything comes to him who strives to get it, inquires who the reciter is. Padmanābha says that the reciter is a poet named Jayānaka come from Kashmir, the seat of learning, and is a profound scholar. The poet then explains why he left his native country. In the last leaf

of the MS. (No. 83), which is much mutilated, there are a few broken sentences probably meaning that the poet knew six languages and had been directed by the goddess of learning to go and serve Prithvirāja, the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

How much more there was in the complete poem we have at present no means of knowing. But there is no doubt that the complete poem contained many more cantos. The very name of the poem, "Prithvirāja Vijaya," shows that it was composed to celebrate the victories of Prithvirāja, the most important of which—the great victory of Tarain¹ near Thaneshwara in A.D. 1191, when Sultān Muizz-ud-dīn bin Sām (Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghori) fled from the field badly wounded, and his great army was utterly routed—was but the last of a series of brilliant exploits which have shed lustre on the Rajput race, that still shines undimmed after seven centuries, and have made the name Prithvirāja a synonym of chivalry and heroism.

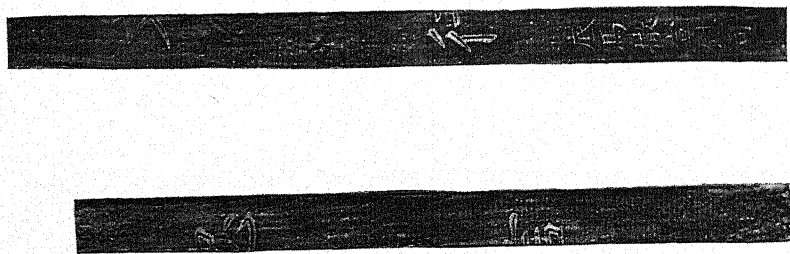
¹ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 167. Also Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 460.

Metal Plaque from Jorhat.

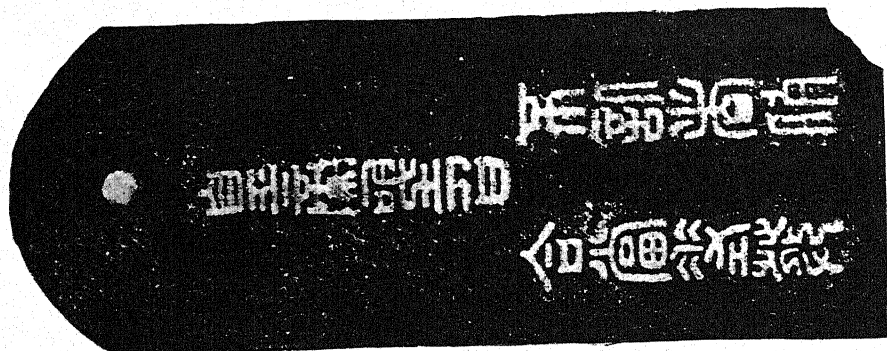
Scale. $\frac{1}{2}$.



Obverse of Plate A.



Leftside of Plate B. Rightside of Plate B.



Reverse of Plate A.

IX

THE ORIGIN OF THE AHOMS

BY COLONEL P. R. GURDON, C.S.I., M.R.A.S.

MR. GAIT, on pp. 71 and 72 of his *History of Assam*, has given the mythical origin of the Āhoms, the branch of the Shán or Tai race which invaded Assam in the thirteenth century and which held sovereignty there for centuries till A.D. 1826, when Assam became a portion of British India. Mr. Gait's authority was probably the old Āhom Buranji, or history, which with other Buranjis was translated under the orders of the Assam Administration by Srijut Golap Chandra Barua. Mr. Gait describes how Lengdan, the king of heaven, directed his son Thenkham to descend to earth and establish a kingdom there. Thenkham was unwilling to leave heaven, and so it was arranged that his two sons Khunlung and Khunlai should go instead. Lengdan presented them with an idol called Somdeo, a magic sword (or Hengdán), two drums to be used for invoking divine aid, and four cocks for telling the omens. Khunlung, being the elder, was to be the king, and Khunlai, the younger, his chief counsellor. Khunlung and Khunlai descended from heaven with their following by an iron (or golden) chain in the year A.D. 568 and alighted in the country of Mungri-Mungráng, where the Tais or Sháns dwelt without a king. In Milne and Cochrane's book on *The Sháns at Home*, pp. 18 et seq., where an account of the Mao Shán kingdom is given, the writer mentions two Shán princes Hkunlu and Hkunlai, "about whom rose a legend, quoted by Ney Elias, in which they are brothers, mythical heroes that descended from heaven on a golden ladder." "According to this legend the brothers quarrelled, and the older,

putting his gods Sung and Seng on his head, went to the upper reaches of the Chindwin river, and there founded a kingdom." This story is thought to be a late fabrication to account for the expansion of the Mao Shán power to the north and to be more in harmony with what is known of events, i.e. that the Hkánti regions were first settled with Ngai-Lao Sháns from Yunnán. The writer then goes on to mention a list of eight Shán states, which include all the British Shán states of to-day, all the Chinese Shán states of Western Yunnán, and a strip of Upper Burma; and the chronicle goes on to say that "In the time of Hkunlu and Hkunlai the boundaries extended to Mōngla, Mōng Hi, and Mōng Hám, on the banks of the Me Hkwang". Milne and Cochrane say: "We may justly infer from the known power of the Ngai-Lao, that these eight states (if, indeed, there were eight) were subject to Nanchao until she was exhausted by her wars, *and became* (more or less) *tributary to China* shortly before the death of Hkun-Lai. Whatever the facts of the case were, it was a burden that the elders could not carry, and after five or six years they went, with representatives of the people, A.D. 954, to the Chief of Mōng Hi Mōng Hám, on the frontier of Mōng La, in the province of Kieng-Mai (Chieng-Mai) on the banks of the Mehkawng . . . to ask Hkun-Lu-nkam to give them his sons for their governors." The writers proceed to remark that this story suggests a close political connexion on the part of the Mao Shán states with the "Province of Kieng-Mai" (Chieng-Mai). The points of resemblance between the Āhom Buranji and the Shán Chronicle are clearly apparent, and the name Mūng-ri-Mūng-ram of the Āhom Buranji bears the clearest likeness to that of Mūng-hi-Mūng-hám of the Sháns. I now come to a piece of interesting documentary evidence which bears very closely on the above statements. I had heard some

years ago that the Āhom idol, Somdeo, was still to be found somewhere in Assam, but it was not till recently, whilst at Jorhat, I discovered there in the possession of Kuar Chandra Narayan Singh, a descendant of the Āhom Raja Purandar Singh, a metal plaque (figured in Plate A) of an oblong shape, although rounded at the top, gilded over, with certain inscriptions in some Chinese characters engraven thereon. Chandra Narayan Singh informed me that this metal plaque was used as the altar or pedestal upon which the Āhom god, Somdeo, was placed. He states that Ratneshwari, the widow of the late Kandarpeshwar Singh, who was the nephew of the late Raja Purandar Singh, gave it to him in 1893. The actual god, Somdeo, is said by him to have been a diamond or some other precious stone, set, from his description, in a kind of cylinder. Kandarpeshwar Singh, according to my informant, sold the precious stone in Calcutta when he was in difficulties. The jewel and the altar or plaque used to be enclosed, according to Chandra Narayan, in seven golden boxes, one box containing the other. None of these boxes are in his possession now, all having been sold at one time or other. Chandra Narayan says that the hole at the top of the plaque was used to attach the plaque to the neck of the Āhom king at the time of the Coronation ceremony. With the permission of Chandra Narayan Singh I kept the plaque and obtained rubbings of the inscription, which, through the kind assistance of Messrs. Kemp and Coggin-Brown of the India Museum in Calcutta, have been deciphered by Mr. Taw Sein Ko of Mandalay with the following interesting result. The meaning of the inscription on the obverse face of Plate A is: "Letters patent dated the fifth year of Yung Lo (1408 A.D.)." The inscription on the reverse face of A records as follows: "By command of His Imperial Majesty, the President of the Board (of appointments) compares both

halves and issues the single halves (of the letters patent).” The left side of Plate B reads “Be faithful”, while the right side reads “Let the rescript have effect. The Royal Commissioner for Conciliation, Timāsa”. Mr. Taw Sein Ko continues: “A is a full document, while the left side and right side of B are halves of two other documents, the other halves being retained at the Chinese Capital. When tribute was sent to the Chinese emperor, the tribute bearers had to take with them, as evidence, the halves of such documents as B, which were compared with the other halves at the Capital. If both halves matched, they were regarded as genuine documents, and the proffered tribute was accepted.” Mr. Taw Sein Ko then proceeds to make the following important announcement: “Timāsa has been identified with Chieng-Mai or Zimmé, a Northern Province of Siam, which was tributary to China in the 15th Century.” This I consider clinches the arguments contained on p. 20 of Milne and Cochrane’s book on the Sháns, and the fact that the plaque with the Chinese inscriptions engraven thereon was found in the possession of a member of the Āhom royal family, coupled with the previous history of the object, goes far to show connexion between the Āhoms and the people of Timāsa or Chieng-Mai. This, coupled with the fact that the Āhom Buranji mentions Mūng-ri-Mūng-rang (probably Mūng-hi-Mūng-hám of the Shán Chronicle) as having been the first kingdom of the Āhoms on earth, is strong evidence that the Āhoms are Mao Sháns who inhabited at one time a portion of Northern Siam. It now remains for us to make inquiries in China for the counterpart of the plaque, and it is hoped that should this article meet the eye of any of those who are interested in Chinese history, and who possess opportunities for research in that country, he will be so good as to endeavour to obtain the counterpart of the plaque and have the inscription deciphered, and communicate the result to the Society.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko thinks that the plaque formed part of the loot seized by the Burmese during their numerous expeditions to Chieng-Mai, and was carried by them to Assam, when it was, in its turn, invaded. There is no means of testing the accuracy of this conclusion, and I doubt if it is correct. The Āhoms invaded Assam in the year A.D. 1228 (p. 74 of Gait's *History of Assam*), whereas the date of the plaque is A.D. 1408 or during the reign of the Āhom king Chujangpha (p. 78 of Kasinath Tamuli Phukan's *Buranji*). As far as I know, there is no record of a Burmese invasion of Assam as far back as the year 1408, so I think it is unlikely that Mr. Taw Sein Ko's theory is correct. What seems more likely is that the Āhoms kept up communication with their Shán relations in Chieng-Mai after they had settled in Assam, and obtained the metal plaque from them. It is unlikely that had the plaque belonged to the Burmese, they would have left it behind them in Assam.



X

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE
DVAVIMSATYAVADANAKATHA

By R. L. TURNER

THE Dvāvimsatyavadānakathā is a compilation of Buddhist Birth-stories of comparatively late origin. Much of it, particularly of the prose portions, was borrowed from the Avadānaśataka at a time when the MSS. of that work were already faulty. The recension of the Avadānaśataka, from which the author of the Dvā. took his material, was that to which Speyer's MS. D belonged. The language in which it is written resembles that of most of the Northern Buddhist texts, in particular the Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna—that is to say, a kind of popularly developed Sanskrit, which shows for the most part the same line of growth as that followed by the Prākṛit dialects many centuries before. The solution of the history of this dialect, and of the question whether, as is probable, it was only a written language, depends on the collection of more material. Below I give a detailed list of the points in which the Sanskrit of the Dvā. differs from classical Sanskrit both in forms, in syntax, and vocabulary. It is possible that scribal errors may be responsible for some of the forms. Few of them are invariable; most are found side by side with their classical equivalents. It will be seen that the majority of the forms and constructions can be paralleled from Pāli and the Prākṛits. The figures placed in brackets after forms show the number of times they occur in the text.

PHONOLOGY

1. *Orthography*.—None of the MSS. are probably older than the eighteenth century. All interior nasals are usually written with *m*; preconsonantal *-m* is seldom assimilated; *-n* of the loc. sing. of pronouns is usually written *-ṇ*, e.g. *tasmīṇ*; *-tva-* for *-ttva-*, e.g. *satva chitvā* for *sattva chittvā*; *-jva-* for *-jjva-*, e.g. *ujvala rajvā* for *ujjvala rajjvā*; any consonant after *r* is doubled, e.g. *dharmma antarddhāpita samtarppita*; there is no distinction made between *u* and *ū*, *b* and *v*, *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh*; there is occasional confusion between *v* and *bh*, *st* and *sth*, *ṣ* and *kh*, *s* and *ś*, *r* and *l*.

2. *Sandhi*.—The sandhi of consonants is for the most part regular. In nine cases the forms are left unaltered: *-t m-*, *-an a-*, *-t c-*, *-t p-*, *-t bh-*, *-t ś-*, *-t a-*; while final *-s* is eighteen times treated irregularly: *-as a-* > *-a a-* (10), *-s k-* > *-o k-* (2), *-as p-* > *-o p-*, *-as s-* > *-o s-* (2), *-us a-* > *-uḥ a-*, *-as c-* > *-aḥ c-*, and *-ā r-* > *-ār-* (2). Double sandhi occurs fifteen times: *-as u-* > *-ó-* (2), *-as e-* > *-ái-* (3), *-ās a-* > *-á-* (3), *-ās ā-* > *-á-*, *-īs i-* > *-í-*, *-e a-* > *-á-*, *-e i-* > *-é-* (2), *-e e-* > *-ái-*, *-au u-* > *-áu-*. The cases in which sandhi takes place and those in which hiatus is left are in the proportion of 7 : 2, reduced in the case where the final vowel is *ā* or *ī* to 1 : 4. The oldest MS. occasionally has *-ar a-* from *-as a-*. The sandhi consonant *m* is used nine times: e.g. *nirdiśyam iti* for *nirdiśyēti*, *ābhogaḥ karaṇīyam iti* for *karaṇīya iti*.

3. *Prosody*.—*-am*, though followed by a consonant, is short; the examples are (a) in the fifth syllable of the śloka (15), (b) in the thirteenth (12), of which nine rest upon conjecture, (c) in the sixth syllable of *indravajra* (conjecture). *-aḥ*, though followed by a consonant, is short (2). A short final vowel, whether of a single word or of a member of a compound, remains short before two consonants: before *jñ* (2), *dv*, *pr* (2), *vy*, *śr* (3), *sn*. *-am* is elided before a vowel (4); *-am* is long before a vowel (2). *aya* and *ava* are scanned as one long.

MORPHOLOGY

Nouns

1. *Declension*.—*a*-stems: nom.p.n. in *ā*, e.g. *karmāṇi* - *sukarā*, *ratnāṇi ca samāhulā* (end of a śloka) (8); ab.p. -*ehi* in *nārakehi*; some adjectives form the feminine in -*ā* instead of -*ī*, e.g. *vrkā* for *vrkī*, -*mukhā* for -*mukhī*.

i-stems: acc.p.f. -*ayas* in *duṇḍubhayah*; n.s.n. -*iṇi* in *udapānakādiṇi*.

u-stems: nom.s.n. -*uṇi* in *bahuṇi*, *ripuṇi*.

ṛ-stems: acc.s.m. -*ām* in *bharttām*.

j-stems: nom.s.m. -*rāt* from -*rāj* (3).

s-stems: loc.p. -*uṣu* in *vapuṣu*.

in-stems: nom.s.m. -*is* in *apakāriḥ aparādhīḥ cakravartīḥ śreṣṭhīḥ*, -*īs* in *cakravartīḥ*; nom.s.f. -*ī* in *keśī vāśī vistāri vratī*.

at-stems: nom.s.m. -*antas* in *kīrttivantah*; nom.s.n. -*antam* in *mahāntaṃ sarvāvantam*; voc.s.m. -*ān* in *bhavān* (2).

yas-stems: nom.s.n. -*yaṣaṃ* in *garīyasaṃ śreyasaṃ*.

an-stems: nom.s.n. -*am* in *karmmaṃ nāmaṃ premaṃ*; nom.p.m. -*anas* in -*ātmanah*.

2. *Gender*.—*a*-stems: n. for m. *anurāga amoda artha ārambha ārāma utpāta utsāha udaya* (2) *udbhava udyoga upasaṃhāra ullola kāla kośa guṇa candra dharma* (2) *parvata prāṇa bhoga mokṣa* (2) *moda rasa lābha* (2) *lobha varṣa* (3) *śara śoka saṃsāra* (3) *saṃskāra* (2) *saṃcaya saṃcāra satkāra* (2) *samaya* (2) *samudaya sambhava stūpa* (4) *svāda*; m. for n. *nakṣatra yojana vañcana saṃkṛta*; m. for f. *pravrajya prāsādika maryayāda vārta sthūna*; f. for m. *kaṇṭhakā saṃmārjjanā*.

i-stems: m. for f. *dīpti prakṛti rātri*; n. for f. *dṛṣṭi* (2).

u-stems: f. for m. *dhātu* (3); n. for m. *ripu*.

an-stems: m. for n. *parvas* for *parva*.

3. *Formation of Stem*.—New forms without alteration of meaning are made by the use of additional suffixes: -*a*,

arcisa cetasa (2) *-chida?* *patnyū* (for *patnī*) *parśada maṇḍalina rogina vaṇija* (7) *vāca* (3); *-ka*, *aparādhaka arthaka avataṃsaka avadānaka* (2) *asāraka ṛddhika ekika kaṭuka gāmika cāturdvīpaka cittaka tulyaka pakṣika pragalbhika mānuṣikī mārgaku vastuka saṃsārika*; *-tva*, *kṣayatva manuṣyatva*; *-na*, *adhiṣṭhāna*; *-ya*, *bhaikṣya vinodya dhairya*; *-in*, *kṣāntin saṃmukhin*; *-bhūta*, *manuṣyabhūta varṣabhūta svacchabhūta hetubhūta* (2).

The *ṛddhied* form is used in the same sense as the simple: *kauśala cāturdvīpaka jānapada tāthāgata* (2) *dāridra* (2) *dhairya bauddha* (5) *brāhmaṇa bhaikṣuka mānuṣya māndārara laukika vācas* (2) *sāmārtha*.

Pronouns

taṃ for *tad* (3), *imaṃ* for *idam* (3), *yaṃ* for *yad*, *ayaṃ* and *imā* for *iyam*. The loc.s.m. and n. is usually written *-in*.

Numerals

catvara- for *catur-*, *trāyatrīṃśa* "30", *trayaḥśata* "300".

Adverbs

atre, *paratre* for *-tra*, *tatas*, "there"; *idam*, "hither"; *tasmīn*, "here."

Particles

pi for *api*.

Verbs

1. *Formation of Present Stem*.—Simple: *jvālat*: *jval*, *dadati* (2) *dadanti* *dada* *pradadasva*: *dā*, *avadhīryayatha*: *dhī*, *bhīdanti*: *bhīd*, *nivāsata*: *vas*, *viṣkambhamānaṃ*: *skambh*, *krameyaṃ saṃkrameyaṃ upasaṃkrameyaṃ*: *kram*, *prabudhyati*: *budh*. Causative: *adhīryayati*: *adhi* ṛ, *kārāpayitavyāḥ*: *kr*, *pratinivṛttayati*: *vṛt*, *samuttejayati*: *tiḥ*, *vaijayanti*: *viḥ*. Desiderative: *jijñāsayeyaṃ*, *mīmāṃsayeyaṃ*. Denominative: *guptayaṃ*, "hide"; *ārāgayeyaṃ*, "love"; *virāgayeyaṃ*, "dislike."

2. *Finite Forms*.—Imperfect, unaugmented forms: *caran* *prakrāmat*. Imperative: 2 p. *avadhīryayatha*

śrṇōtha (2). Optative: *pradeyuh* from *dā*. Future: *rakṣyati* for *rakṣiṣyati*. Perfect: *dadarśur*, *cakārayām āsuh*, *paramaprasādayām āsa*, *vidadhāmata*, 3 p. perfect, from *dhā*. Aorist: *asroṣit* always for *asrausit*. Precative: *bhūyām* for *bhūyāsam*. The passive has active terminations: *bhidyati parimucyemaḥ pratapyati*.

3. *Infinite Forms*.—Indeclinable part.: *praśāntya* from *śam*; in *-ya* with the simple root, *kṛtya gṛhya cintya* (3) *smṛtya*; in *-tvā* with the compounded root, *abhivanditvā prativanditvā*. Pres. part.: *jñānan* from *jñā*. Gerundive: *slāghyanīya* from *slāgh*, *prayacchitavya vyāyacchatavya* from *yam*. Past part. pass.: *prachita* (2) from *prach*; *bhagnita* from *bhañj*, *apaharita praharita* from *hr*. The infinitive of causatives ends in *-itum*: *darśitum mānitum pratinivṛttitum*.

COMPOSITION

1. The first member is formed by nom.p.n. (3), e.g. *karaṇānikṣayo bhaviṣyatīti*; by *sa-* (3), e.g. *sarājadrṣṭamātrena - - 'subhāṅgā bhavanti*, "their limbs were made clean just at the sight of the king"; by *sā-* (2), e.g. *sāpānapradāyikādevakanyāyā etad abhavat*, "this occurred to the divine maiden who had made a present of drink"; by *saiṣa-*, *saiṣakapotam tulayitvā*, "weighing this dove"; by *kaścid-* (4), e.g. *tataḥ kaścidvarsāntare gate sū - -*, "then an interval of some years having passed she - -"; by *kiñcid-*, *kiñcitkāryyakarṇmāṇi*, "some duties"; by a feminine adjective in *-ā* or *-ī* (5), e.g. *pānapradāyikākanyāyāḥ, īdrśmātari*; by the nom.s.m., *sarājadrṣṭamātrena, bhrātāviyoge*, "separation from his brother"; *Vapuṣmānavadānakam*, "the avadāna of Vapuṣmat."

2. The last member is formed by *iti*, *Ratnamatītikhyātavān*, "named Ratnamati"; by *-rājā*, *maṇḍalinarājā*, "petty chieftain"; by *upari*, *siṃhāsanopari*, "on the throne"; by a numeral, *anyatamāṣṭau*, "8." Final *-as* becomes *-a*, *prabhātamana varjitamana Śuddhaceta*.

3. The instrumental of *sa-* ("with") compounds is used instead of the inst. of the simple noun (4), e.g. *sasaṃghena* for *saṃghena* or *sasaṃghaḥ*. Cf. the use of *śīlayuktena* for *śīlayuktaḥ*, *dayāyuktauḥ* for *dayāyuktaḥ*, and, lastly, *kṣayitasakaluṣaḥ* for *kṣayita-kaluṣaḥ*.

4. Split compounds are common, e.g. *sarvair guṇā-lamḥkṛtaḥ*, "adorned with all virtues."

5. Copulative compounds.—(a) Form: *Brahmendra-rudraṃ* for *-rudrāḥ*.

(b) Adjectival copulatives are freely used (17), e.g. *pūjyamānyābhivandya*, "to be revered, honoured, and esteemed"; *praśāntakalikalahadimbādambarataskararogāpagataśālīkṣugomahiṣisampannaṃ nagaraṃ*, "a city free from fighting, brawling, strife, and quarrels, without diseases or robbers, provided with rice and sugar-canes, cows, and buffaloes."

6. Dependent compounds.—(a) The qualifying member comes second: (i) e.g. *pādaḥkhañja*, "a lame foot"; *putrasahasraih*, "with a thousand sons," etc. (10); (ii) in personal names (28), e.g. *Sautirṇavanijah*, "the merchant Sautirṇa"; *Kṣemaṃkarasamyaksambuddhasya*, "the perfect Buddha Kṣemaṃkara."

(b) The compound is used to express accompanying circumstances: (i) in the instrumental (11), e.g. *sa--prasādaajātena--prakṛāntaḥ*, "he went forth with joy born in him"; (ii) in the locative (4), e.g. *śrutvā ca prasādo bhavati prasādaajāte tathā karisyati*, "having heard, joy arises in him; when joy arises, he will do thus." Compare the frequent use of the neuter adjective as a noun.

7. Descriptive compounds.—(a) The qualifying member comes second (23), e.g. *prasādaajāta*, "having joy born in one"; *parārthakṛta*, "having performed a favour for another."

(b) (i) The masc. sing. of a dependent descriptive is

equivalent to a noun (6), e.g. *vikalendriyaḥ* = *vikalendriyāni*; *kusṭhāviṣṭaśarīrakah*, "a leprous body"; (ii) (e) *tad* as the first member means "this" (2), e.g. *etatsamkṣepataḥ*, "from this summary."

SYNTAX

Nouns

1. *Cases*.—Accusative: (a) adverbial (4), e.g. *sa prthivīm akāntam -- adhyāśayati*, "he rules the earth with mercy"; (b) of respect, expressing a more or less vague connection with the subject (8), e.g. *sa -- nāvam bhagnībhūtvā -- kālam gataḥ*, "being shipwrecked he died"; *athāpi na kaścit paritrāṇam bhavati*, "then there was no one to help"; (c) governed by a noun (common), e.g. *Bhagavantam arcanārtham*, "to do honour to Bhagavat"; *rohanāc campakam puspaṃ*, "from the growth of the campaka flower."

Instrumental: (a) = ablative, e.g. *vyutthāya samādhinā*, "standing up out of his trance"; *tadā kenāpi kathyamānena śrutaṃ*, "it was heard from one speaking." (b) = the locative (2), e.g. *pitur vācaḥ śirasā nidhāya*, "placing his father's commands on his head."

Ablative: this case is common with *saha-* compounds in the sense "as soon as", e.g. *sahadarśanāc ca Bhagavataḥ pādābhivandanam kṛtvā*, "worshipping Bhagavat's feet as soon as he saw him."

Genitive = dative after verbs of saying (common), e.g. *Bhagavān tasyāītaḥ avocat*, "Bhagavat said to him."

Locative: (a) = dative after verbs of saying, etc. (7), e.g. *tvayi ucyatām*, "let it be told to thee"; *rājā tvayi nimantraṇam preṣitaḥ*, "the king has sent you an invitation"; (b) = the ablative (4), e.g. *kathām -- śrūtām me mātari kvacit*, "a tale once heard by me from my mother"; *Tathāgate -- vyākaraṇam pratilabheyam*, "may I receive a prophecy from the Tathāgata."

2. *Number*.—(a) The plural is used in place of the dual (2), e.g. *asmākaṃ* for *āvayoh*.

(b) The plural of abstract words is used instead of the singular (6), e.g. *sthitih pṛthivyāḥ khalu eva satyāḥ*, "the earth stands by truth"; *jñānair vihināḥ*, "bereft of knowledge."

(c) The plural of instrumentals of manner is used instead of the singular (8), e.g. *sādaraiḥ viśeṣaiḥ* for *sādareṇa viśeṣeṇa*.

(d) Concord is neglected (2), e.g. *kasmaicid bhikṣārthi-kebhya dānaṃ dātum icchāmi*, "I wish to give a gift to some people needing alms."

3. *Gender*.—(a) Concord is neglected (5), e.g. *vrkṣam utthito gataḥ*, "the tree rose up and walked"; *striyau sthitau*, "two women were there."

(b) The neuter of the adjective is used as a noun (48), e.g. *svena ca guṇalabdhyā*, "in order to gain virtue for himself"; *sā prabudhyati mahādbhutaṃ ca samprāptā*, "she awoke and fell into great astonishment"; *vivaśāt*, "because of independence"; *punar api tasyāḥ koṣṭhāgāre nānālaṃkāraparipūrṇāni bhavanti*, "there is a superfluity of ornaments in her chamber."

Pronouns

1. *nau, me, vo* are used as the first word in a sentence.
2. The relative is attracted to the case of the correlative, and the correlative is omitted (3), e.g. *yeṣāṃ unnata-cittānāṃ mānadarppamadaprahāṇārthaṃ parśadbhya dharmmaṃ deśitavān = ya unnatacittās teṣāṃ - - -*; *yeṣāṃ annavihinānāṃ sarvadharmmaṃ viśīdati = ye 'nnavihinās teṣāṃ - - -*

Particles

uta = and, e.g. *Brahmā sahāmpatiḥ Śakro devendra uta catvāro lokapālāḥ*.

ca: (a) is placed between the two words or phrases joined (28), e.g. *sā rājadhānī tīrthikāvastabdhā cāśroṣid rājā*, etc.; *prāsādo parinyastaḥ | cākṣarāṇi likhitāni*, etc.; *evam bhikṣavo māṃ yūyaṃ Tathāgataṃ manasā ca*

vādena samudācaritavyaṃ. (b) It connects the members of a copulative compound (6), e.g. *atha khalu - - abhirūpadarśanīyaprasādikaṃ ca dṛṣtvā Bhagavantam evam ūcuḥ*; *sarvaṃ hi artham aticāṇcalabhyaṅguraṃ ca* (*vasantatilakā* metre). (c) It is a slightly emphatic particle or a mere expletive (48), e.g. *evam ukte 'tha Bhagavāl lokānāṃ vismayāya ca | nimittam naikam akarot tūṣṇīm bhūtvātra tiṣṭhati ||* and *kuśalaṃ tava rājendra bāhyābhyantaram eva ca*.

mā = *na*, e.g. *siddhāni sarvakāryyāṇi mā kaścidrujayā vapuḥ*, "all his duties are performed; his body is not afflicted by any disease."

vā = *eva* (2), e.g. *kasmai sādhayate dravyaṃ putro vā te na vidyate*, "for whom is thy wealth being prepared? thou hast no son."

vā - *vātha vā* = *vā* - *vā*, e.g. *bharttā me 'pi mṛto vāpi jīvito vātha vā punaḥ*, "whether my husband is dead or is alive."

Verb

1. *Tenses and Moods*.—Present: (a) 2 s. = imp. 2 s., e.g. *sambodhau vyākaroṣi tvaṃ yācayāmitī ahaṃ prabho*, "do thou prophesy the complete enlightenment: thus I beseech thee, lord." (b) 2 p. = imp. 2 p. (3), e.g. *bhikṣavaḥ paśya yūyam api tathā śṛṇoṭha*, "O monks, look! do ye also listen thus." (c) 3 s. = imp. 3 s., e.g. *me rakṣa janaka kaścid āgacchati tvadīritaḥ*, "protect me, father; let one come sent by thee." (d) *mā* with the 2 s. is used for prohibition (3), e.g. *mā vādasīdṛṣaṃ vācaṃ mā krodhaṃ sahasā vṛja*, "speak not thus; become not suddenly wroth"; *tiṣṭha mā bhīṭāsi*, "stay, be not afraid."

Imp.: (a) 2 s. = 2 p. (14), e.g. *śṛṇusva bhikṣupuṃgavāḥ, bhikṣavaḥ paśya yūyam api tathā śṛṇoṭha*. (b) 3 s. = 2 s. (8), e.g. *tathā tvaṃ samudramadhye pañcatvam upagacchatu*, "so mayest thou die in the middle of the sea"; *tāta tebhyah parītāni dadātu*, "father, give them the pieces." (c) 3 p. = 2 p. pres., e.g. *kṣipraṃ palāyata yadi*

na palāyata naśyata, "go quickly; if you do not go you will perish."

Optative: *mā* is the negative (frequent), e.g. *tasmāt kāraṇān mā kheadaṃ kārayet piturāv api*, "therefore let a man not distress his parents"; *manasāpi mā cintayet*, "let a man not think in his heart."

Future: (a) 2 s. = 2 s. imp., e.g. *svapnaṃ dāsyasi me nātha asti nāsty atha vā mune*, "give me a dream, lord, to say whether he lives or not." (b) *mā* with the 3 p. is used for prohibition, e.g. *vō mā anarthaṃ karisyanti*, "let them do you no harm." (c) = the optative, e.g. *bhikṣavo yadi mriyadhvaṃ tathāpi na yuṣmabhyaṃ dadāmy api pānīyaṃ ghaṭo me āno bhaviṣyati*, "... my jar would not be sufficient."

2. *Participles*.—Past participle passive: (a) is used actively with all verbs (54), while the participle in *-tavat* is used actively only about twenty times. e.g. *tathāivānyalokāpy uktāḥ*, "thus other people spoke"; *iti cintitāḥ*, "thus he thought"; *sa punar api dr̥ṣṭāḥ*, "he saw again." The auxiliary *abhūt* is frequently added, e.g. *ṣaṭpāramitāḥ pratilabdho 'bhūt*, "he received the ten perfections"; *vihāraṃ kārito 'bhūt*, "he had a hall built." The following participles are thus used actively: *antarddhāpita apaharita abhilāṣita avadhārita avicārita avidita ānīta ārabdha āropita ukta upāsita utpādita kathita kārita kṛta carita cintita chādita jñāta tīrṇa darśita dr̥ṣṭa nimantrita nirmmāpita nirvyātita pūjita pr̥ṣṭa pranāmīta pratipādita pratilabdha praśaṃsita prāpta preṣita bhagnita bhinna bhukta mānīta labdha vismārīta śrūta saṃvarṇīta saṃtarpita saṃtoṣita sambhāṣita subhāṣita*.

(b) The neut.s. with active sense is used with a sing. or plur., masc., neut., or fem. subject. The subject is (i) masc.s. (13), e.g. *sa mayāpi darśanaṃ na prāptaṃ Bhagavān*, "Bhagavat was not seen by me"; *śreṣṭhī -- prajādhānam kṛtaṃ*, "the guild-president made a vow";

once this construction is used with passive sense, *sa kenāpi avicāritaṃ*, "he was not noticed by anyone." The auxiliary *abhūt* is sometimes added. (ii) Fem.s., e.g. *sā - - pātakaṃ - - ksiptaṃ*, "she threw the cloth." (iii) Dual, e.g. *nāv adya labdhaṃ suviśuddha cakṣuh*, "to-day have we two gained sight"; *kuśalavihītau - - annaṃ na prāptaṃ*, "bereft of merit they did not obtain food." (iv) Masc.p. (4), e.g. *te - - samāntarūp ārabdhaṃ*, "they began to cross"; *te bhikṣavas tad annaṃ na bhuktaṃ*, "the monks did not eat the food." Cf. the use of the neut.s. of the *gerundive* (3), e.g. *buddhā bhikṣavo yamakālena na bhoktavyaṃ*, "Buddhist monks must not eat at the season of Yama." (v) Neut.p., e.g. *brāhmaṇasahasrāṇi - - srotāpattiphalaṃ sākṣāt kṛtaṃ*, "thousands of brāhmanas made manifest the fruit of conversion." It should be noted that of these twenty examples, twelve have an object in the acc. neut. s., four in the acc. masc. or fem. s., while four have no object.

The active participle in *-tavat* is used passively (6), e.g. *Ratnamatitilkyātavān*, "called Ratnamati"; *Bhagavān mahatā satkāreṇa pūjitavān*, "Bhagavat was honoured with great reverence."

The *gerundive* in *-avya* is active (5), e.g. *ye ye tathāgatam arcanābhilāṣajanās tasmim maṇḍale reayitavyāḥ*, "whatever people desire to worship the Tathāgata, let them worship in this circle"; *tasmād bhikṣavas tathāgateṣu kārāpayitavyāḥ*, "therefore, O monks, you must do honour to Tathāgatas."

3. *Voice*.—Active: (a) for middle in *bhāṣantaṃ*, *ramanti ramataḥ*; (b) for passive with the verbs *cint darśaya pra-muc vṛj*, e.g. *nīcena mahatā cāpi kuladharmmaṃ na varjayet*, "the family law should not be transgressed by small or great"; *tveyā - - cintayati*, "it is thought by thee."

Middle: (a) for active in *kathayasva śṛṇudhvaṃ*; (b) for passive in the present stem with the verbs *pra-bhuj vi-śkabh sādḥ bhāṣ gad śāpaya*, e.g. *kasmai*

sādhayate dravyaṃ putro vā te na vidyate, "for whom is thy wealth being prepared? thou hast no son"; *yena yena kṛtaṃ karmaṇa tena tena prabhuṇjate*, "by whomsoever a deed is done, by him it is enjoyed."

Passive: for active in the verbs *jñā* (3) *ram āropaya ci*, e.g. *sukhaduḥkhaṇ ca sarveṣāṇ kathaṇ na jñāyase nṛpa*, "how dost thou not recognize, O king, the joy and sorrow of all?"; *āgaccha ramyāmahe*, "come, let us make love."

4. *Concord*.—(a) A singular subject is followed by a plural verb, e.g. *tvatkīrttir yāvat saṃsāras tiṣṭhati tāvat tiṣṭheyuḥ*, "may thy fame extend as far as existence extends." (b) A dual subject is followed by a singular verb, e.g. *tasya dvau putrāv asti*, "he has two sons." (c) A plural subject is followed by a singular verb (7), e.g. *tā arciso -- antarhito 'bhūt*, "the rays were hidden"; *sarvajanakāyāḥ -- sarvabhikṣugaṇān -- nimantrito 'bhūt*, "all the people entertained all the monks."

5. The following causative formations are used in the same sense as the simple verb (33): *anuśāsayati abhiprasādayati abhilāsayati avarohayati āhvāyayati uttārayati utpādayati upavāsayati upasaṃkrāmayati kṣobhayati nāsayati nipatayati nipātayati niṣkrāmayati paripālayati pratinivṛttayati pravāyati praśaṃsayati bhakṣayati bhāsayati vikarttayati vidveṣayati vismārayati śāpayati śāsayati śoṣayati saṃhārayati*.

The Sentence

Constructions of sense as opposed to the strict rules of grammar are frequent, e.g. *Śakraḥ -- saparivāro -- divaṃ jagmuḥ* for -- *jagāma, mayā cakravartti bhūtvā -- sukhān anubhūtaṃ* for *cakravarttinā, yad yad abhiprāyaṇ tat tat tasyai dattāni* for *dattaṇ*.

Two constructions are confused: (a) *sa nāvikaḥ tatre sthātuṃ mano na ramate*, "the sailor does not wish to remain there" (a confusion of *tasya nāvikasya -- manah*

and *sa nāvikaś -- manasi*); *tataḥ pratyāgate -- kālaṃ gataḥ*, "then when he had returned he died (10). (b) The sentence begins with an indeclinable participle and omits the main verb, e.g. *sa gr̥hapatir -- āhāraṃ samupādāya vilepanāni ca* || (c) Active and passive constructions are confused, so that the instrumental appears as the subject of an active verb (5), e.g. *kena cid gr̥hasthena -- tīrthikān bhojitaḥ*, "a certain householder fed the heretics"; *tayā cetikayā stūpe puspāny avaropayati*, "the maid places the flowers on the stūpa." (d) The reverse of (c): a nominative takes the place of an instrumental, e.g. *Bhagavān dharmmadēśanā kṛtā*, "the law was expounded by Bhagavat."

The use of the parenthesis is peculiar (5), e.g. *sa kālaṃ kṛtvā Kauravyarājño mahiṣi tasyāḥ kuḥśāv upapannaḥ*, "when he died he entered the womb of the wife of the king of the Kauravyas"; *tatas tasyālpāyuskālaṃ kṛtvā Śrāvastyāṃ mahānagaryyāṃ anyatamadharmaśīla-nāmaśreṣṭhī tasya prajāpatyāḥ kuḥśāv upapannaḥ*, "then dying young he entered the womb of the wife of a guild-president named Dharmmaśīla in the great city of Śrāvastī."

VOCABULARY

In the following lists I have inserted those words also which occur elsewhere only in Northern Buddhist literature or in the lexicographers.

1. <i>Peculiar meanings.</i>	<i>ākula</i> , n., confusion, crowded place.
<i>adbhuta</i> , n., astonishment.	<i>ābhoga</i> , effort.
<i>adhikṛtya</i> , c.gen., concerning.	<i>āścaryya</i> , n., miracle.
<i>amanna</i> , no food.	<i>uccheda</i> = <i>ucchinna</i> ; cf. <i>upa-</i>
<i>abhīṣita</i> , desirable.	<i>patti</i> and <i>prabodha</i> .
<i>arhati</i> is used impersonally.	<i>ujvala</i> , m., light.
<i>avakirati</i> , surround.	<i>upacāraka</i> , servant.
<i>avarohayati</i> , <i>avaropayati</i> , get on to, place on.	<i>upapatti</i> = <i>upapanna</i> .

uparodhaka, destroying.
upekṣā, regard.
ulloḷa, n., large wave.
karpāṭa, garment.
kalīta, n., roar.
kārayati, rule.
kārā, act of worship.
kuñcita, controlled.
koṣṭhāgāra, bedroom.
cintāpara, thought.
janasūnya, n., empty place.
jānapada, country.
jīrṇa, n., ruins.
tapa, m., austerity.
tāḍa, drum.
tvakṣas, energy.
darśanam prāpnoti, be seen.
dadāti, take.
durvāra, irresistible power.
duṣkṛta, infirmity.
dhānya, n., wealth.
dhairya, wise.
na paraṃ, but not.
niyatā, continuity.
paṭaka, n., cotton cloth.
paralokavat, of the next world.
parinivartate, return.
paryāṅkam ābhavati, take up a squatting position.
pīta, n., beverage.
pūnyātman, m., the state of being virtuous.
pauruṣeya, retainer.
prakṛti, image.
pratigṛhṇāti, forgive.
pratibhāna, splendour.
pratisara, daybreak.
prabodha, enlightened.

prayāti, give.
prādurbhāva, manifest.
prāñjali, obeisance.
bhīta, n., fear.
manasikāra, love.
mithyā, falsehood.
yati, whatever.
ratnamaya, n., offering of jewels.
varāhāśva, ? stallion.
vallarī, a particular kind of musical instrument.
vaśi, subjugation.
vāhinī, baggage animal.
vivaśa, n., independence.
śaraṇam karoti, seek protection.
samśad, presence.
saṃgata, n., collection.
sampaśyati, make to appear.
sahadharma, marriage.
sarvathā, at all times.
sāñjali, obeisance.
sāhasam karoti, be excited.
sukhastha, n., feeling of happiness.
sudullabha, very hard to be imitated.
surabhi, perfume.
sauhārda, n., friend.
styāna, n., sloth.
svastha, m., health.

2. Peculiar words.

akukṣa, past child-bearing.
agnimatha, m. or n., stove.
acetanī, adj. f., delirious.
ajānaka, ? infant.
atikleśita, very sinful.
atitṛṣṇā, great thirst.

atiprasādayati, be very joyful.
atyadhikaṃ, very much.
atyabhirūpa, very beautiful.
atyāścaryya, very wonderful.
adhiṃvāsana, ? pertinacity.
adhyāśaya, having at heart.
adhyāśayati, rule.
anīṇjamāna, unmoving.
apadakṣaya, n., purification.
apaharītā, the state of being
 carried away.
apratīsamā, incomparable.
abādhatā, freedom from annoy-
 ance.
abhiniveśana, n., the act of
 dwelling.
abhiprabhā, splendour.
abhibodhana, enlightenment.
alpāyutva, short life.
avadhīryyatha, 2 p. imp. act.,
 have courage ; ? *dhīra*.
aśaktatva, lack of power.
ākṣālita, washed.
āgarjita, puffed up.
ādikaṃ, to begin with.
āpa, quantity of water.
ārāgayati, love.
āvarṇanā, description.
āsvasthā, illness.
kaśmīraśīla, ? saffron.
kāmamithyā, incest.
kārttikapūrṇamāsi, f., name
 of a month.
kuṣṭhāviṣṭa, leprosy.
kṛṣṇāparājita, name of a
 plant.
kṣayatva, n., destruction.
kṣaudra, n., honey.
khañjaka, limping.

guḍaguḍāyate, rumble.
grādhā, vulture.
jāmbūnadākṣa, name of a
 flower.
taripanya, n., ferry money.
tūṣṇī = *tūṣṇīm*.
tripradakṣiṇa, n., three *pra-*
dakṣiṇas.
tripradakṣiṇīkaroti, make the
 three *pra*°.
durbāudha, foolish.
dvārībhavati, be at the
 door.
dhātāvāvaropana = *dhātava*°.
nityaśah, always.
nirṇaṣṭa, destroyed.
niṣpaṃsaka, free from every-
 thing contemptible.
niṣpratīkāra = *niṣpratī*°.
pratiprasārabdha, ? converted.
prabhakṣati, feed.
prādesīkamaṇḍalin, ruler of a
 district.
prābhīnandati, rejoice.
prāviṣkaroti, make manifest.
balasthā, strength.
bhāṇḍāgārīn, treasurer.
bhītā, fear.
maṇḍalīnarājān, chieftain of
 a small district.
mahānāgīviṣa, a particular kind
 of snake.
mahānuśaṃsā, verses in praise
 of a particular virtue, usually
 at the end of an *avādana*.
māsi, f., month.
yatha = *yathā*.
yonīśah, thoroughly.
rātryātyayāt = *rātryaty*°.

vaṇija, merchant.

Vapuṣmadāvadāna = *Vapuṣ-*
madava°.

viti = *viti*.

vidyuttana, lightning.

virāgayati, dislike.

viṣada, dejection.

vihelā, wantonness.

veśmatā, dwelling.

samādara, great reverence.

samparigaṇayati, consider.

sampratibodhikī, enlightening.

sampratīvāraṇa, protection
against.

sambuddhatva, n., perfect
Buddhahood.

sambubhukṣita, hungry.

suṣṭukara, good fortune.

XI

THE DELTA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

AN UNPUBLISHED TENTH CENTURY ACCOUNT OF THE NILE

By A. R. GUEST

THE short tenth century account of the Nile in the Delta, which is published here for the first time, is an extract from a unique Arabic MS. on geography preserved at the British Museum (23379 Add.).

A word must be said about the authorship of this book. The catalogue of the Museum Library appears to be mistaken in ascribing it to Ibn Serapion, who is identified with the Syrian physician and contemporary of Er Râzî (Wustenfeld, *Arabischen Aerzte*, No. 99). There seems to be no other ground for doing so than a statement in the colophon of the MS. that it was "copied from another, which was copied from another, which was copied from another, which was a correct copy ; for Ibn El Warrâq mentioned that it (the first of the series) was in the handwriting of Ibn El Buhlûl, who revised the book of Ibn Serapion". Now Ibn Serapion, the Syrian physician, is said in Fihrist (p. 296) to have composed all his books in Syriac, and it is known also that an Ibn Buhlûl (Behlûl) translated one of them into Arabic. There seems thus to be good reason to suppose that it is to these two persons that the colophon is alluding. But the colophon does not say that the book of Ibn Serapion which Ibn El Buhlûl revised was this particular geography, and nowhere else does there seem to be the least allusion to any geography written by Ibn Serapion. All that it appears to intend to convey is that the original to which the MS. is traced back was

reliable on account of having been written out by a scholar of known repute. The opening sentence of the geography itself, following a short preface, which shows by the bye that the author was a Muhammadan, runs as follows:—

قال جامعه افقر الورى سهراب

This seems to be conclusive as to authorship, the name of the compiler, Suhrâb, being plainly given. Ibn Serapion's name was Yahyâ or Yuḥannâ, and one need have no hesitation in taking the geography out of the list of books written by him. As to the actual author, beyond his name, which points to his having been a Persian, and what can be inferred from his book as to his date, we know nothing.

The title of the British Museum copy of the geography is “‘Ajâ'ib el aqâlim es sab'ah ilâ nihâyat el ‘imârah” (The wonders of the seven climes up to the limit of habitation). While the geography does deal with the world according to the knowledge of the time, it seems to have nothing to do with wonders, and it is more than likely therefore that this title is not a correct one. Mr. Le Strange in his description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad (JRAS., 1895) shows by internal evidence that the geography was written between 289 and 334 A.H. = 902 and 945 A.D. It is known that Ibn Buhlûl took part in the election of a catholicus in 352 A.H. = 962 A.D., so his date accords with the allusion made to him.

We now give the extract itself, followed by a translation. For convenience, the text has been divided into paragraphs, numbered in the case of the arms of the Nile to correspond with each.

EXTRACT FROM BRIT. MUS. MS. ADD. 23379, 42B

ثم يمر بمدينة مصر مما شأ لها عند طول ندل وعرض كطية ثم
يتفرق منه هناك خلجان سبعة [43] كلها تضب إلى البحر الرومي

(١) الخليج الاول منها عند طول ناك فوق اهرام يوسف عليه السلام بشي^١ يسير ثم يمر الى قصر يوسف وهو غربي ويسقي ما عليه من الضياع ويصب في البحر مع مدينة الاسكندرية
(٢) ويخرج الخليج الثاني من النيل اسفل مدينة مصر يمر الى سردوس ثم الى بنا^٢ ثم الى بوصير^٣ ثم الى شطيوف وهذه القرى كلها شرقيته ثم يصب الى البحر عند طول نحه مع مدينة سمند وهي غربيته

(٣) ويخرج من هذا الخليج الخليج الثالث اوله [436] مع مدينة سَرْدُوس يمر فيسقي ما عليه من الضياع ويصب في البحر عند طول رحل اسفل الاسكندرية

(٤) ويخرج من هذا الخليج خليج اوله اسفل على مقدار عشرة فراسخ من سردوس ويصب في البحر اسفل من الاسكندرية والنهر الاول بشي^١ يسير عند طول رح م وهو الخليج الرابع
(٥) ويخرج الخليج الخامس من خليج سَرْدُوس الكبير اوله بازآ بوصير يمر حتى يصب في البحر عند طول رح م^٢ مع مدينة اسرودات^٣ وهي غربيته

(٦) ويخرج الخليج السادس من خليج سَرْدُوس الكبير اوله مع مدينة شطُوف يمر فيسقي ما عليه من الضياع ويصب في البحر عند طول دك مع مدينة دمياط

(٧) فاما الخليج السابع فهو الذي يقاسم خليج سَرْدُوس فيمر خليج يسره الى سَرْدُوس فيمر هذا يمنة على سمتته وهو عمود النيل يمر من مصر بتئيس وهي شرقيته الى جرجير وهي شرقيته ثم الى نو وهي غربيته ثم الى الفرما ويصب في البحر عند طول بدل فهذه الخليجان كلها تدور في بلاد مصر ويتفرع من كل واحد منها انهار كبيرة تسقي تلك الضياع وتقلب في بحر الروم فوق الاسكندرية واسفل منها

¹ The first letter s.p.

² This symbol is written indistinctly.

³ The second letter is written indistinctly.

TRANSLATION

A. The Nile then passes the city of Mişr, close to, in longitude $54^{\circ} 30'$ and latitude $29^{\circ} 15'$, and seven arms spring off from it afterwards, all of which flow into the Mediterranean Sea.

NOTE.—This passage follows a description of the course of the river to the south. The city of Mişr is Fustât (Old Cairo), and the correct latitude is about $30^{\circ} 1'$. The longitude of Mişr given elsewhere in the same book (fol. 7) is $53^{\circ} 40'$. The text might be read as indicating that the river divided into seven arms at one place, but the sequel shows that this is not meant.

1. The first of these arms [springs off] in longitude $51^{\circ} 20'$, a short distance above the pyramids of Yu'suf [Joseph], on him be peace, and then continues on to Qaşr Yu'suf, which is to the west of it [the arm]. It irrigates the lands adjacent to it and flows into the sea at Alexandria . . .

NOTE.—A passage relating to tributaries to this branch in Upper Egypt occurs here, and is omitted from our extract. It describes two canals: the first ended at Bahnasâ and threw off a shoot higher up which ended at Asyût; the second branched off at Qaşr Yu'suf and rejoined the arm from which it started near Qanţarat Dât Humâm, an unidentified place. Incidentally, arm 1 described in this section is called *Khalij el Iskandariyah*. The pyramids of Joseph are presumably the same as the pyramids at Maidûm; and Qaşr Yu'suf, if it is identical with Sijn Yu'suf, was near Bûsir in Jizah (Maqrizi, i, 207). The second canal would thus seem to have corresponded to some extent with the existing Tur'at Jurzat el Hawâ' ('Alî Bâshâ Mubâarak, xix, 136).

This paragraph does not seem quite consistent with paragraph A, for the latter treats all the arms of the Nile, which are described subsequently, as being formed below Old Cairo, while here we have one of them taken as the main stem of the river extending from a couple of hundred miles above the town right down to the sea.

2. The second arm leaves the Nile below the city of Mişr, and continues on to Saradûs, thence to Banâ, thence to Bûsir, thence to *Shatyûf* [?], and all these towns are to the east of it; then it flows into the sea in longitude $58^{\circ} 5'$ at the city of Samnûd [?], which is to the west of it.

NOTE.—Saradûs was in the province of *Gharbiyah* (JRAS. 1912, p. 944), but the exact site does not appear to have been identified. The *Shatyûf* in the text clearly cannot be the existing *Shatanûf*; perhaps *Sammanûd*

may be the right reading. The place called Samnûd cannot at all events be Sammanûd of to-day; *Ushât* suggests itself. From the mention of Banâ and Bûsir, it appears that the arm described must have followed the direction of the present eastern arm of the Nile for a considerable part of its course. Banâ, Bûsir, and Sammanûd all lie to the west of the Nile at the present day, however, and Saradûs also would seem to have been to the west.

3. Out of this arm there issues the third arm, the beginning of which is at the town of Saradûs. It continues, irrigating the lands adjacent to it, and flows into the sea in longitude $58^{\circ} 30'$, further north than Alexandria.

NOTE.—As Saradûs is stated in the description to have been to the east of arm 2, this arm would have flowed to the east of arm 2. Presumably it is the same as the important canal across the mouth of which, according to El Muqaddasî (p. 206), there was a dam in the fourth = tenth century at Saradûs, and when the dam was broken a visible effect would at once appear on the level of the main stream of the Nile. Probably one may identify it also with the *Khalij* of Saradûs spoken of by Mas'ûdi, *Murûj*, i, 147, as one of the four principal canals (*tur'ah*) of the Nile in his time, early fourth = tenth century.

4. Out of this arm there issues an arm, the beginning of which is ten leagues [*farsakh*] northwards of Saradûs, and it flows into the sea a little to the north of Alexandria and [the mouth of] the first stream in longitude $58^{\circ} 40'$.

NOTE.—Arm 4 was thus a branch of arm 3. "The first stream" may refer to any of the arms 1, 2, or 3.

5. The fifth arm issues from the great arm of Saradûs. It begins opposite Bûsir, and continues until it flows into the sea in longitude $58^{\circ} 50'$ at the city of Absarûdât [?], which is to the west of it.

NOTE.—If Bûsir was, as stated, to the east of arm 2, arm 5 must have flowed to the west. The minutes intended for the longitude here are doubtful. The city of Absarûdât may be suspected of being a corruption of Basharûdât (see JRAS. for 1912, p. 977, n. C, for this name). The great arm of Saradûs was evidently arm 2. The expression "great arm" looks as if it were used to distinguish it from another arm of Saradûs, which would have been arm 3.

6. The sixth arm originates from the great arm of Saradûs. It begins at the city of *Shatnûf* [?] and continues, irrigating the lands adjacent to it, and flows into the sea in longitude $54^{\circ} 20'$ at the city of Damietta.

NOTE.—Shatnûf cannot be the same as Shatanûf of to-day. It appears likely to be identical with Shatyûf of paragraph 2, for which Sammanûd has been suggested. Shatyûf having been to the east of the Nile, arm 6 in this case ought to have been to the east of arm 2.

7. As to the seventh arm, it is that which is equal in importance with the arm of Saradûs. One arm goes on to the left to Saradûs, and this [seventh] arm goes to the right on its way. It is the main stem of the Nile. It goes from Miṣr by Tannîs [?], which is to the east of it, thence to Jarjîr, also to the east of it, thence to Nau [?], which is to the west of it, thence to Faramâ, and flows into the sea in longitude $54^{\circ} 30'$.

NOTE.—“Equal in importance,” in the Arabic “shares with”. Tannîs is an easy corruption for Bilbais, and the latter is almost certainly the right reading. Jarjîr, as can be seen from an itinerary given by Ibn Khurdâdbih (p. 80), was on the way from Bilbais to Faramâ, about two-thirds of the distance from the former. No identification for Nau suggests itself. Faramâ is well known to have been the same as Pelusium. The seventh arm is the Pelusian branch of the Nile.

B. All these arms flow through the country of Egypt, and from every one of them there branch off large streams, which irrigate those lands and discharge into the Mediterranean Sea, both to the south and to the north of Alexandria.

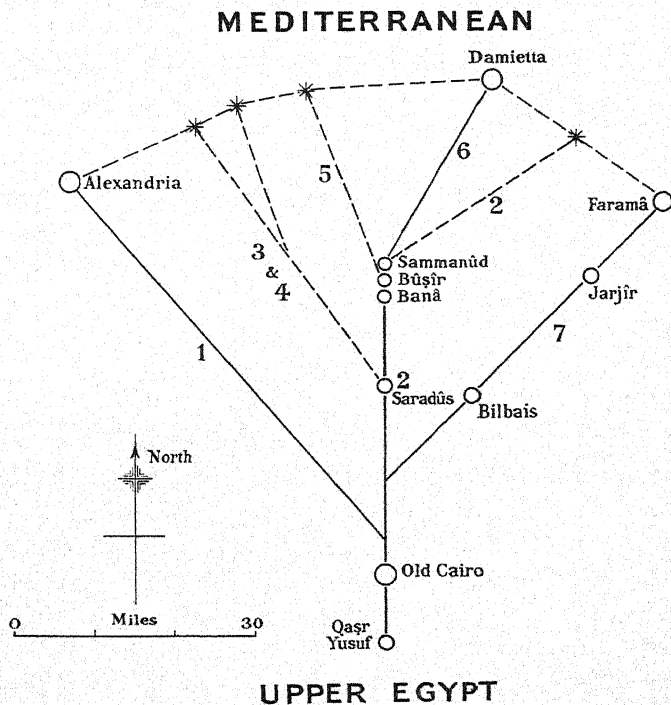
REMARKS

A diagram is given below. Something of this kind is necessary to enable the description to be followed. The diagram shows approximately the relative positions of the various places mentioned in the description. The thick black lines indicate those arms of the Nile of which the direction is clearly established by the indications given, and the broken lines ending in asterisks show those whose direction is a matter of uncertainty.

It will be observed that the description gives us three principal arms of the Nile—arm 1, clearly regarded as one of the principal arms, if not the most important of all three; arm 2, which is traced by known marks more

than half-way down to the sea; and arm 7, stated to be of equal importance with arm 2. We have one known tributary to arm 2, viz. the Damietta outlet. The arms about which there is an uncertainty are the main outlet of arm 2 and three of the four tributaries of that arm.

One may attempt to establish the four doubtful arms by the longitudes given for their mouths. Being east



longitudes, the figures appearing in the original throw the mouths of all four arms far to the east of Faramā, and this is absurd. A probable explanation is that 58° in each case is a mistake for 53° , the letter *jīm* having been corrupted into *ḥā'* through the omission of a point. This correction being made, and the longitude given for Damietta being taken, the mouths of all four arms fall to

the west of that place, in order from the westward, 2, 3, 4, 5. Arm 2 must, however, in this case have cut right across arms 3, 4, and 5, for it is clear from the description that arm 2 did not turn aside until past their starting-points from the stem. It seems quite out of the question to suppose that arm 2 can have intersected the rest as a matter of fact; and the result is that there must be some other error in the longitudes. One cannot say whether only one is wrong or the error applies to more, but it is clear that the longitudes are an unsafe guide. One turns to those indications of direction which are independent of longitude. They have been pointed out individually in the notes to the various paragraphs. They give the following arrangement of the central mouths starting from the west and going eastward: 5, 2, 6, 3, 4. Unfortunately this evidence is based in part on an identification which is altogether conjectural (Shat'yûf = Shat'nûf = Sammanûd) and in part on a statement in the description which seems contrary to all probability, if not actually impossible—that Saradûs, Banâ, and Bûsîr were to the east of the Nile. Consequently, it cannot be relied upon unsupported; and the system to which it points is quite at variance with the longitudes, and, moreover, does not seem to be in harmony with any other description of the Nile which is forthcoming; for instance, one can hardly believe that there were two important branches of the Nile, one starting from Bûsîr (5) and one from below that town (the end of 2), which both flowed into the sea to the west of Damietta. The conclusion arrived at is that the direction intended by the description for the four arms in question cannot be determined with certainty from the text in the form in which it reaches us. Possibly this matter may be cleared up by means of external evidence.

The four arms referred to have been shown in the diagram in a way that involves the correction of only

longitude (2), besides the alteration from 58° to 53° , which seems to be necessary in any case. Arm 2 has been brought from Sammanûd to the east, as it is known that later on there was an important channel in this direction beginning not far from Sammanûd and going towards Tinnîs. This arrangement of the doubtful arms offers, perhaps, fewer difficulties than any other.

Notwithstanding the deficiencies of our version of Ibn Serapion's description, it does supply us with certain facts about the Nile, which may help to explain the history of the river. A rather remarkable feature is the absence of any direct reference to a channel representing the Bolbitine arm which is the present main outlet near Rosetta. In view of what is said in the last paragraph of the description, the most that can be made of this omission is that this channel was not considered so important as the others. Another point is that the separation between the main western arm represented by arm 1 and the arm corresponding to the existing eastern arm (arm 2) would seem to have taken place a good deal above Shatânûf, the point of bifurcation in the fourth (tenth) century and probably earlier: this seems to follow from the Pelusian branch having turned off lower down according to the description. One remarks that the Damietta outlet is not regarded as the principal mouth of the main central arm of the Nile, as arm 6 is treated as a branch of arm 2. The description also throws a little light on the position of Saradûs and the arm and canal of Saradûs. Finally, it gives us something about the Pelusian arm.

To what period does the description relate? In the preface to the geography it is stated that it was compiled from a number of older books, the names of which are not specified. One finds that in the case of Baghdad information is included relating to the period of the book itself, but it is probable that for more distant regions the authorities may not have been brought so

completely up to date. There are two points which have some bearing on the subject. None of the early Arab historians or geographers appears to mention the Pelusian arm directly or to contain any reference to communication by the Nile between Fustât and Faramâ which might be taken as an indirect allusion to it. The information which is to be obtained from these writers about the Nile is altogether very scanty, but their silence seems to make it very improbable that the Pelusian arm can have been an important channel in the fourth = tenth century. The second point is that it is certain that the Nile divided into two branches at Shaṭanûf in the fourth (tenth) century, and there is fairly good evidence (from allusions to Shaṭanûf by El Kindî) that the separation occurred at that place at the beginning of the third (ninth) century. It has been pointed out that the description appears to indicate that the bifurcation took place a good deal higher up; this is in accordance with the ancient accounts which put the division at Kerkarsoros, two or three miles to the north of Cairo. There seems thus to be ground for referring the description back to a time before the third (ninth) century. It may relate to a much earlier date, but the use of Arabic names rather suggests that it belongs to the Arab period.

XII

NOTE ON THE NUMERAL SYSTEMS OF THE TIBETO-BURMAN DIALECTS

By T. C. HODSON

East London College, University of London

I PROPOSE to examine the various dialects of which specimens are given in vol. iii of the Report of the Linguistic Survey of India, to group them together according to their method of forming numerals, and then to examine the forms of the numerals used as bases for the higher numerals.

I have divided them into two main groups, in the first of which I place those dialects which form their numerals on a decimal basis, and in the second of which I group those which use a score base for higher numerals. I subdivide these two main groups according to their use of prefixes or suffixes when effecting multiplication. I find that there are cases which have some special features requiring separate notice.

GROUP I

System decimal, prefixes as multipliers

*Balti, Purik, *Ladakhi, *Central Tibetan, *Spiti, *Kagate, *Sharpa, *Danjongka, *Gurung, Pahari, Limbu, *Lohorong, *Rai, Thaksya, Därmia, Chaudangsi, Byangsi, Aka, Chulikata, Mishmi, Mikir, Yawdwin, Sho, Mru, Chinbok, *Kachin, *Burmese, *Lhoke.

In the dialects marked * the decimal base of the higher numerals is the ten of the ordinary system. In Limbu the word for "ten" is *bong*, which is used as the base for twenty and thirty. For higher numbers *kip* is suffixed to the multiplier up to one hundred, when *kip*

prefixed means "hundred".¹ In Dārmiyā² *chi* = ten, while *sa* seems to be the base used in higher numbers. The difference in Aka is less as the word for "ten" is *rhi*, while we have a form *phumu-mu* = fifty, where *phum* = five. In the case of Mikir³ the word *kep* = ten, changes to *kre* for numbers from eleven to nineteen. It also has a word for "score", *ingkoī*. In Chulikata Mishmi the word for "ten" is *hush*, while "fifty" is *mangalon*. In Digaru Mishmi the word for "ten" is *hālāng*, which is used regularly. Miju Mishmi has *kap* for "ten", *ketag* for "twenty", and a curious form *ngrunsi* for "fifty". "Thirty" is *sung-gyep* where *gyep* = *kap*, while *si* is the base in *bri-si* = forty, and in *ngrun-si* = fifty.⁴ This base is found in Kachin and Burmese (*se*). In Yawdwin we have *rhar* = ten, *ma-kōn* = twenty, and *mha gyip* = fifty. In Chinbok "ten" is *hsrar*, and "twenty" is *um ku*, while in the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, p. 682, I find "thirty" given as *htum chip*. In Sho we have *ha* = ten, *kul* = twenty, and *nga gip* = fifty. In Mru we have *ha-muit* (? *ha-muit*, see below) = ten, *pir-mi* = twenty (lit. two tens, pre = two), and *nga-kom* = fifty.

GROUP II

System decimal, suffixes as multipliers

Dafla,⁵ Miri, Garo (standard), Angami, Sema, Rengma, Kezhama, Namsangiya, Moshang, Empeo, Arung, Kabui, Khoirao, Sopvoma, Maram, Liyang, Tangkhul, Phadang, Khangoi, Maring, Siyin, Thado, Lai, Shonshe, Lushei, Banjogi, Pankhu, Rangkhoh, Hallam, Langrong, Aimol, Chiru, Kolren, Kom, Purum, Anal, Hiroi Langang, Taungtha, Khami, Lakher.

Here, again, we have complete systems in Miri, Moshang, Thado, Lushei, Pankhu, Rangkhoh, Hallam, Langrong,

¹ I see reasons for thinking that *kip* retains its original meaning of "ten". See below, p. 332.

² Also in Chandangsi and Byangsi.

³ See below, p. 328.

⁴ Vide *The Mikirs*, p. 78.

⁵ Part prefixes.

Aimol, Chiru, Kolren, Kom, Purum, Anal, Hiroi Langang, and Lakher.¹

In Daffa we have three forms: *illyi* = ten, *nyi-kru* = twenty, and *chāmung* = fifty. In standard Garo we have *chikung* = ten, *kolgrik* = twenty, and *sot bongga* = fifty. In Angami, *kerr* = ten, *mekwu* = twenty, and *thi pangu* = fifty. In Sema "ten" is *chighi*, *muku* is "twenty", and *lho pangu* is "fifty". In Rengma we have *serr* for "ten", *nki* for "twenty", and *hempfu* for "fifty". In Kezhama we have *chiro* = ten, *mechi* = twenty, and *lha pangu* = fifty. In the case of Namsangiya the difference is more apparent than real. The word for "ten" is *ichhi*, that for "twenty" *rangi*, and for "fifty" *rakbanga*. *Rangi* is obviously a contracted form of *rok* which occurs in Moshang, while *ichhi* belongs to another series of ten bases.² In Empeo we have *gareo* = ten, *ekai* = twenty, and *ri-ngjeo* = fifty. The forms in Arung resemble those in Empeo very closely. Here, again, the ten-base reappears in "fifty". In Kabui we have *lu* = ten, *choi* = twenty, and *le-ngu* = fifty. Khoirao has *sara* for "ten", *machi* for "twenty", and *renga* for "fifty". Sopvoma has *chiro* for "ten", *make* for "twenty", and *re-pongo* for "fifty". Maram has *kero* for "ten", *ma-kei* for "twenty", and *rengo* for "fifty". Liyang has *karyu* for "ten", *makai* for "twenty", and *ringyu* for "fifty". In Tangkhul we have *thara* for "ten", *maga* for "twenty", and *hang panga* for "fifty". In Phadang the forms are for practical purposes identical with those in Tangkhul, while Khangoi gives us *tang phanga* for "fifty".³ Maring has *chip* for "ten", but uses *som*, the ten-base of Kuki dialects, for higher numbers. Siyin has *som* or *khan* for "ten", uses both bases for "twenty", as well as a form *kul*, and seems to

¹ See Grammar by Rev. F. W. Savidge.

² See below, p. 328.

³ Ethnographically Phadang and Khangoi belong to the Tangkhul group of villages.

use *som* for higher numbers. Lai has *po-ra* for "ten", *po-kul* for "twenty", and uses *sām* for the base of higher numbers. Shonshe resembles Lai. In Taungtha the word for "ten" is *parha*, for "twenty" *rui-nip*, and for "fifty" *rui-nga*, where *rui* is the ten-word and belongs to a definite series of ten bases. In Banjogi we have *pa-ra* or *tsom* for "ten", *kul* or *tsom-ni* for "twenty", and *tsom* for the base of higher numbers. In Khami we have *hoh* for "ten", *apum* for "twenty", and *wei-pa* or *wi-pang-re* for "fifty".

GROUP III

System vigesimal, prefixes as multipliers

Toto, Khambu, Bahing, Thulung, Dhimal, Kanaw'ri, Kanashi, Manchati, Chamba Lahuli, (?) Bunan, Rangkas, and Meithei.

In Toto we have *twase* = ten, *nisa* = twenty, and *ni-kwai-tase* = fifty. In Khambu "ten" is *ik-pong*, "twenty" is *ikkhalo*, "fifty" is *pachas* (Aryan); but "one hundred" is *ngak-khal* or "fivescore". Bahing has a form *kwaddyum* for "ten", *kwong-asim* for "twenty", *niksi-asim-a-phlo* for "fifty", and *ngo-asim* or "fivescore" for "one hundred". Thulung has *kwong-dyum* for "ten", *kwong-u-sang* for "twenty", *naasang-ko-dyum* for "fifty", and *ngo-sang* or "fivescore" for "one hundred". Dhimal has *na-bisa* or "fivescore" for "one hundred", with *te* for "ten". Kanawri, Kanashi, Manchati, Bunan, Rangkas, and possibly Chamba Lahuli form twenty as twice ten, forty as twice twice ten. The ten-base in Kanawri, Manchati, Chamba Lahuli, and Rangkas is *sa*. Kanashi uses *das*, and Bunan has *chui*. Kanashi has a form *biya* for "twenty", which is obviously derived from *bis*. There remains Meithei: "ten" is there *tara*, "twenty" is *kul*, while a base *phu* is employed for higher numbers, except fifty, *yāngkhei* = half a hundred. For "hundreds" the multiplier is suffixed.

GROUP IV

System vigesimal, suffixes as multipliers

Murmi, Sunwar, Rong, Yakha, Khaling, Garo Abeng, Garo Jalpaiguri, Garo Atong, Garo Ruga, Tipura, Deuri Chutiya, Tableng, Tamlu, Mulung (?), Banpara, Chang (?), Mutonia (?).

In Murmi we have *chui* or *chiu* for "ten", *bhagal* for "twenty", from which are formed *bhagal-ni-se-chui* for "fifty", and *bhagal nga* for "one hundred". Sunwar gives us in addition to Indo-Aryan loan-words, *sa-shi* for "ten", *khal-ka* for "twenty", and *khak-nishi-sa-shi-ka* for "fifty". Rong has *ka-ti* for "ten", *kha-kat* for "twenty", and *kha-nyet-sa-kati* for "fifty". Yakha uses the ten-base *bong* throughout. Thus, *ibong* for "ten", *hi-bong* for "twenty", *hibong-hiehchi-nga-ibong* for "fifty". Khaling has a form *tadham* for "ten", cf. Thulung kwong *dyum*, *khal-tau* for "twenty", *khal-sakpo-tau-dham* for "fifty", and *khal-bhong* for "one hundred". Garo Abeng has *chiking* for "ten", *kol* for "twenty", *katchong gni chiking* for "fifty". In Garo of Jalpaiguri "ten" is *chwi*, "twenty" is *rung-sha*, "fifty" is *rung-ning-chwi*, and "one hundred" is *rung-bunga*. Atong Garo has *chaigik* for "ten", *kol* for "twenty", *rim-ni-chaigik* for "fifty". Ruga Garo has *gaichi* for "ten", *kol* for "twenty", and *kol-changni-chi* for "fifty". Tipura has *chi* for "ten", *kol* or *hol* for "twenty", *kuri-nui-chi* for "fifty", and *kuri-bā* for "one hundred". In Deuri Chutiya we have *tideke* or *dga* for "ten", *kua sa* for "twenty", *kua kin otu pekin* for "fifty", and *kua moa* for "one hundred". Tableng has *pan* for "ten", "twenty" is *tā*, "fifty" is *tī chā pān*, (where *tī* is $tā \times \bar{i}$ ("two" is \bar{i})), "one hundred" is *te ngā chā*, or "scores five one". Tamlu has *ān* for "ten", *hā* for "twenty", *pī-ni-bā-ān* for "fifty", and *pu-ngā* for "one hundred". In Mulung we have *pan* = "ten", *thā* = twenty, and *thā-nga cha* = "one hundred". Banpara has *van* or *ban* for "ten", *cha*

or *tsā* for "twenty", *pu-nyi-ban* for "fifty", and *pūga* for "one hundred". Chang has *ān* = "ten", *sā-o*¹ *chi* = "twenty", but *ān-chi-ni-sem* for "fifty", which seems to be "ten one, two twenties", *pu-ga* or "scores five" is "one hundred".

ONE

The form used in the Tibetan group of dialects from Balti to Lhoke is *chik*. Danjongka has *chi*. Newari has *chhi*, Toto has *chē*, Lalung, Tableng, and Mulung have *chā*, Chang has *chi*. Perhaps we may link with this group the dialects using *se* or *si* or *sui* for "one". They are Bodo *se* or *sui*, Mech *se*, Dimasa *shī*, Garo *sā*, Ruga Garo *so*, Koch *sā*, Tipura *sā*, Deuriya Chutiya *jā*, *cha*, or *sa*, Moshang *āshī*, Mikir *īsī*. Another base the diffusion of which is noteworthy is *khat*. Magar and Rong have *kat*, Sunwar has *kā*, Chulikata Mishmi has *ēkhē*, Ao has *ākā*, Khari has *akhet*, Lhota has *ekhā*, Purum has *akha*, while Anal has *khe*. The form *khat*, with or without change, is used in Tengsa and Thukumi (*kathu*), Empeo, Arung, Kabui, Khoirao, Liyang, Tangkhul, Phadang, Maring, Khangoi (*katang*), Thado, Kuki, Siyin, Lai, Shonshe, Lushei, Banjogi, Pankhu, Rangkhul, Hallam, Langrong, Aimol, Chiru, Hiroi Lamgang, Kolren, Kom, Taungtha, and Lakher. Some of these forms may be derived from the Indo-Aryan word *ek*, in Dhimal *e*, and Yakha *ikko*. We get Khambu *i-bom*, where I regard *i* as the base and as derived possibly from *ek*. So, too, with Bahing *k-wong*, Waling *akta*, Balali *ik-kū*, Lohorong *yekko*, Rungchenbung *eukhha*, Dūngmali *akpo*, Thulung *k-wong*, Nachhērēng *ibhou*. Such words as E. Dafia *akkin*, Chulikata Mishmi *ēkhē*, Digaru Mishmi *ēkhing*, Miju Mishmi *kō mo*, Ao² *aka*, Khari² *akhet*, Lhota² *ekhā*, Tamlu *hak*, and Miri *ākā* look as if they are connected with this base. In Aka all that

¹ See p. 334.

² They belong with greater probability to the Khat group.

is left is *a*. Another group which has interesting forms is Kanawri *id*, Kanashi *idh*, Manchati *idi*, Chamba *ittī*, Banpara *ettā*, Mutonia *attā*, and Burmese *tit* or *ta*. Perhaps Janggali *da*¹ comes into the group with Sangpang *itta*, Lambichong *thili*, Chingtāng *thitta*, Rodong *itto*. Bunan has *tiki*, Rangkas *tākā*, Chaudangsi and Byangsi have *tig*, Dārmiya *tākā*, Murmi has *ki*, Rai has *tikpu*, Pahari has *thiki*, Limbu has *thik*, and Gurung has *ghri*. Yachumi has *kalāng*, where *ka*, judging by other numerals in the series, is the prefix and *lāng* the base. Maram has *hang li-nē*, where by the same criterion *hang* is a prefix, so that *li* would seemingly be the base. In Sopvoma, i.e. next door to Maram, the base is clearly *li*. Namsangia has *vān-thē*, where the base being *the*, it would seem to be assignable to the *se* group, *t* and *s* being interchangeable. Sema has *lāki*, Mru has *loke*, and Kezhama *kelē*. In Sema the use of prefixes in other numerals would indicate that *ki* is there the base, while Kezhama and Mru in other cases regularly use prefixes, thus giving *ke* as the base in Mru and *lē* as the base in Kezhama; cf. Sopvoma and Maram, *supra*. Rengma has *mē*, Meithei has *amā*, Yawdwin has *tumat*,² and Sho has *māt*.² Miklai has *ma-chunga*, but uses prefixes regularly in other numbers. In Khami we have *hārē*, and by analogy with its other numerals *hā* is the base and *rē* a suffix. *Hā* is the base in Sho as recorded by Houghton and Fryer. Angami has *po*. There can be no doubt that the use of the numeral for "one" as an affix to indicate singularity has led to the disappearance of the original numeral in several cases and the employment of some word of different origin in its place. The detrition of whole syllables may account for cases where the base has disappeared and its place taken by its prefix or suffix.

¹ With Bhrāmu *dē* and Thāksya *dī*. Thāmi, *diware*.

² I note that these forms are "apparently connected with the forms in the Mon Khmer group of languages" (LSR., vol. iii, pt. iii, p. 335).

Two

The standard form is *nhi* or *nyis* or *ni* or *nyet*. Occasionally the open vowel is closed by *ng*, which may on further investigation prove to be only a nasalization, e.g. Miju Mishmi *kā-NI-ng*, Lalung *ki-NING*, Garo Jalpaiguri *a NING*. *s* and *t* are sometimes used to shut the sound. Taungtha (*nīp*) employs *p* for this purpose. The frequent interchange of *l* or *r* for *n* gives us variant forms, and the vowel becomes *a* in Newari *nasi*,¹ Vayu *nā-yung*, Angami *kennā*, Ao *anā*, Tengsa and Dopdor *ānnat*, Empeo *ganā*, Arung *kanā*, Kabui *kanhāi*, Maram *hang-na*. The substitution of *a* for *i* can be traced in other words in Angami, and it would be an interesting thing to trace the extent of this feature in other cases. The Digaru Mishmi word *kāying* belongs to this group; cf. Dhimal *ngē*. Tableng *i* has lost its initial consonant. Aka *kshi* may be contrasted with Bahing and Chourasya *niksi*. The only forms which I am unable to bring into line in any way with the standard form are Rai, Dumi, and Khaling *sakpu*, Yakha *hichchi*, which is used also in Balali, Sangpang, Lohorong, Lambichong, Chhingtang, Dūngmali, and Manchati *jut* with Chamba *jur*. I think the last two must be Indo-Aryan loan-words and mean "a pair". Rungchhenbung has *heu wang heusa*; Rodong has *hākara*. Mru has a form *pre* (*pir* in *pir-mi* = twenty) which may be held to resemble a Mon Khmer form *bar*.²

THREE

The standard form may be said to be *sun*. *s* and *t* are often interchanged and the final consonant is in some cases replaced by *ng* or *m*. The vowel is not persistent, being replaced by *o* and *a*. To this group belong, therefore, such forms as Sunwar *sang*, Newari *so*, Pahri *songo*, Toto *sung*, Digaru Mishmi *kasang*, Thukumi and Yachumi

¹ The ordinary form is *ni*.

² Forbes, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 119.

asang, Khami *thung*, Burmese *thōn*. *s* also changes to *z* or to *j* or to *ch*, and we must therefore extend it to forms such as Aka *zu*, Kezhama *katzū*, Tamlu *chum*, Banpara *ajam*, Mutonia *azam*, Empeo *gujum*, Arung *kachum*. E. Daffa *a om*, Miri *a umka*, Maring khi *yum*, and Meithei *ahum* belong to this group. Digaru Mishmi has *kasang* and Miju Mishmi has *kasam*. Chulikata Mishmi has a form *kash* which I assign to this group. *Kash* is due to the loss of the base proper except the initial consonant, as shown by the parallel instances from cognate dialects. Angami has *sē*, which may be filiated to the group through the Sema forms *ke thu* and *kethe*. Tableng has a form *lum* and Mulung has *lem*. Namsangia has *wanram* where *ram* is the base. Khambu has *sup chi*, Rai has *sukpu*, and Janggali has *sug*. The base is *sup* and *suk*. Cf. Nachhereng *sukbhov*, Kulung *supchi*, Khaling and Dumi *sūkpo*. Vayu has *chhu-yung* where *chhu* is the base. It is possible that the effect of the suffixes in the cases of Rai and Khambu has been to modify the final consonant of the base in accordance with "local rules". The last form to be considered is that found in Deuri Chutiya *mungda*. The prefix is *mu* and the base is contained in *ngda*. Kusunda has *dāha*, with *dā* as the base.

FOUR

The most general form is *li* or *ri*. Sometimes, as in Burmese, but not often, the vowel changes to *e*. The group includes dialects such as Gurung, Murmi, Sunwar, Magar, Rong, Limbu, Yakha, Khambu Bahing, Vayu, Aka, Daffa, Mishmi, Bodo, Mech, Dimasa, Garo, Tipura, Khari, Ao (Mongsen), Tableng, Mikir, Khoirao, Maring, Meithei, Thado, Lushei, down to Mru, and including Balali, Lohorong, Dungmali, Rodong, Nachhereng, Kulung. In Khaling and Dumi the vowel is lost, *bhāl*- and *bhyāl*.

A second group, which may after all be filiated or related to the first, is that which has *zhi* or *di* for its

base. To it belong Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Central Tibetan, Spiti, Kagate, Sharpa, Danjongka, and Lhoke, all using *zhi* or *shi*. Toto has *jī*. Sema and Kezhama have *dī*. Thukumi has *mezhe*, Miklai has *mejo*, Ao (Chungli) has *peza*, Rengma has *pezi*, Lhota *mezu*. Perhaps we may bring into this group such forms as Angami *dā*, Empeo *madai*, Sopvoma *padai*, Maram *mudai*, Liyang *madai*, Arung *madai*, and Kabui *padai*. Dhimal has *diā*. Perhaps the base of *zakhai*,¹ the interesting word in Mech and Kachari for a group of four, may be *za*, in which case it too comes into this group. Deuri Chutiya has *chi*.

Then we have a group which uses *pi* or *pu* as base, which may be due to a contraction of a prefix with the base. The dialects in this group are Kanawri, Kanashi, Manchatī, Chamba, Bunan, Rangkas, Darminiya, Chaudangsi, Byangsi, Miri, Chulikata, Mishmi, Yachumi, Chinbok, Yawdwin, Newari, Pahri, Kusunda, and Chourasya. Khami has *plu*, which may be a variant of the first group. Cf. Thulung *blī*² and Vayu *blī-ning*. Rai presents us with a form *bha-luk-pu*, the base of which is *luk*. The change of the vowel from *i* to *ā* is found in Sangpang, Waling, Rungchhenbung.

FIVE

The base here is easily ascertained. It is *NGA*. The vowel undergoes modification to *o*, *u*, *eu*, *ou*, *eo*. The consonants are remarkably constant. Banpara and Mutonia have *agā*. Bodo, Mech, Dimasa, Tipura, Deuri Chutiya have forms *bā* or *boa* or *moa*, which, together with the Chinbok and Yawdwin form *mha*, I regard as properly belonging to this group. Khami has *pā*, which "seems abbreviated from *panga*". Outside the standard form are Vayu *ūning*, Miju Mishmi *ka-līn*, Aka *phum*, and Rai *bhok-pu*. Rengma has *pfū*, but we have a variant *pung-* on the authority of Butler, which brings it into

¹ Or *jokhai*.

² Alternative form *blu*.

the main group. Miju Mishmi uses *ngrün-si* = fifty = five tens. Chêpāng has *pū-ma-zho*.

SIX

The base here is *rūk*. It is sometimes coalesced with the prefix *ta*, giving *tūk* or *tūg*. Toto has *tu*. There are dialects which have *rū* or *ro* as a result of losing the final consonant. Sunwar has *ruku*, Newari has *khu*, and Pahri has *khugu*. But I do not doubt that Newari and Pahri forms both belong to the series. Angami has *suru*, Rengma *saro*, and Kezhama *sārr*. The Sema word *tsugwo* may be classed with Tableng *wok* and Mulung *vok*, and all belong to this group. Thado *gūp* also comes in, as the equation $g = r$ has much to prove it. We may also bring in Deuri Chutiya *mu-chu*, where *chu* is the base. Vayu has *chhu-ning* and Burmese has *chauk*. Forms outside the group are Miju Mishmi *kā-tām*, Aka *rieh*, with which go E. Dafla *ākr*, Dafla *akple*. Sho has a form *sok* or *sop*. Chulikata Mishmi has *ahe*. Miri has *akengka* and Rai has *jhakpu*. Digaru Mishmi has *tā-rā*. The Mon form *trōw*¹ seems related to the standard base here.

SEVEN

The first group is that which uses *rdun* or *dun* or *tin* or *duin* as the base, and comprises Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Central Tibetan, Spiti, Kagate, Sharpa, Danjongka, Lhoke, and Toto.

Very widely spread is the form *ni* with its variants, *nha*, *nhi*, *nis*, *nyi*, *nit*, *na*, *net*, *ing*, *nyet*, *nye*, *nya*, *ret*, *ri*, *li*, *rik*, *nai*, *ngi*, *gi*, where $g = r = n$. I note that "Seven is *ki nit* in Miri and *kanni* in Dafla . . ." The word seems to mean "two more than the hand", LSR. iii, pt. i, p. 593. Burmese has *kun-hnit*.² We get forms, such as *serr* in Chinbok, which result from the elision of the final vowel. Cf. Khāling *tār*. Miju Mishmi has *nūn*, which I think may be a contraction for *nī un*. The

¹ Forbes, *Comparative Grammar*, p. 120.

² Does this mean "hand-two"? *Khut* = hand in several dialects.

base *nū* is found in Balali, Sangpang, Lohorong, Kulung. Kanawri has a form *stish* or *tish*, which is irregular. Rai has *rok-pu*. Chulikata Mishmi has *joh* and Digaru Mishmi has *ōwē*. Aka has *mulh*. Deuri Chutiya has *mu-shing*, which resembles Moshang *mashi*. Rong has *kakayok*. Mikir has *thrak-si*, which means "six and one". At first sight it might seem that the Anal form *tak-si* is due to the same process, which has also been employed in the formation of *tik-si-yu* in Hiroi Lamgang.¹ Sho has *si*, which will be recognized as one of the "one" bases, though not the base used in Sho. Is it possible that *si* is a survival from a six plus one formation, preserving an older form for the one base? Rungchhenbung has a form *bhāng* for which I can find no parallel.

There is, whatever its origin, a group with *si* as the base for seven. It includes Deuri Chutiya, Moshang, Anal, Hiroi Lamgang, and Sho.

EIGHT

The base for eight passes through a series of transformations the intermediate stages of which are quite well marked. Taking *gyat* of the Tibetan dialects, Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Central Tibetan, Spiti, Sharpa, Danjongka, Lhoke, we get *ke* in Kagate, *chya* in Newari, *chegi* in Pahri, *ge* in Toto, *ye* in Dhimial, *yechhi* in Limbu, *ya* in Bahing, and *tai-ya* in Khami. Another line takes us from Rangkas *jyad* to Byangsi *jed*, thence to Bara *zat*, Dimasa *majai*, Garo *chet*, Angami *thetha*, Rengma *tetse*, Kezhama *tiche*, Hatiguria *chet*, Ao *taset*, Lhota *tiza*, Miklai *teja*, Sho *shet*, Burmese *shit*. Kulung *rechi*, where *r* has taken the place of *g*, is followed by Siyin *liet*, Lai *poryeth*, Shonshe *marit*, Lushei *pariat*, Banjogi *pareyet*, Pankhu *riet* or *riek*, the Old Kuki group with Anal *tarik*, to Taungtha *parip*, Yawdwin *khret*, and Mru *reat*. Rai, the form in Kanawri, Manchati, and

¹ I am not so sure of this. *Tak* and *tik* probably are only prefixes.

Chamba, *pre* or *bre* as found in Gurung and Murmi, also fall into this group. Tipura has *chār*.

Rong has a form *kaku*. Sunwar has *yoh*. Aka has *sikzi*. Miju Mishmi has *grun*, which may be compared with Chulikata Mishmi *ilu* and the Digaru Mishmi word *illam*. E. Dafia has *plin* or *plagnag*. Rai has *rikpu*, which may belong to the *re* series. Deuri Chutiya has *mushe*, which again may fall into line with Bodo *zat*. Ao has *tì*. In Mech we have *jokhai-noi*, which means "fours two". The same method of forming eight is employed in Miri, which has *pi-nyi-ka*. Meithei has *ni-pan*, which like Mikir *ner-kep* means "two from ten". There are thus three ways of regarding eight—(1) as a number by itself, (2) as two fours, (3) as two short of ten.

NINE

The base is *gu* or *ku* with variants *gvi*, *ko*, *kya*, *kwn*, *kui*, *gui*, *kwa*, *ka*. It is well diffused, extending to Burmese *ko*. The first variant to be noticed is that found in Rai, where we have the form *tampu* or *tumbu*. Limbu and Yakha have a form *phāngsi*, in which *phang* is the base.¹ With this go the forms used in Balali, Lohorong, Rungchhenbung, and Kulung. Khambu has *bochi*, where *bo*¹ is the base. Miri has *kanangka*, where *nang* seems to be the base. It resembles Digaru Mishmi *kenyōng*. Aka has a word *stheu*, which is singular. Chulikata Mishmi has *khili* and Miju Mishmi has *nāt*. Meithei has *māpan* and Mikir has *serkep*, which in each case mean "one from ten".

TEN

The first group consists of those dialects which use *chu* as the base for their tens. In it are Balti, Purik, Ladakhi, Central Tibetan, Spiti, Kagate, Sharpa, Danjongka, Lhoke, Toto, Bunan. The Bara form *zu* (or *zi*) belongs to this group. In Thaksya the changes are notable. *Chyu* = ten, *ngi-yu* = twenty, *som-bu* = thirty, *bli*

¹ *Bong* is a ten base. These forms probably mean "one from ten".

byu = forty, *nga-syu* = fifty. Murmi and Gurung give alternate forms, *chin* or *chui*. Through these forms we may perhaps bring into this group those dialects which use *chi* or some derivative thereof as the ten base. They are Rangkas, Dārmiyā, Chaudangsi, Byangsi, Pahari (*ji-gi*), Dimasa (*maji*), Garo (*chikung*), Tipura, Namsangia, Sema, Singpho. Maring and Chinbok¹ have *chip*, which will link the group to Sho (*gip*), Yawdwin (*gyip*), Mikir (*kep*), Miju Mishmi (*kap*), and Limbu (*kíp*). The base *si* or *se* which is found in Miju Mishmi, Kachin, and Burmese, may belong to this group.

The second group consists of those dialects which use as their ten base *r*. To this group belong Rai (*ri*), Aka (*rhi*), Mikir (*kre*), Empeo (*ga-reo*), Arung (*ke-rou*), Namsangia (*ra-ngi* = twenty, *rak* banga = fifty), Moshang (*rok-ni* = twenty, *rok* banga = fifty), Sopvoma (*chiro* = ten, *re-pongo* = fifty), Maram (*ke-ro* = ten, *rengo* = fifty), Liyang (*ka-ryu* = ten, *ri-ngyu* = fifty). It must also include Ao (*ter*), Khari (*tarah*), Hatigoria (*thera*), Lhota (*tero*), Miklai (*taro*), Tengsa (*thelu*), Thukumi (*terre*), Yachumi (*turr*), Meithei (*tara*), Tangkhul (*thara*), Phadang (*tharra*), Khangoi (*tharra*), Lai (*po-ra*), Shonshe (*ma-ra*), Banjogi (*pa-ra*), Taungtha (*pa-rha* and *rui-nip* = twenty), Chinbok (*hsrar*), Yawdwin (*rhar*), Khoirao (*sara*), Rengma (*serr*), Angami (*kerr*). Lakher has a form *hrav*. In Dafia we get *nyi-kru*. The interchange of *l* and *r* is frequent. We may therefore include in this group such words as E. Dafia *illyi*, Angami *lhi-pangu* = fifty, Sema *lho-pangu* = fifty, Kezhama *lha-pangu* = fifty.

The third group is extremely compact and consists exclusively of Kuki-Chin dialects which use *som* as their ten base. They are Maring,² Thado, Siyin, Lushei, Lai, Shonshe,³ Banjogi, Pankhu, Rangkhoh, Hallam, Langrong,

¹ UBG., p. 682.

² Uses *chip* for ten and *som* for higher numerals.

³ In higher numbers only.

Aimol, Chiru, Kolren, Kom, Purum, Anal, Hiroi Lamgang, and Lakher (*sheu*). To this group we may add Daffa, which has *chom-un-ka* = thirty, and *jem-pl-ka* = forty. Possibly we may add Rengma *hem-pfu* = fifty = ten \times five.

There are other forms which may tentatively be collected together as presumably of identical origin. Newari has *sā-nha* = ten. Dārmiyā, Kanawri, Kanashi, Chamba Lahuli, and Rangkas have forms *sai* or *sā*. Toto has *twa-se* = ten and *ni-sā* = twenty. Sunwar has *sushi* = ten. Burmese has *hse*. To this group may belong such forms as Sho (*hā*), Khami (*hoh*), Mru (*hamuit*), Tangkhul (*hang* in *hang panga* = fifty), Phadang *heng phangne*, Rengma¹ (*hem* in *hem pfu* = fifty), and Chulikata Mishmi (*hush*). The word *hā-lāng* in Digaru Mishmi would seem to be assignable to this group, but we have *māngā-lon* = fifty, where the base is *lon* and perhaps related to the *r* group.

Limbu, Yakha, Lohorong, Kulung, and Khambu use the base *bong*.

The base *pan* is used in Tableng, Tamlu, *(*Ān*) Mulung, Banpara, *Chang, and Mutonia. It occurs in Meithei in the words *ni pān* and *mā pan* for "eight" and "nine".

Bahing has a form *kwaddyum* for "ten", which is related to Thulung *k(w)ong dyum* and Khaling *tadham*.

Rong has a form *ka-ti*. *s* and *t* are so often interchanged that this base may be placed in Group I.

The Miri word for "ten", *e-ing*, resembles the Mikir word *ing-koi*, but the resemblance is illusory. *Koi* is the base in the Mikir word, and means "a score".

Standard Garo has a form *sot* in *sot bonggā* = fifty.

Deuri Chutiya has a word *dgā* and a form *ti-deke*.

In Khami we have a word *wei* in *wei-pa* = fifty. *w* and *g* are often interchanged of Thado *gup* and *wup* for "six". Colonel Shakespear² notes that *g* in Thado

¹ But see above as to *hem* and its possible relationship with the *som* group.

represents *r* in Lushei to a large extent.¹ If so, *wei* may be held to belong to the *r* group.

Mru presents us with two very curious forms. Its word for "twenty" is *pir-mi*, where *pir* = pre = two. *Mi* is therefore "ten". Its word for "fifty" is *nga-kom*, where we have another form *kom* for "ten". In *ākom* = 100, we have *hā* = *ā* = ten prefixed to *kom*, the usual "ten" base.

"SCORE"

The most widely diffused word for "score" is *kul* in some form or other. It occurs in Sharpa, Danjongka, Sunwar, Rong, Murmi, Toto, Khaling, Khambu, Tipura, Deuri Chutiya, Garo, Atong, Aveng and Ruga, Angami, Sema, Thukumi, Yachumi, Sopvoma, Phadang, Khangoi, Maram, Liyang, Kachin, Meithei, Andro, Chairel, Siyin, Lai, Shonshe, Banjogi, Chinbok, Yawdwin, and Sho. It is used as the base for higher numerals in Murmi, Sunwar, Rong, Khaling, Toto, Khambu, Ruga Garo, Tipura, and Deuri Chutiya. It occurs side by side with *kuri* in Tipura. While we may safely regard it as a loan-word from Indo-Aryan sources, we may note (1) its distribution and (2) its absence. It is perhaps easy to explain its presence in any given area. It is not so easy to explain why it misses some groups. It is found in decimal systems, as well as in vigesimal systems.

Dimāsā (Hills Kachari) has a form *tron*.

Tengsa and Dopdor have a form *mesungphungu* = $20 \times 5 = 100$.

Bahing and Thulung have score words *asim* and *sang* which appear to be related. Cf. Chang *sem* in *ān-chi ni-sem* = ten one, two twenties = fifty.

Garo Jalpaiguri and Garo Atong have score words *run*g and *rim* respectively, which exhibit a similar relationship.

Tableng (*tā*), Tamu (*hā*), and Mulung (*thā*) are perhaps closely related. Cf. Chang *sā-o* in *sā-o-unga-o* = 100, and *sa-o-chi* = twenty.

¹ *The Lusheis*, p. 226.

Phu as meaning a score occurs in Meithei, Tamlu, Khami, Banpara, and Mutonia.

Kezhama has *me-chi*, where by analogy *me* is a prefix and *chi* the base. It is probably connected with the *kul* group. Cf. Rengma *nki* and Sopvoma *makei*.

Mutonia has *chā* = twenty.

ONE HUNDRED

I find three ways of expressing one hundred. The first is by a separate word. The second regards one hundred as five twenties, and the third takes it as ten tens.

The base *rya* is found in the Tibetan group. It becomes *ja cha sa*, *ya*, *za*, *sha*, *rā*, *che* as we pass into Assam. Whether these words are directly derived from the Tibetan base or from the Indo-Aryan *saṭem* languages is a question into which I do not now propose to enter. We find *ra*, *pra*, *kra*, *kri*, *kre*, *re*, *krat* curiously intermixed with the *ja cha* dialects. Mikir has *pha*. Sema has *akhe*, while in Khoirao we have *ki*. *Hai* is the base in Empeo, Arung, and Maram, while their neighbours the Kabuis use *fai*, and Liyang uses *kai*. *Waye* in Miju Mishmi may connect the *ra* group with the *hai* bases. Aka has two words, *phogwa* and *phurrua*, which exhibit the equation $g = r$. The Yakha base *ichurup* is notable. In E. Daffa we get *lug*, while in Chulikata Mishmi we have *malū*, and in Digaru Mishmi *mālam*, while Miri has a base *ling*. Khami has a word *chungvai*.

The group which forms one hundred on a vigesimal base is of interest. Murmi has *bhogal nga*, Rong has *khā fangu*, Toto has *ngā kai*, Dhimal has *nābisa*, Khambu has *ngāk khal*, Bahing has *ngō āsim*, Kanawri has *ngā nizzā*, Kanashi has *ngā biya*, Garo of Jalpaiguri has *rung bunga*, Tipura has *kuri bā*, Deuri Chutiya has *kwa moa*, Tengsa has *mesung phungu*, Tamlu has *pungā*, Banpara has *puga*, as has Mutonia, while Chang has *sā-o*

u-ngā-o. Thulung has *ngo-sang* and Khaling *khāl bhong*. In all these cases the method of formation is quite clear. I believe that the same method is employed in Ao *tālāng*, in Khari *telang*, in Hatiguria *telengā*, in Miklai *thengā*, in Thukumi *tenyāng*, in Yachumi *tenyīm*, in Tableng *tengā*, and Mulung *thinga*. Lhota has *tī ingyā*. The base is *tā*, which occurs in Tableng and Mulung. Perhaps the Rangkas word *nanas* is also formed on this principle. Perhaps it should be *na-n-sa*, or "five-two-tens". Vayu has *uning cholok*, or "five scores".

The last group to be mentioned is that which takes one hundred as ten tens. We have *thi-bong-kip* in Limbu (ten one ten?), *tik-ri-tu*¹ in Rai, *rok-shā-shi* in Moshang, and *ā kom* in Mru. Lohorong has *ip-pong-pong*.

We have in Limbu two other forms for "one hundred", *mānā thik* and *thi-kip*. I think we may fairly regard the latter as a contraction from *thi-bong-kip*, or "one ten ten". To what group does the form *mānā thik* belong?

In Rai, again, we have two forms for "ten", *ri* (e.g. *bhok-a-ri* = fifty, where *bhok* = five) and *tu*, which may be viewed as belonging to the *chu* group.

The Moshang form *rok-shā-shi* or "ten ten one" is formed from two distinct bases. *Rok* is the usual base, while *shā* belongs to a distinct group (see above).

I have already remarked on the variety of "ten" bases in Mru (see above).

The following dialects exhibit the extent to which, omitting for the moment the questions whether the various forms of *kul* for a score and the hundred words are of Indo-Aryan origin, the Tibeto-Burman dialects examined have made use of loan-words. Sunwar, Magar, Thami, Janggali, Lalung, and Koch borrow freely, some more than others. Aka, Kachari, Dhimal, and Kanashi have taken over *bis*, not *kuri*, for a score.

There are one or two other points to which attention

¹ *tu* = *chu* = ten.

may properly be drawn. The system used in Vayu is notable (see LSR. iii, pt. i, p. 385). The numerals above four are usually counted in hands, feet, and scores; thus, *kolu got'khulup*, one hand entire = five, *nāyung got'khulup*, two hands entire = ten, *nāyung got'khulup-hā kolu got'khulup*, two hands entire with one hand entire = fifteen, *le got'khulup*, feet hands all = twenty, *cholok* or *kolu cholok*, one score = twenty, *blining cholok*, fourscore = eighty, *uning cholok* or *kolu got cholok'cholok*, fivescore = hundred.

In Miri and Daffa seven is a word meaning two more than the hand (vol. cit., p. 593). The word for "eight" is literally four times two. Bodo, and Mech to a greater extent than Bodo, have a system of counting by groups of four (vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 132).

Ao and Angami form their numerals above sixteen in an unusual manner. These numbers are denoted by expressions meaning 20 not brought 7 = 17, 20 not brought 8 = 18, and 20 not brought 9 = 19. In Lhota I find that "sixteen is something like Ao, by four twenty incomplete but also and more commonly ten plus six". In Meithei we have *nīpan* and *māpan* for eight and nine respectively, meaning "two and one from ten". Mikir, too, has seven = six and one, eight and nine being two and one from ten. There are grounds for thinking that a similar method of forming the numerals for eight and nine was in vogue among Dravidians (vol. iv, p. 292).

A comparison of the numerals given in vol. ii of the Linguistic Survey Report (Mon Khmer and Siamese-Chinese Families) shows that the Khasi numerals, with a decimal system prefixing the multiplier,¹ are but little influenced by their neighbours. The numeral one *shi* is found (*supra*, p. 320) in a number of Tibeto-Burman dialects close to the Khasi Hills. Wār has *zia* for four, which resembles

¹ The change of the base (11-19) is notable. *Phew* is the regular base. *Khad* is used for 11-19.

dia, a base used in Dhimal. The base for six, *riw*, has some resemblance to a common base in Tibeto-Burman dialects. The seven base is *niew*, to which we may find a parallel in the *nu* base, q.v. Mikir *phā* = 100 may be compared with Khasi *spāh*. The Tai dialects—Ahōm, Khāmti, Tairong, and Nora—recorded in that volume exhibit the influence of Tibeto-Burman contacts in several details. They are decimal and prefix the multiplier. The numerals one and two are related to the Shan, Siamese, and Lao forms.¹ The number three falls into line with the mass of Tibeto-Burman dialects, and is a feature of the Eastern Shan languages. The numeral four is a base *si*, which may be related to the *zhi* group. The numeral five is *hā*, for which as a denasalized form of *nga* there are parallels in Chinbok and Yanduin. The common form for six is *hok*, with *ruk* or *ruh* in Ahōm. The two are probably connected. The seven base is *chet*, which differs, so far as I can see, from any Tibeto-Burman base. The Tai form for eight is *pet*, and is distinctive. The Tai form for nine is *kau* or *kao*, which may be taken as identical with the Tibeto-Burman base *ko*. The ten base in the Shan dialects is *ship*, parallels for which abound in the Tibeto-Burman dialects. We have as a "score" word in the Shan dialects (except Siamese, which uses two tens) *sāo*, which is found in Chang.

The vocabularies given in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 626-727, yield evidence of the presence in that interesting territory of numeral bases which are also found in the Tibeto-Burman dialects recorded in the volumes of the Linguistic Survey, the operations of which did not extend to Burma. In the Karen group, p. 646, the dialects are all decimal and prefix the multiplier. The bases are often very obviously associated with Tibeto-Burman forms. Thus *ta* = one falls into line with Burmese. *Ama* (Sauntung Zayein,

¹ UBG., p. 626.

Karen, Padeng Zayein, and Banyang Zayein) is identical with Meithei *ama*, which I correlate with Rengma *me*, Yawdwin *tu mat*, and Sho *mat*. If we are justified in regarding these two last forms as apparently connected with the Mon Khmer group of languages, may we not extend the connexion still further to the parallel forms? Nevertheless, the freaks and fantasies of phonetic growth and decay in this area are such that seemingly identical forms may be evolved out of totally distinct original forms. The bases in the Karen group for two, three, four, five, are all akin to one or other of the standard group bases in the Tibeto-Burman dialects. At six comes a break. Karenni, Yintale, and Mano have a form three, three. They form seven as three, three, one; eight as four, three; nine as four, three, one. The other dialects recorded have distinct bases, with parallels in Tibeto-Burman dialects. The ten base is *sai* or *ser* or *si*, which has interesting parallels in the Himalayan dialects as well as closer at home in Burmese. The presence of Tibeto-Burman numeral bases in Mu Hso, Menghwa Lolo, Ming Ch'iang, Mahe, Lisu, Musu, Kadu, Akha (or Kaw), Ako, Pyen, is well known.

It is clear to me that despite the welter of variant forms the Tibeto-Burman dialects are in their numeral systems characterized by a remarkable degree of homogeneity. We can trace changes to the coalescence of prefixes with bases. The influence of prefixes and suffixes on the form of the bases to which they are affixed often takes the shape of a change in the vowel in the base. Consonants initial and final are liable to be lost with the effect of causing a compensatory lengthening of the vowel. There are regular equations for consonants.¹ One group will prefer one consonant to its equivalent, and the same is true in certain cases of vowels. Nasalization of certain sounds seems to be a feature of the phonetics of more

¹ See vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 197, quoting A. W. Davis.

than one group, and in one or two cases there is direct evidence for thinking that a modification of vowel sounds is related to a process of multiplication by which two bases are coalesced. I recognize that it is extremely probable that with fuller material the classifications provisionally attempted above will have to be modified in many respects. Whether they prove anything, except the great difficulty of classifying so complex a group of languages, I do not know. With the excepted cases where special references are given, I have utilized throughout the volumes of the Report of the Linguistic Survey of India, vol. iii, pts. i-iii.



Tamíl Inscription in Siam.



2

4

6

Scale 22

From an impression supplied by Colonel Gerini.

XIII

NOTE ON A TAMIL INSCRIPTION IN SIAM

By E. HULTZSCH

AT Mr. Sewell's request the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society sent me an impression of this inscription which had been made over to the Society some years ago by Colonel Gerini. At the same time M. Finot placed at my disposal a photograph of the back of the impression, which is reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

Mr. Blagden kindly informed me that an account of the inscription is given in Mr. W. W. Bourke's "Some Archæological Notes in Monthon Puket", in the Journal of the Siam Society, vol. ii (1905), p. 56 f., and that vol. iii, pt. ii (1906) of the same periodical contains an imperfect illustration of it. According to Colonel Gerini the inscription is engraved on a stone "just discovered at Old Takūa-pā (Takôpa) within the precincts of Wat Nā-mtiang, in the middle of a former bed of the river", on the Malay Peninsula.¹

The language of the inscription is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, of an archaic type. The following Grantha syllables occur: *ra* in l. 1, *śrī* in l. 3, and [*chā* (?)] in l. 6. As in other ancient documents, the secondary sign for *ā* is still joined to the preceding consonant (see *mān tān* in l. 2, *toṭṭa* in l. 3, *Nāraṇam Maṇikkirāma*° in l. 4, and *tār* in ll. 4-6), and the *virāma* is marked by a vertical dash at the top of the letter (see e.g. *mān tān* in l. 2 and the final *m* in ll. 4-6). The letters *ṭ* (in *toṭṭa*, l. 3, and *aḍai*°, l. 6) and *ṇ* (in *śeṇā*°, l. 5) have still the same shape as in the Kāśākūḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla,² but the

¹ See this Journal for 1904, pp. 239, 244.

² *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, vol. ii, No. 73.

v (in °*varma*°, l. 1) resembles already that of the Tiruvallam inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.¹ I would therefore place the inscription in the eighth or ninth century of our era.

TEXT

1. . . . ravarma[t]ku² . . .
2. [m]ān tān nañ-gar[aiy]ai=
3. [t]toṭṭa kuḷamb-ēr śrī
4. Nāraṇam Maṇikkirāmattār[k]-
5. [k]um sēnāmugattārkum
6. [chāba (?)][t*]tārkum aḍaikkalam

TRANSLATION

(Line 1.) . . . of . . . ravarman³ . . . the hoofs of the team of oxen touching our boundary (?). Prosperity !

(L. 4.) Nāraṇam (is) the refuge of the members of Maṇigrāmam and of the members of the detachment and of the bowmen (?).

The above reading and rendering of ll. 1-3 are purely tentative. If the words which I have given here are correct, they would imply that at the beginning of the inscription a lengthy passage is lost, which, if it had been preserved, might have completed and explained the remaining portion.

The case is different with the three last lines, where little remains obscure. *Nāraṇam* is a neuter formed of *Nāraṇan*, a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Nārāyaṇa*, and means "a temple of Viṣṇu". *Maṇigrāmam* occurs in Tamil inscriptions of the Malabar coast; as shown by Rai Bahadur Venkayya,⁴ it is the designation of a trading corporation. According to Winslow's Tamil Dictionary, *sēnāmugam* (*sēnāmukha* in Sanskrit) means (1) "the

¹ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 91.

² Read perhaps °*maṇku*.

³ This may be the remainder of the Sanskrit name of some king (perhaps Bhāskaravarman?).

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, p. 293 f.

front of an army", and (2) "a division of an army". We may thus conclude that in the eighth or ninth century there existed in distant Siam a colony of traders from the western coast of Southern India, who had built themselves a temple of Vishṇu. The mention of Vaishṇava soldiers further suggests that this South Indian colony was the result of a naval expedition, and that it was garrisoned by Tamil troops. The existence of a similar settlement of Tamil Vaishṇavas in Burma is testified to by an inscription found at Pagān.¹

In my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1891-2* (Madras Government Order, August 6, 1892, Nos. 544, 545, Public), p. 11, No. 11, I have briefly noticed another Tamil inscription on a stone which was discovered at Loeboe Toewa, Baros, Sumatra, and which is now preserved in the Archaeological Collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences; see the *Catalogus der Archeologische Verzameling*, Batavia, 1887, p. 388, No. 42. An eye-copy of the beginning is given in K. F. Holle's *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabeten*, Batavia, 1882, p. 48. The inscription is dated in the month of Māsī of the Śaka year 1010 (*Śagarai āṇḍu āyirattu pattu = chehellāninṇa Māsittingal*), and records a gift by a body of persons who style themselves "the One-thousand-five-hundred" (*Āyirattaiññūrruvar*). This document proves that, like Burma and the Malay Peninsula, the island of Sumatra was colonized at an early date by the enterprising Tamil nation.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, p. 197.



XIV

AL-QUHAIF AL-UQAILI

HIS POETICAL REMAINS COLLECTED AND
TRANSLATED

By F. KRENKOW

DURING the later periods of the Ommayade Caliphate, with their continual rebellions and turmoil, the centre of Arab literary activity had moved entirely to the North,¹ and we get only very few notices of poets who lived and flourished in the central provinces of Eastern Arabia, which in earlier days had produced many celebrated names.² Among the poets of this period in Central Arabia the most prominent names are those of al-Quhaif and Yazīd b. at-Tathriyya, the latter being perhaps more famous through the elegy upon his death by his sister Zainab, of which verses have found a place in many anthologies.³ Al-Quhaif is not mentioned by Ibn Qutaiba, *Poësis*, but the Kitāb al-Aghānī devotes four pages to his biography,⁴ and its author states that only few poems of his are preserved.⁵ He receives a short mention in the *Fuḥūlat ash-Shu'arā'* of al-Aṣma'ī,⁶ where he is said to have made poems upon women, but that his verses were neither good Arabic nor suitable for being quoted as evidence for correct speech.⁷ Among the twenty-four fragments which follow there are only four⁸ which

¹ Cf. al-Akhtal, al-Farazdaq, al-Kumait, at-Tirimmālī, al-Quṭāmī, etc.

² Tarafa, Ṭufail al-Ghanawī, Labīd, etc.

³ Wright, *Opuscula*, p. 110; *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām, pp. 468 and 417; *Hamāsa* of al-Buḥturī, p. 396 (= ed. Cheikho, No. 1450); *Agh.* vii, 123; *Qālī*, ii, 87-8; and elsewhere.

⁴ xx, 140-3.

⁵ xx, 140, 4 a.f.

⁶ ed. Torrey, *ZDMG.*, vol. lxxv, p. 499, 5.

⁷ ليس بفصيح ولا حجة

⁸ Nos. 5, 6, 10, 20.

may be called poems upon women, while the remainder deal with the troubles in Central Arabia after the murder of the Caliph al-Walid b. Yazid.¹ As regards the statement that the verses of al-Quhaif cannot be quoted as evidence for correct speech, the fragments preserved are too few to enable us to judge for ourselves, though I have endeavoured in the notes to several verses to point out deviations from customary usage.²

The name and genealogy of our poet are given differently in the works I have consulted, but the genealogy as given in the *Khizāna*,³ on the authority of the *Jamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī and the 'Uḅāb of as-Ṣaghānī, is probably correct and is as follows:⁴ Al-Quhaif b. Khumair b. Sulaim an-Nadiyy b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Auf b. Ḥazn b. Mu'āwiya b. Khafāja b. 'Amr b. 'Uqail b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a—from which it is evident that he belonged to the clan of 'Uqail, which, with that of Qushair, was a branch of the large 'Āmir tribe. The nickname an-Nadiyy given to his grandfather Sulaim is stated to have been due to his generosity, but as-Ṣaghānī asserted that he had seen this name spelt al-Badiyy in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb on the title-page of the *Diwān* of al-Quhaif. Al-Quhaif is placed by al-Jumaḥī in the tenth class of the poets of Islām.⁵

All the poems of al-Quhaif, with the exception of the four fragments referred to above, appear to have been composed between the years 127 to 132 of the Hijrah,

¹ *Jumādā* ii, A.H. 126, Ibn al-Athīr, *Bulāq* ed., v, 111.

² The accusation of al-Aṣma'ī has not prevented other grammarians from quoting verses of al-Quhaif as *Shāhids*.

³ iv, 250.

⁴ The author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (xx, 540) is evidently wrong when he calls him al-Quhaif b. Humair (or Ḥamīr) of the clan *Qushair* b. Mālik b. Khafāja b. 'Uqail b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a. Other authorities call him al-Quhaif b. 'Umair al-'Āmirī.

⁵ *Khiz.*, l.c. No doubt the edition of the class-book of al-Jumaḥī which Professor Hell is preparing will give further particulars.

and were occasioned by the rebellion of al-Muhair¹ and the subsequent troubles in the Yamāma and Baḥrain, which only ceased when the first 'Abbaside governor arrived. The Banū Hanifa had submitted after the Riddah to the government of the first caliphs only after a fierce struggle against the army sent under the redoubtable Khālīd, when much blood had been shed. The murder of the Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd on the 27th of Jumādā ii, 126, became probably known in the Yamāma towards the end of the same year, and al-Muhair b. Salmā b. Hilāl, a man of the clan ad-Du'il b. Hanifa,² came to the governor of the province, 'Alī b. al-Muhājir b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Kilābī, and proposed to him three alternatives—either to stay among the people of his province as one of their equals, or to go to his uncle and stay there until his appointment was confirmed by the new caliph, or to collect whatever belonged to him and go home to his own people. 'Alī was enraged at al-Muhair practically deposing him, and refused to entertain any of his proposals, and he put his army, consisting of 600 Syrian troops and a similar number of his own tribesmen, in order for holding his post.³ Al-Muhair collected levies from the tribe of Hanifa and opposed 'Alī b. al-Muhājir in the plain of Hajar.^{4,5} At first there seemed a chance of settling the matter by arrangement, when a stray arrow shot by one of the governor's followers hit and killed an artisan who was a native of the Yamāma and partisan of al-Muhair.⁶ This was the signal for a general attack upon the governor, who was forced to retreat into the city of Hajar, and finding the population unreliable he and his

¹ In the following account I endeavour to combine the narratives of the Kitāb al-Aghānī (xx, 141-2, and vii, 122-3) and of Ibn al-Athīr (Bulāq ed., v, 119-21).

² Ibn al-Athīr.

³ Agh. xx.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr.

⁵ Capital of the province al-Baḥrain.

⁶ Agh. xx.

followers took refuge in the castle.¹ The gate of the castle was made of wooden beams, and al-Muhair had a quantity of palm-branches brought, which were set on fire. By these means the gate was destroyed and the followers of al-Muhair entered and looted the castle, and we may assume with certainty put the garrison with its governor to the sword.² There appears, however, to have been among the rebels a large number of men belonging to the 'Āmir tribes, and we are told that 'Abd Allāh b. an-Nu'mān al-Qaisī with his followers secured the treasury in the castle, which he defended against al-Muhair.³ Al-Muhair after this reigned supreme in the Yamāma and began expeditions against the neighbouring Arab tribes, among them the Banū 'Uqail, the Banū Kilāb, and other branches of 'Āmir. They were defiant, and al-Quhaif expressed their attitude in the verses which will follow later.⁴ To establish his rule al-Muhair sent a man of the tribe of Ḥanifa named al-Mundalif⁵ b. Idris with a small escort to al-Falaj,⁶ a village belonging to the clan of Ja'da, a division of the tribe of 'Āmir, with instructions to collect the tithes of the Banū Ka'b. The inhabitants, hearing of his approach, sent to their tribesmen for help, who opposed al-Mundalif under the leadership of Abū Laṭīfa b. Muslim al-'Uqaili.⁷ The tax-collector and all his escort were killed, while the loss of the 'Āmirīs was

¹ Agh. xx. This is probably the castle al-Mushaqqar, which used to be the seat of the Persian Satraps, and is frequently mentioned by Arab poets in the time before Islām.

² Ibn al-Athīr says that 'Alī b. al-Muhājir escaped to al-Madīna.

³ Agh. xx, 143. 1-2; Ibn al-Athīr, however, says that 'Abd Allāh b. an-Nu'mān, of the tribe of Qais b. Tha'laba b. ad-Du'il, was appointed governor of the Yamāma by al-Muhair.

⁴ Poem No. XVI.

⁵ So Agh. xx; Ibn al-Athīr calls him al-Mundalith.

⁶ Called Falaj al-Aflāj, "the brook of brooks," or al-Falaj al-'Ādiyy, "the 'Adite brook," in the verses of al-Quhaif.

⁷ Agh. xx calls him Abū Laṭīfa b. Maslama; but Agh. vii, 122, and Ibn al-Athīr have Muslim.

trifling.¹ The dead body of al-Mundalif was crucified in addition, a practice which was getting fairly common, with a view no doubt of serving as a warning to others.² Fragments of two poems by al-Quhaif celebrating this event are preserved in the Kitāb al-Aghāni and quoted below.³ When the governor of the Yamāma, 'Abd Allāh b. an-Nu'mān, received the news of the murder of al-Mundalif he marched himself to al-Falaj and routed Abū Laṭīfa. Poets who accompanied the victorious governor mention the names of several 'Āmiris of note who lost their lives,⁴ and celebrate the victory as having been won against Ka'b.

Another account⁵ states that Ḥanifa, encouraged by the success of al-Muhair, made a raid upon the Banū 'Uqail, in the course of which one man of 'Uqail and one of Qushair were killed and much cattle robbed. The pursuit of Ḥanifa was only partly successful, as they killed only one man and three horses, and circumstances no doubt forced the Banū 'Uqail the following year to leave their land and seek pasture-grounds further north in the lands of Tamīm. The troops of the tribe Ḥanifa,

¹ Ibn al-Athīr.

² Agh.

³ Nos. XIX and XXIV; the latter piece is also attributed to Najda al-Khafājī, while Ibn al-Athīr quotes a verse in the same metre as No. XI, but referring to a later event. We may have here a case, which I have noticed rather frequently, that the poet added subsequently to a Fakhr-poem.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr:

فَرَّ أَبُو لَطِيفَةَ الْمَسَاوِقِ
وَالْجَعُونِيَّانِ وَفَرَّ طَارِقُ
لَمَّا أَحَاطَتْ بِهِمُ الْبَوَارِقُ

Tāriq b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qushairi, while the two Ja'wanis (Ibn al-Athīr has الْجَفُونِيَّانِ, but the name is correctly given Ibn Duraid, *Geneal. W.*, 179. 7) are said to belong to Qushair also, though Ibn Duraid states that they belong to Numair.

⁵ This account is given in Agh. vii, 122-3, on the authority of Abū 'Ubaida, Ibn al-Kalbī, and Abul-Jarrāh al-'Uqailī.

which were stationed at al-Kaukaba and al-Ghaidāf,¹ thought this to be a good opportunity for pursuing them further, but were prevented by the tribe of Numair. 'Uqail, hearing of this, were disappointed at not having had a chance of repaying the old score against Ḥanifa, but they were advised not to attempt an expedition into the land of Ḥanifa, as the latter possessed some strong places and the invaders would be at a disadvantage. They remained in consequence at al-'Aqīq,² where they were informed that Ḥanifa were making a raid against al-Falaj, which was inhabited by the clan of Ka'b. They allowed Ḥanifa, under the leadership of al-Mundalif, to get unopposed as far as al-Falaj, and the people of this place sent for help to Abū Laṭifa b. Muslim al-'Uqaili, who was at al-'Aqīq. Abū Laṭifa did not feel strong enough to oppose Ḥanifa with the troops he had with him, and, sending messengers for assistance into all directions, the clans of Rabi'a b. 'Uqail, Qushair b. Ka'b, al-Ḥarish b. Ka'b, as well as tribesmen of Khafāja, gathered round him. He told them that he had sent out scouts, and asked them to wait for their return. The third day after their arrival he rode out among the assembled tribesmen and told them that he had no need of their help, and asked them to depart in peace. He did this simply for the sake of vainglory, for when the tribes had departed he, with his own people and clansmen, among whom were the two poets al-Quhaif and Yazīd b. at-Ṭathriyya, marched against Ḥanifa. In the fight which ensued al-Mundalif was killed and many prisoners, both male and female, were made.³ To make an example of them Abū Laṭifa cut off the hands of two prisoners and sent them to the Yamāma. There were no casualties on the side of Abū Laṭifa except that Yazīd b. at-Ṭathriyya

¹ I have not been able to identify these two places.

² The principal place in the land of the tribe of 'Uqail (Bekri, 677).

³ From this it appears that the army of Ḥanifa was hardly properly equipped, but a big rabble, accompanied by their women.

and Yazīd b. Ḥamal were killed.¹ The former was not killed by the enemy, but his cloak catching on the trunk of an asclepias-tree he fell and was trampled to death by the people. This is given as the cause of his death in the Kitāb al-Aghānī,² but the verses of al-Quḥaif point rather to his having been killed in the fighting.

Encouraged by these successes,³ Abū Sahlah an-Numairī, with the clans of Numair, 'Uqail, Qushair, and Ja'da, raided Ḥanifa at Ma'dīn aṣ-Ṣakhrā', killing all men of Ḥanifa they encountered and capturing the women. As a counter-move 'Umar b. al-Wāzī' al-Ḥanafī collected an army of cavalry, went to ash-Shuraif,⁴ and made from there raids, in which he carried off much plunder. When he reached an-Nashshāsh⁵ he was, however, surprised by the tribes of 'Āmir, and after a stern fight he was defeated, and escaped to the Yamāma, though many of his followers died through thirst and heat in the desert which they had to cross. This event is celebrated by al-Quḥaif in verses which seem to be amplifications of poems⁶ upon other events of an earlier date.

After this Ḥanifa did not give much trouble except that 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muslim al-Ḥanafī made another raid upon a water belonging to Qushair called Ḥulubān, which event is recorded by a poet of Ḥanifa whose name is not given.⁷ He also made a further raid against 'Ukl, killing

¹ The account in Agh. says that only Yazīd b. at-Tathriyya was killed, but immediately after in a poem the other Yazīd is also named as one of the slain; cf. No. XVIII.

² Poems Nos. 2 and 15.

³ The following account is only given by Ibn al-Athīr.

⁴ The highland towards the west from the Yamāma.

⁵ A water belonging to Numair, where there is an abundance of Hamd weed. Yāqūt, Buldān; TA. (s.v.).

⁶ Cf. No. XIX.

⁷ لَقَدْ لَأَمْتُ فُشَيْرَ يَوْمٍ لَأَمْتُ
لَقَدْ لَأَمْتُ عَلَى حُلُبَانَ لَيْثًا
عَبِيدَ الدُّوِّ إِحْدَى الْمُنْكَرَاتِ
هَزِيرًا لَا يَتَأَمُّ عَنِ السَّرَاتِ
(Ibn al-Athīr, l.c.).

20,000 men, which no doubt is a wild exaggeration. After this al-Muthannā b. Yazid b. 'Umar b. al-Hubaira al-Fazārī came as governor to the Yamāma, who being a Qaisī used stern measures against Ḥanifa and had several of them flogged and hanged.¹ Meanwhile 'Ubaid Allāh kept in hiding, and he was not captured and killed till as-Sarī b. 'Abd Allāh arrived as first Abbāsīde governor in the Yamāma. Nūḥ, the son of the celebrated poet Jarīr, refers to this in the following verse:—

فَلَوْلَا السَّرِيُّ الْهَاشِمِيُّ وَسَيْفُهُ أَعَادَ عَمِيدُ اللَّهِ شَرًّا عَلَى عُكْلٍ
 "Were it not for as-Sarī the Hāshimī and his sword,
 'Ubaid Allāh would repeat to do evil to 'Ukl."

As regards the amatory poems of al-Quḥaif, we are told that he addressed these, among other women, to al-Kharqā', whom Dur-Rummah had mentioned in his poems. We are told that she had grown old; the account mentions 90 years, which must be wrong, for Dur-Rummah died in A.H. 127 at the age of about 40 years, and we may assume that al-Kharqā' was approximately of the same age at that time. We have seen from the preceding narrative that al-Quḥaif composed his poems alluding to the events in Central Arabia within the next few years following the death of Dur-Rummah, and in another love poem² he speaks of being 40 years of age himself, and we should be forced to assume that he was a very old man himself when al-Kharqā' invited him to mention her in his verses, which is hardly likely. That she was old is probable from the poems themselves, but we cannot accept the figure mentioned by the authorities,

¹ A poet of Ḥanifa says—

فَإِنْ تَصْرُبُونَا بِالسَّيَاطِ فَإِنَّمَا صَرَبْنَاكُمْ بِالْمَرْهَقَاتِ الصَّوَارِمِ
 وَإِنْ تَحْلِقُوا مِنَّا الرُّؤُوسَ فَإِنَّمَا قَطَعْنَا رُؤُوسًا مِنْكُمْ بِالْعَلَاصِمِ

(Ibn al-Athīr, l.c.).

² No. XX, v. 5.

though the verses upon al-Kharqā' are probably the latest poetical productions of al-Quḥaif.

The remaining amatory poem¹ is instructive that in those remote days a young man would try to win the heart of his lady by telling her of his wealth which did not exist, and al-Quḥaif did the best by running away and sending his poetical epistle.

I have included in my collection the poem attributed by some authorities to Quḥaif al-'Ijlī, but generally to an anonymous poet of Tamīm, because it is by a namesake of our poet and also contains in the second verse the statement that the horse of the poet is treated as equal with his household, an idea which al-Quḥaif also expresses in poem XIX, v. 2.

I have to thank Sir Charles Lyall for his kindness in copying for me the verses of al-Quḥaif quoted by Yāqūt in his Geographical Dictionary, as I do not possess this work. Without this help my collection would have been very incomplete, as Yāqūt gives exceptionally many fragments of our poet in comparison with the numerous other works which I have searched through for quotations.²

I have tried to translate all pieces, many being so badly handed down to us that I was forced to adopt several conjectures, and I am afraid that I may have misunderstood the meaning in some places.

I

قال القُحَيْفُ بن حَمَيْرِ الْعُقَيْلِيِّ³
 إِذَا رَضِيتَ عَلَيَّ بِنُو فُشَيْرٍ لَعَمْرُ اللَّهِ أَتَعْجِبُنِي رِضَاهَا¹
 وَلَا تَنْسَبُو سَيُوفَ بَنِي فُشَيْرٍ وَلَا تَمْنُضِي الْأَيْسَّةَ فِي صَفَاهَا²

¹ No. X.

² I have since received the Egyptian edition, which appears to be fair, though the boast of the editors that they have improved upon that of Wüstenfeld is not justified by the quotations from al-Quḥaif which I have compared.

³ Abū Zaid, Nawādir, 176. 6-7 (v. 1, 2); Mubarrad, Kāmil, 342; Iqtidāb, 241 (v. 1), 432 (vv. 1, 2); Gauh. ii, 483 (v. 1, anon.); L.A. xix, 39 (vv. 1, 2);

وف هذه القصيدة يمدح حكيم بن المسيب
 ٣ تَنَصَّيْتُ الْفَلَاحَ إِلَى حَكِيمٍ خَوَارِجَ مِنْ تَبَالَهَ أَوْ مَسَاهَا
 : فَمَا رَجَعْتَ بِخَائِبٍ رَكَابٍ حَكِيمُ بْنُ الْمُسَيَّبِ مُنْتَاهَا

1. If the Banū Qushair are satisfied with me, their satisfaction, by the life of God, does amaze me !
2. The swords of the Banū Qushair do not glance off, nor do the lances (of others) penetrate their rock.
3. I have jaded the fleet riding-camels (in journeying) towards Ḥakīm, as they come out of Tabālah or its Minā.
4. No camel-riders ever come back disappointed the aim of whose journey is Ḥakīm the son of al-Musayyab.

II

وقال القحيف يرثى يزيد بن الطخثفة¹
 ١ أَلَا تَبْكِي سَرَاتَ بَنِي قُشَيْرٍ عَلَى صَنْدِيدِهَا وَعَلَى فَسَاهَا
 ٢ فَإِنْ يُقْتَلْ يَزِيدٌ فَقَدْ قَتَلْنَا سَرَاتِهِمُ الْكُهُولَ عَلَى لِحَاهَا
 ٣ أَبَا الْمَكْشُوحِ بَعْدَكَ مَنْ يُحَامِي وَمَنْ يُرْجَى الْمَطْيَى عَلَى وَجَاهَا

1. Nay ! Do the chiefs of the Banū Qushair weep over their champion and their young warrior ?
2. For though Yazīd be killed, we have killed in spite of their beards their chiefs, men in the vigour of life.
3. Abul-Makshūh, who after thee will act as a defender, and who will urge onward the riding-camels, though they be footsore.

Shaw., Mughnī, 142 (vv. 1, 2); 'Aini, iii, 282 (vv. 1, 2); Khiz. iv, 247-9 (vv. 1, 2); Ṭabarī, Tafsir, i, 101 (v. 1, anon.); Ibn Sīdah, xiv, 65 (v. 1, anon.). The first two verses are quoted in many grammatical works for the usage of رَضِيَ with عَلَى instead of عَنْ, as dialect of 'Amir. The verses 3 and 4 are quoted Abū Zaid, Nawādir, 176. 18-19, and cited from the Nawādir of Ibn al-A'rabi by Khiz. iv, 249.

¹ Agh. vii, 122-3.

III

وَقَالَ الْقُحَيْفُ¹

- ١ لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ أَمْسَتْ حَنِيفَةُ أَيَقَنْتَ
 ٢ فَحَلُّوا طَرِيقَ الْحَرْبِ لَا تُعْرِضُوا
 ٣ فَيَسَا حَبْدًا قَيْسَ لَكِي كُلِّ مَوْطِنٍ
 ٤ وَمَنْ ذَا الَّذِي لَا تُحَدِّثُ حَرْبَ عَامِرٍ
 ٥ لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ ضَاوَتْ دِمَشْقُ بِأَكْلِهَا
 بِأَنْ لَيْسَ إِلَّا بِالرَّسَاحِ عِتَابُهَا
 لَهَا إِذَا مَضَى الْحَمْرَاءُ عَبَّ عِبَائُهَا
 يُزَايِلُ هَامَ الْقَوْمِ فِيهِ رِقَابُهَا
 إِذَا مَا تَلَاَقَتْ كُعْبِيًا وَكِلاهُمَا
 عِدَاةَ رَأَوْا قَيْسًا تُرْفُ عُقَابُهَا

1. By my life! The tribe of Hanifa have recognized that lances only can remonstrate with them,
2. Therefore abandon the road to war, do not approach it, when the waves of ruddy Mudar are rolling high.
3. Hail to Qais in every battle-field, on which the neck separates from the skull of the people.
4. Who is there that is not included in the war waged against them by 'Āmir, when their clans of Ka'b and Kilāb meet together?
5. By my life! Damascus could not hold her people on the morning when they saw Qais' eagle spread the wings (or standard flutter).

IV

وَقَالَ الْقُحَيْفُ أَيَّصًا²

أَتَسْوُونَ يَا حَزَنَانِ طُحْفَةَ نِسْوَةٍ
 تُرَكِّنُ سَبَايَا بَيْنَ فَيْشَانَ فَالْتَقَبِ

Dost thou, grieved one of Tikhfa, forget the women who were left as prisoners between Faishān and an-Naqb?

¹ Baṣrian Ḥamāsa, MS. Rāghib Pasha (communicated by Dr. O. Rescher).

² Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, 931. 7.

V

وقال القُحَيْفُ¹

١ خَلِيلَيَّ مَا صَبَرِي عَلَى الزَّفَرَاتِ وَمَا طَاقَتِي بِالْهَمِّ وَالْعَبْرَاتِ
 ٢ تَسَاقُطُ نَفْسِي كُلَّ يَوْمٍ وَلَيْلَةٍ عَلَى إِثْرِ مَا قَدْ فَاتَهَا حَسْرَاتِ

1. O my two friends! What endurance I have over sighs and what power over grief and tears!
2. My soul drops every day and night upon the trace of sorrows which had already escaped her.

VI

وقال في خَرْقَاءَ الَّتِي كَانَ ذُو الرُّمَّةِ يَشَبِّبُ بِهَا²

١ لَقَدْ أَرْسَلْتُ خَرْقَاءَ تَحْوِي جَرِيئَهَا لِتَجْعَلَنِي خَرْقَاءَ مِمَّنْ أَضَلَّتْ³
 ٢ وَخَرْقَاءَ لَا تَزْدَادُ إِلَّا مَلَاخَةً وَلَوْ عُمِدَتْ تَعْمِيرَ نُوحٍ وَجَعَلَتْ

1. Kharqā' has sent her messenger to me, that Kharqā' might make me one of those whom she leads astray.
2. But Kharqā' increases only in comeliness, though she may live the length of the life of Noah⁴ and be aged.

VII

وقال القُحَيْفُ⁵

١ تَرَكْنَا عَلَى الشَّشَايِ بَكَرَ بْنَ وَائِلٍ وَقَدْ نَهَلَتْ مِنْهَا الشُّيُوفُ وَعَمَلَتْ
 ٢ وَبِالْقَلَمِ الْعَادِي قَيْلَى إِذَا أَلْتَقَتْ عَمَلِيهَا ضِبَاعُ الْغِيلِ بَأَسَتْ وَظَلَّتْ
 ٣ إِذَا مَا الضِّبَاعُ الْجِلَّةُ أَنْتَجَعَتْهُمْ نَسَمَا الَّتِي فِي أَصْلَانِهَا فَتَأْتِمُهُلَتْ

¹ Agh. xx, 140.

² Agh. xx, 141 (vv. 1, 2, and 2 three times); xvi, 124 (vv. 1, 2).

³ . . . فَمِمَّنْ (Agh. xvi, 124).

⁴ Noah is proverbial for length of life.

⁵ Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, 909 = Cairo ed., vi, 392 (vv. 1, 2); iv, 783 = Cairo ed., viii, 288 (v. 1); TA. √ نَشَشْ (v. 1); LA. xiv, 157 (v. 3).

1. We left the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wāil upon an-Nashshāsh when our swords had taken a first and second drink.¹
2. And at the 'Ādite Falaj are slain ones; when the hyenas of the bush meet over them, they spend the night and the day there.
3. Whenever the bulky hyenas come for food to them, the fat on the middle of their back increases and they become well-proportioned.²

VIII

وَقَالَ الْقَحِيفُ³

١ فَمَنْ مُبْلَغٌ عَنِّي فُرَيْشًا رِسَالَةً وَأَفْنَاءَ قَيْسٍ حَيْثُ سَارَتْ وَحَلَّتْ
 ٢ بِأَنَا تَلَاقَيْنَا حَنِيفَةً بَعْدَ مَا أَغَارَتْ عَلَى أَهْلِ الْحِمَى ثُمَّ وَلَّتْ
 ٣ لَقَدْ نَزَلْتُ فِي مَعْدِنِ الْبُرْمِ نَزْلَةً فَلَا يَأْبَى مِنْ أَضَاحِ آسْتَقَلَّتْ

1. Who will bring a message from me to Quraish and the various people of Qais, wherever they may travel or be settled,
2. That we encountered Hanifa after they had made a raid upon the people of the Himā and then took to flight?
3. They had alighted in Ma'din al-Burm, then gradually they went away from 'Uḍākh.

IX

وَقَالَ الْقَحِيفُ⁴

١ أَلَا لَيْتَ شِعْرِي هَلْ تَجِنُّ نَاقَتِي بِخَبَّتٍ وَقَدْ أَمْسَى حُمُولٌ رَوَانِسُ
 ٢ تَرَبَّعَتِ السَّيْدَانِ وَالْأَوْقُ إِذْ هُمَا مَحَلٌّ مِنَ الْأَصْرَامِ وَالْعَيْشُ صَالِحُ

¹ Metaphor taken from the watering of the camels.

² The hyenas get fat through feasting upon the multitude of the slain.

³ Yāqūt, Buldān, iv, 572 = Cairo ed., viii, 94 (vv. 1-3), probably part of the preceding poem.

⁴ Yāqūt, Buldān, i, 466 = Cairo ed., i, 376 (vv. 1-3); ii, 479 = Cairo ed., iii, 473 (v. 4); T.A. vi, 282 (vv. 2, 3), acc. Ṣaghānī.

⁵ تَجِنُّ, Cairo edition of Yāqūt.

⁶ الْأَحْوَامِ, var. lect. Yāqūt.

٣ وما يَجْزَا السَّيْدَانِ فِي رَتَبِي^١ الضَّحَى وَلَا الْأَوْقِ إِلَّا أَفْرَطَ السَّعْيَيْنِ مَائِحُ
٤ تَحْمَلْنَ مِنْ بَطْنِ الْخُدُوفَةِ بَعْدَهَا جَزَى لِلثَّرِيكَا بِالْأَعَاصِيرِ بَارِحُ

1. Oh that I could know why my camel moaned at Khabt, as before me were laden camels departing in the evening !
2. They had their spring-quarters at as-Sidān and al-Auq, when both these places were a dwelling-place for people of various tribes² and life was one of ease.
3. And no water-drawer takes a part of as-Sidān in the early forenoon nor of al-Auq except he outstrip the eye.
4. They departed from the valley of al-Khanūfa after strong wind with hurricanes blew at the rise of the Pleiades.

X

وَقَالَ الْقَحِيْفُ فِي امْرَأَةٍ مِنْ عَبَسٍ^٣

١ تَقُولُ لِي أُحْتُ عَبَسٍ مَا أَرَى إِلَّا وَ أَنْتَ تَزْعُمُ مِنْ وَالَاكَ صِنْدِيدُ
٢ فَقُلْتُ يَكْفِي مَكَانَ الْكُومِ مُطَرِدُ فِيهِ الْقَتِيرُ بِسَمْرِ الْقَتِينِ مَشْدُودُ
٣ وَشَدَّتْ صَافِيَهَا وَفَرَاكَ كَامِلُهُ وَصَارِمٌ مِنْ سُيُوفِ الْهَيْدِ مَقْدُودُ
٤ لِمَنِّي لِمِرْعَى رِجَالٍ لِي سَوَامُهُمْ لِي الْعَقَائِلُ وَسُتَاهَا وَالْمَقَاحِيدُ

1. The woman of 'Abs says: "I cannot see any camels, and thou pretendest that he who was thy friend is a chief."
2. Then I replied: "In place of reproach suffices a long coat-of-mail on which the nail-heads are fastened with the brown nails of the smith.

TA. يَحْزَى . . . فِي رَوْنَقِ^١

² I understand أَصْرَامُ as plural of صَرَمٌ; it is hardly possible that a special clan is meant; the variant الْأَحْرَامُ is simply a misreading.

³ Agh. xx, 141.

3. And armour which he has moulded, full and ample,
and a trenchant Indian sword, which has been
sharpened.
4. As for me, other men lead their herd of cattle to the
pasturage for me; mine are the choice animals of
it and the big-humped camels."

XI

وَقَالَ الْقُحَيْفُ¹

١ فِدَاءُ خَالَتِي لِبَنِي حُقَيْلٍ وَكَعْبٍ حِينَ تَزُنْ جِمُ الْمُجْدُونِ
٢ هُمْ تَرَكُوا عَلَى النَّشَاشِ صَرْعَى بِضَرْبِ نَمِّ أَهْوَنُهُ شَدِيدِ

1. May my maternal aunt be a ransom for the Banū
'Uqail and for Ka'b at a time when the fates are in
commotion.
2. They left slain ones upon an-Nashshāsh through
strokes with the sword, the feeblest of which is
terrible.

XII

وَقَالَ الْقُحَيْفُ²

١ فَيَا عَجَبًا مَتَى وَمِنْ طَارِقِ الْكَرَى إِذَا مَسَّعَ الْعَيْنِ الرَّؤُفَادَ وَنَهَّدَا
٢ وَمِنْ غَبَرَتِ جَاءَتْ شَأْبِيْبَ أَنْ بَدَى بِذِي بَقَرِ آيَاتٍ رُبَّعٍ تَابَّدَا
٣ نَظَرْتُ خِلَالَ الشَّمْسِ مِنْ مَشْرِقِ الضُّحَى وَأَوْفَيْتُ³ مِنْ كُثْمَانَ رُكْنَا عَطَوَا
٤ بَعِيسَيْنِ لَمْ تَسْتَغْرِهَا يَوْمَ غَبَرَةٍ وَلَمْ تَهْمِطَا جُوفَ الْعِرَاقِ فَتَرْمَدَا
٥ إِلَى ظُعْنٍ لِلْمَالِكِيَّاتِ بِالضُّحَى فَيَا لَكَ مَرًّا مَا أَشَاقَ وَأَبْعَدَا
٦ فَعُلْنَا أَثَابَ الْبَحْرِ أَعْلَاهُ وَانْكَبَّتْ⁴ أَسَافِلُهُ حَتَّى أَرَجَحَنَّ وَأَوْدَا

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Bulāq, v, 120.

² Yāqūt, Buldān, i, 699 = Cairo ed., ii, 250 (vv. 1, 2); iv, 236 = Cairo ed., vii, 216 (vv. 3-5); iii, 909 = Cairo ed., vi, 392 (vv. 6-10).

³ وَأَوْفَيْتُ, var. lect.; this is not as good from a point of euphony and also as regards the meaning; this is the reading of Cairo edition.

⁴ Yāqūt reads unmetrically أَكْثَسَتْ الْبَحْرُ وَأَكْثَسَتْ
I have to thank Professor Geyer for this conjecture.

٧ أَمِ السَّيِّبُ^١ فِي قُرْيَانِهِ تَمَّ نَبْؤُهُ خَصِيمًا وَأَوَّلًا لَيْئُهُ مَا تَخَضَّدَا
 ٨ أَمِ التَّخَلُّ مِنْ وَادِي الْقُرَى آخَرَفَتْ لَهُ يَمَانِيَّةُ هَزَّ الْقَمَا^٢ فَسَأَوْنَا
 ٩ نَسَقَى فَلَجَ الْأَفْلاجِ مِنْ كُنَلِ هِمَّةٍ^٣ ذِهَابِ تُرْوِيهِ دِمَائًا وَفُؤَا
 (وَيُرْوَى: نَسَقَى فَلَجَ الْعَادِي)
 ١٠ بِهِ تَجِدُ الصَّيْدَ الْغَرِيبَ وَمَنْظَرًا أَيْنِقًا وَرَحْصَاتِ الْأَنَاوِلِ خُرْدًا

1. Oh, wonder about myself and a visitor coming at night in sleep when he hinders the eye from slumbering and keeps (me) awake;
2. And about tears which come in gushes because at Dū Baqar had become visible the traces of a settlement which has become deserted!
3. I looked into the glare of the sun as he rose in the forenoon, and I overlooked a high mountain-column of Kutmān.
4. With two eyes which do not find a murky day loathsome nor go down the lowland of the 'Irāq, then to Tarmud.
5. (Looking) towards camel-litters belonging to the Mālikī women in the forenoon—What a vision! the emotion it causes and how far away it is!
6. Then we said: Is it the sea in uproar on the surface and its depths upturned, that it shakes and is turned over?
7. Or are these stalks of reed at its watercourses, in full growth broken? had it not been for their suppleness they would never have broken.

¹ السَّيِّبُ, var. lect.

² هُنَّ الْقَمَا, Yāqūt, also Cairo edition.

³ I take this word to be a synonym of هُمُوم, "a cloud giving much rain" (LA. xvi, 106. 11; Ibn Sīdāh, ix, 100. 5 a.f.).

8. Or date-palms of the Wadil-Qurā which a Yamanite wind has taken for its aim, shaking them like a reed, so that they became bent.
9. May Falaj al-Aflāj¹ be watered by gentle rain from every cloud giving much rain, which will water the soft sandy grounds and the long hills.
10. There we find strange game, an admirable sight, and maidens with supple fingers, chaste girls.

XIII

وقال القحيف²

١ أُمَّ ابْنِ إِدْرِيسَ أَلَمْ يَأْتِكَ الَّذِي صَبَحْنَا ابْنَ إِدْرِيسَ بِهِ فَتَقَطَّرَا
 ٢ فَلَيْتَكَ تَحْتَ الْخَانِقَانِ³ تَرَيْنَهُ وَقَدْ جَعَلْتَ دِرْعًا عَلَيْنَا وَمَغْفَرَا
 ٣ يُرِيدُ الْعَقِيقَ ابْنُ الْمُهَيَّرِ وَرَهْطُهُ وَدُونَ الْعَقِيقِ الْمَوْتُ وَرَدَا وَأَحْمَرَا
 ٤ وَكَيفَ تُرِيدُونَ الْعَقِيقَ وَدُونَهُ بَنُو الْمُخَصَّنَاتِ اللَّابِسَاتِ السَّمُورَا

1. O mother of the son of Idris, hast thou not been told how we attacked the son of Idris in the morning and that he fell down?
2. Mightest thou then have been under al-Khāniqāni that thou couldst see him, when it was made like a coat-of-mail and a helmet upon it.⁴
3. The son of al-Muhair intended to go to al-'Aqīq, but before reaching al-'Aqīq death (has to be faced) yellow and red.⁵

¹ Var. : the 'Ādite Falaj.

² Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, 701 = Cairo ed., vi, 199-200.

³ Yāqūt has الخانقين, but I believe this is the name of a place in the land of the Banū Ja'da, frequently mentioned by an-Nābigha al-Ja'dī.
 اللابسات, Yāqūt.

⁴ Text and translation very uncertain.

⁵ Referring to the pale yellow colour of the slain and the red blood shed.

4. How do they think to go to al-'Aqīq, when before it is
reached there are the sons of chaste women, wearing
coats-of-mail?

XIV

وقال القُحَيْفُ¹

ظُرَابِي مَسْمُومَةٌ لِحَاكِمَا تَسَافَدَ فِي أَثَائِبِ ذِي صَوِيرِ

Polecats whose whiskers are plucked out which compress
in turns the widowed women of Dū Ṣuwair.

XV

وقال القُحَيْفُ يَزِيدُ بْنُ الطَّحْرِيَّةِ وَهَذِهِ مِنْ رَوَايَةِ ابْنِ
حَبِيبٍ وَحْدَهُ²

١ إِنْ تَقْتُلُوا مِنَّا شَهِيدًا صَابِرًا
٢ فَقَدْ تَرَكَتْنَا مِنْكُمْ مَجَازِرًا
٣ عِشْرِينَ لَمَّا يَدْخُلُوا الْمَقَابِرَا
٤ فَكُلَى أُصِيبَتْ فُغَصًا تَحَائِرَا
٥ نَفَحًا تَرَى أَرْجُلَهَا شَوَاغِرَا

1. If you killed a patient martyr from among us
2. We have left of yours slaughtered
3. Twenty, who have not yet been put into graves;
4. Slain ones, who were instantly killed and slaughtered,
5. (And are now) slow in moving; you see their legs
sprawling.

¹ Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, 416. 18=Cairo ed., v, 400 (apparently a verse out of a Hijā'-poem). I take أَثَائِبَ to be an irregular plural of ثَائِبٌ, "a woman who has lost her husband, through death or any other cause."

² Agh. vii, 123.

XVI

وَقَالَ الْقَحِيْفُ¹

- ١ أَمِنْ أَهْلِ الْأَرَاكِ عَفَّتْ رُبُوعٌ² نَعَمْ شَقْنَا³ لَهُمْ لَوْ نَسْتَطِيعُ⁴
 ٢ زِيَارَتَهُمْ وَلَكِنْ أَخْضَرْتُنَا هُمُومٌ مَا يَزَالُ لَهَا مُشِيعُ⁵
 ٣ خَلِيلٌ وَامِيقٌ شَفَقَ عَلَيْهَا⁶ لَهُ وَمِنَهَا آبْنُ أَرْبَعَةِ رَضِيعُ
 ٤ مَرِيْعٌ مِنْهُمْ وَطَنٌ وَشَسْمَعِي⁷ بَعِيدٌ مِّنْ لَهُ وَطَنٌ مَرِيْعُ
 ٥ كَأَنَّ الْبَيْنَ جَرَّعَنِي زَعَا فَا دَمَ الْحَيَّاتِ مَطْعَمُهُ فَطِيعُ
 ٦ وَمَاءٌ قَدْ وَرَدْتُ عَلَى جَبَادِ حَيَامٍ حَمَائِمٍ وَقَطَا وَتُوعُ
 ٧ جَعَلْتُ عَمَامَتِي صَلَةً لِمُرْدَى إِلَيْهِ حِينَ لَمْ تُرِدِ الشُّوعُ
 ٨ لَأَسْقَى فِئْتِيَّةً وَنُفَقَاتِ أَضْرَبْنَقِيهَا سَفَرٌ رَجِيعُ⁸
 ٩ لَقَدْ جَمَعَ اللَّهُ هَيْرَلَنَا فَيُقْلَنَا أَتَحْسِبُنَا تَزَوَعْنَا الْجُمُوعُ
 ١٠ سَرَّهَبْنَا حَنِيفَةً إِنْ رَأَتْنَا وَفِي أَيْمَانِنَا الْبَيْضُ اللَّمُوعُ
 ١١ عَقِيلٌ تَعَعَزَى وَيُؤْفُسُ شَيْرُ تَوَارَى عَنْ سَوَاعِدِهَا الدُّرُوعُ
 ١٢ وَجَعْدَةٌ وَالْحَرِيْشُ لِيُؤْتِ غَابِ لَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ مَعْرَكَةٍ صَرِيعُ

¹ Agh. xx, 142 (vv. 1, 2, 5-15); Yāqūt, Buldān, iv, 516=Cairo ed., vii, 41 (vv. 1-4); LA. ix, 474 (v. 8); Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, 288=Cairo ed., v, 263 (v. 4).

² هُدَى تَرْبِعُ, Yāqūt.

³ شَقِيَا, Agh.; شَقِيَا, Yāqūt, سَقِيَا, Cairo ed.; شَقِيَا, Yāqūt, var. lect.; اليهم for لهم.

⁴ يَسْتَطِيعُ, Yāqūt, var. lect.; تَسْتَطِيعُ, Agh.,

⁵ نَزَالُ . . . خُرُوبٌ لَا يَزَالُ لَهَا تَشِيعُ, Yāqūt; so Cairo ed., except . . . تَشِيعُ.

⁶ عَمَلْنَا, Yāqūt, var. lect.

⁷ فُشْعَا, Yāqūt, iv, 516=Cairo ed., but correct iii, 288. 1.=Cairo ed., v, 262.

⁸ So LA. ix, 474; Agh. has . . . يَنْقَبُهَا . . . وَجِيعُ.

١٣ فَنِعْمَ الْقَوْمُ فِي اللَّزْبَاتِ قَوْمِي بَنُو كَعْبٍ إِذَا جَحَدَ الرَّيْعُ
 ١٤ كُفُولٌ مَعْقِلُ الطَّرْدَاءِ فِيهِمْ وَفُئَيَانِ غَطَارُهُ فُرُوعُ
 ١٥ فَمَهْلًا يَا مُهَيِّرُ فَأَنْتَ عَبْدٌ لِكَعْبٍ سَامِعٍ لَهُمْ مُطِيعُ
 وَمِنْهَا^١
 ١٦ صَبَحَافَهُمُ السَّيَاطُ مُحْدَرَجَاتٍ فَعَزَّتْهَا الصَّلِيعَةُ وَالصَّلِيعُ

1. Have the spring-quarters of the people of al-Arāk been effaced? Yes! we should pine after them if it were possible for us
2. To visit them, but thoughts² have presented themselves to us, there being continually those who cause them to spread.
3. A loving friend anxious for her, who has by her a son of four years who is being nursed.
4. Marī' and Shis'ā are their homeland; far away is he whose home is in Marī'.
5. It was as if the separation made me swallow poison, the blood of serpents, the taste of which is nauseous.
6. Many a water have I gone to at the tank of which were thirsty pigeons and resting sand-grouse.
7. I used my turban in lengthening my cloak to reach it when the saddle-straps would not reach down to the water (in the well)
8. That I might give drink to men and jaded camels, whose fat the homeward journey³ had wasted away.
9. Al-Muhair had assembled (an army) against us, but we said, "Didst thou think that the army would frighten us?"
10. Hanifa will fear us when they see us and the white shining (swords) are in our hands."

¹ LA. iii, 56; TA. ii, 20.

² Var. : but wars have come, etc.

³ Var. : a wearing journey.

11. 'Uqail cleave (to us) as a special friend, and the Banū Qushair also, their arms being concealed under coats-of-mail.
 12. Also Ja'da and al-Harish are lions of the thicket; in every battle-field are those slain by them.
 13. Then what fine people are my people, the Banū Ka'b, in calamities, when the spring brings dearth.
 14. Men in the vigour of manhood, the stronghold for pursued cattle is among them, and young men, champions, the foremost of the tribe.
 15. Therefore go gently, Muhair! for thou art a slave belonging to Ka'b, obedient and submissive to them.
-
16. We gave them in the morning (stripes with) the whips, twisted ones, and sturdy male and female (servants) were treating them harshly.

XVII

وقال الفَحَيْفُ¹

يَسْمِيْتُ مَعَ الْأَلَامِ فِي رَأْسِ خَالِقٍ وَيَرْتَادُ مَا لَمْ تَحْتَرِزْهُ الْمَخَاوِفُ

He (the ibex) spends the night with the hyrax on the top of a lofty mountain, and desires a pasture ground, where places of danger do not keep him on his guard.

XVIII

وقال الفَحَيْفُ أَيْضًا وَلَمْ يَرَوْهَا إِلَّا ابْنُ حَسِبٍ²

١ يَا عَيْنِ بَغْيٍ هَمَلًا عَلَى هَمَلٍ

٢ عَلَى يَزِيدٍ وَنَزِيدٍ بِنِ حَمَلٍ

٣ قَتَالِ أَبْطَالٍ وَجَرَّارِ حَمَلٍ

¹ LA. xv, 163.

² Agh. vii, 123.

1. Oh my eye! weep in torrents upon torrents
2. Over Yazīd and Yazīd the son of Ḥamal,
3. The slayer of champions and trailer of mantles.

XIX

وَقَالَ التَّخَيِّفُ¹

- | | |
|---|---|
| أَنَا يَا لِعَقِيصِي صَرِيحٌ كَغَيْبٍ | فَكَنَّ النَّبِيحُ وَالْأَسْلُ الْيَهْيَالُ |
| وَحَالَفْنَا الشُّيُوفَ وَمُضَمَّرَاتٍ ² | سَوَاءٌ هُنَّ فِيمَنَا وَالْعِيَالُ |
| تَعَادَى فِي الْوَعَا مِثْلَ السَّعَالَى | وَمِنْ زُبُرِ الْحَدِيدِ لَهَا نِعَالُ |
| نَقُودُ ³ الْخَيْلِ كُلِّ أَشَقَى نَهْدٍ | وَكُلِّ طِمْرَةٍ فِيهَا آخِذَاتُ |
| بَنَاتٍ بَنَاتٍ أَعْوَجَ مُلْجَمَاتٍ | مَدَى الْأَبْصَارِ عَلَيْهَا الْفَحَالُ |
| تَكَادُ الْحِجْنُ بِالْعَدَوَاتِ مَرْتَا | إِذَا صَفَّتْ كَتَائِبُنَا تَهْيَالُ |
| فَيَتَنَ عَلَى الْعَسِيكَةِ مُمَسَّكَاتٍ | بِهِنَّ خِرَارَةٌ وَبِهَا آغِتَالُ |
| وَبِالنَّشَاشِ يَوْمَ طَارَ فِيهِ | لَنَا ذِكْرٌ وَعَدَلْنَا فِعَالُ |
| وَبِالنَّشَاشِ مَقْتَلَةً سَتَبَقَى | عَلَى النَّشَاشِ مَا بَقِيَ الدِّيَالُ |
| فَأَذَلْنَا الْيَمَامَةَ بَعْدَ عِرٍّ | كَمَا ذَلَّتْ لِوَاطِدِهَا النِّعَالُ |
| أَمْسَكْتُمْ يَا حَزِيْفَ نَعَمَ لَعْمَرِي | لِحَا مَحْضُوبَةٍ وَدَمَ سَجَالُ |

1. At al-'Aqīq came to us the crier for help from Ka'b; then sighed the ash-tree (bow) and the thirsty spears,
2. And we took for allies the swords and lank (mares), which are among us treated as equals with our household.

¹ Agh. xx, 142 (vv. 1-3); Iqtidāb, 394 (vv. 2, 4, 5); Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, 678 = Cairo ed., vi, 178 (vv. 4, 6, 7); Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Bulāq, v, 120 (v. 8); Maidānī, ii, 262 (vv. 9, 10); 'Umda, ii, 39 (v. 11). Sinā'atāin, 255, quotes a half-verse which probably belongs to the poem—

“with horses the riders of which are haughty in their bearing.”

² صَافِيَاتٍ, Iqtidāb.

³ نَقُودٌ, Iqtidāb; يَقُودُ, Yāqūt.

⁴ كَتَائِبُنَا, Yāqūt, but variant as in text.

3. Racing into the fray like furies, they have shoes made from fragments of iron.
4. We lead ¹ horses, tall big stallions and tall mares which are well proportioned.
5. Offspring of the offspring of A'waj, bridled ones, wherever the eye looks their illustrious stallions are seen.
6. The Jinns are almost terrified of us in the mornings when our troops form a fighting line.
7. They spent the night, being held back, at al-'Usaila, the mares suffering the heat of thirst, while the stallions are vehemently thirsty,
8. And at an-Nashshāsh a day, about which we became renowned, when deeds gave us equal weight (with others).
9. At an-Nashshāsh was a slaughter, the memory of which will remain at that place so long as there are nights.
10. Then it was that we humiliated the Yamāma after being honoured, just as sandals are trodden under foot.
11. Hanifa! Are there good things told about you? Verily only beards dyed with flowing blood.

XX

وَقَالَ الْفُحَيْفُ ²

- | | |
|---|--|
| عَرَانِيَهِنَّ الشُّمَّ وَالْأَعْيُنَ النَّجَلَا | ١ أَقْسَمْتُ لَا أُنْسَى وَإِنْ شَطَبَ النَّوَى |
| ضَمَمَنْ وَوَدَّ لَوَيْتَهَا قَصَبًا خَدَلَا | ٢ وَلَا الْمَشْكُ عَنْ أَغْطَافِهِنَّ وَلَا الْبُرَا |
| بِمَكَّةَ يَزِيدُ مَحْنِ الْمُهْدَبَةِ السَّحَلَا | ٣ يَقُولُ لِي الْمُفْتَى وَهَنْ عَشِيَّةَ |
| وَمَا حِلَّتْخِي فِي الْحَجِّ مُلْتَمِسًا وَمَلَا | ٤ تَقِ اللَّهَ لَا تَنْظُرْ إِلَيْنِ يَا فَتَى |
| فَكَيْفَ مَعَ اللَّائِي مَثَلَنْ لَنَا مَثَلَا | ٥ وَإِنْ صَبَا أَبْنِ الْأَرْبَعِينَ كَسْبَةً |
| رَأَيْتُ عُمُونَ الْقَوْمِ مِنْ أَحْوَهَا مُجَلَا | ٦ شَوَاكَفَ بِالْبَيْتِ الْحَرَامِ وَرَبَّمَا |

¹ Var.: we take recourse to.² Agh. xx, 143.

1. I swore : I shall not forget, though a long distance separate (me), their raised noses nor their black eyes,
2. Nor the musk (which wafts) from their sides, nor the rings they wear, which they have put round plump limbs.
3. The Mufti¹ says, as they in the evening at Mecca toss with their feet the white garments adorned with fringes,
4. "Fear God ! Do not look at them, young man." "Didst thou think that I was performing the pilgrimage without intending to make union (with some one)?"
5. Verily love-making in a man of forty is a cause for reproach, but what about those who make an example of us ?
6. Standing near the holy temple, and at times I see the eyes of the men peering towards them.

XXI

وقال القحيف أيضا²

١ أَتَعْرِفُ أَمْ لَا رَسَمَ دَارٍ مُعْطَلًا مِنْ الْعَامِ يَمْحَاذُ وَمِنْ عَامٍ³ أَوَّلًا
٢ قِطَارٌ⁴ وَكَارَاتٍ خَرِيقٌ كَأَنَّهَا مُصَلَّةٌ⁵ بَوَفَى رَعِيلٍ تَعَجَّلًا

¹ The word Mufti is interesting at such an early date.

² Abū Zaid, Nawādir, 208. 12-16 (vv. 1-5); Khiz. ii, 341 (vv. 1, 2); LA. xiii, 305 (vv. 1, 2); TA. v, 128 = v, 130 (vv. 4, 5); LA. vii, 34 (v. 5, anon.); Asās, √ مهر (v. 5); Ibn Sidāh, iv, 25 (vv. 5, b).

³ So vocalized in Nawādir and explained to mean مِنْ عَامِ زَمَانٍ أَوَّلٍ; يَمْحَاذُ for the customary يَمْحُوذُ; Khiz. and LA. xiii, 305 have يَغْشَاذُ.

⁴ The subject to قِطَارٌ in the verse following is considered a fault in poetry; the technical term given to it by al-Khalil is مُضْمَن. Nawādir

⁵ LA. has wrongly مُصَلَّة. This verse as quoted in the Lexica is shāhid for رَعِيل in the meaning of "herd of camels"; it usually means "a troop of horses".

٣ وَلَوْ أَنْكَرْتَ صَيِّمًا حَنِيفَةً حَلَقَتْ بِهَا الْمُعَرَّبُ الْعَنْقَاءُ^١ حَوْلًا مَكْمَلًا
 ٤ وَفِي الشَّخَصَاحِيِّينَ الَّذِينَ تَرَحَّلُوا كَوَاعِبُ مِنْ بَكْرٍ تُسَامُ وَنَحْبَلًا^٢
 ٥ أُخِذْنَ أَغْتَصَابًا خُطْبَةً^٣ عَجْرَفِيَّةً وَأَمْهَرْنَ أَرْمَاحًا مِنْ الْحَطِّ ذُبْلًا

1. Dost thou know or not (know) the forsaken traces of a dwelling of the past year or an earlier year which have effaced
2. Rainfalls, and at times a cutting wind (which moans) like a camel-mother which has lost her young in a herd which is hastening?
3. If Ḥanifa had disapproved of oppression, calamity circled like a bird round them for a whole year,
4. And among the Ṣaḥṣaḥis who have departed are young maidens of Bakr who are wronged and probably made pregnant.
5. They were taken by rape with hasty wooing and the dowry paid with thin lances from al-Khatt.

^١ الْمُعَرَّبُ الْعَنْقَاءُ, translated by "calamity", is stated by commentators to mean a mysterious bird which causes ruin, and we have in this probably the survival of some ancient superstition. The word in this form or as مُعَرَّبٌ or عَنْقَاءٌ مُعَرَّبٌ occurs rather frequently, e.g. Tufail al-Ghanawī, iii, v. 30; Aslam b. al-Qaṣṣār, Ḥam. Buḥt, No. 371, v. 1; anon. poet, L.A. xii, 149=xi, 349; anon. poet, Howell, Grammar, i, 794; anon. poet, L.A. ii, 133; Abū Nowās, 'Askari, Jamharat-al-Amthal (in margin of Maidani, Cairo, 1312), ii, 49; al-'Utbi, Jurjānī, Kināya, 50.

^٢ TA. after Ṣāghānī reads . . . وَفِي الشَّخَصَاحِيِّينَ الْمَوَلِينَ غَدَوَةً . . . شُحْتَلَى.

^٣ TA. قال الصاغاني بخط ابن حبيب النسابة في شعر القحيف . خُطْبَةً وَفِي نَوَادِرِ أَبِي زَيْدٍ خُطْبَةً.

XXII

وَقَالَ الْفُحَيْفُ وَقَالَ أَبُو زِيَادٍ هِيَ لِرَجُلٍ مِّنْ بَنِي هِزَانَ^١
 ١ سَلُّوا فَلَجَ^٢ الْأَفْلَاجَ عَسَا وَعَنْكُمْ وَأَكْمَهُ إِذَا سَأَلْتَ سِرَارُهَا دَمًا
 ٢ عَشِيَّةَ لَوْ شِئْنَا سَبَيْتُمْ نِسَاءَكُمْ وَلَكِنْ صَفَحْنَا عِزَّهُ وَتَكْرُمًا
 ٣ عَشِيَّةَ جَاءَتْ مِّنْ عَقِيلٍ عَصَابَةٌ تَقْدَمُ مِنْ أَبْطَالِهَا مَنْ تَقْدَمَا

1. Ask Falaj al-Aflāj about us and you, also Ukma, at a time when their choice-ground flowed with blood;
2. On the evening we could have made your women captives if we had liked, but we refrained out of pride and noble sentiments;
3. On the evening when a troop of 'Uqail came and their champions all went forward into the fight.

XXIII

وَقَالَ الْفُحَيْفُ^٣

١ لَقَدْ لَقِيتُ أَفْئَاءَ بَكْرِ بْنِ وَائِلٍ وَهِزَانَ بِالْبَطْحَا ضَرْبًا غَشْمَشَمًا
 ٢ إِذَا مَا غَضِبْنَا غَضِبَهُ مُضَرِّيَّةً هَتَكْنَا حِجَابَ الشَّمْسِ أَوْ قَطَرْتُ^٤ دَمًا

1. The various clans of Bakr ibn Wā'il and Hizzān met at al-Bathā an angry blow.
2. Whenever we are angry with Mudarite anger we rend the veil of the sun, or he drops blood.⁵

¹ Yāqūt, Buldān, iii, 909 = Cairo ed., vi, 392 (vv. 1-3); i, 344 = Cairo ed., v, 318 (v. 1).

² الفلج العادي, i, 344.

³ Majmū'at al-Ma'ānī, 113 (vv. 1, 2); L.A. xv, 334.

⁴ مَطَرْتُ, L.A.

⁵ The author of the Majmū'a says that he quotes from the Ḥamāsa of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, and that the second verse is generally attributed to Bashshār. This is expressed by Ibn Barrī, L.A. xv, 334, هَذَا الْبَيْتُ الْأَخِيرُ سَرَقَهُ بَشَّارُ.

XXIV

وقال القحيف أيضا ويروى لـابجدة الحفاجي¹

١ لَقَدْ مَنَعَ الْفَرَائِضَ عَنْ عَقِيلٍ بِطَعْنٍ مَحَتِ الْوَيْتَ وَضَرَبَ
٢ يَرَى مِنْهُ الْمُصَدِّقُ يَوْمَ وَافَى أَظَلَّ عَلَى مَعَاشِرِهِ بِضَلَبٍ

1. He has defended 'Uqail from paying the tithes with a lance-thrust and a sword-hit under flags.
2. The tax-collector saw, the day he came, one who protects the people with a strong (lance).

XXV

قال قحيف العجلى وليس بالقحيف العقيلى²

١ أَبَيْتَ اللَّعْنَ إِنَّ سَكَابَ عِلَقٍ نَفِيسَ لَا تُعَارُ وَلَا تُبَاعُ³
٢ مُقْدَاهُ مَكْرَمَةٌ عَلَيْنَا يُجَاعُ⁴ لَهَا الْعِيَالُ وَلَا يُجَاعُ
٣ سَلِيلُهُ سَابِقَيْنِ تَنَاجَلَاهَا إِذَا نُسِبَا يَضُمُّهُمَا الْكُرَاءُ
٤ فَلَا تَطْمَحُ أَبَيْتَ اللَّعْنَ فِيهَا وَمَنْعُهَا⁵ بِشَىءٍ يُسْتَطَاعُ

1. Mayest thou dislike (to do a thing that would be occasion of thy) being cursed;⁶ for Sakābi is a precious treasure which is neither lent nor sold.

¹ Agh. xx, 142.

² Hamasa, ed. Bulāq, i, 112 (a Tamimī); Shaw., Mughnī, 116-17; 'Aini, i, 302; Hamāsa, Baṣr MS. Rāghib Pasha, i, 150 (Rescher); Kitāb al-Ḥalba, ed. D. Ross, Calcutta, 25. These verses are frequently cited elsewhere, generally without the name of the poet.

³ يُبَاعُ . . . يُعَارُ, 'Aini, Jauh. i, 63, governed by عِلَقٍ.

⁴ يُجَاعُ, 'Aini; Shaw., Mughnī.

⁵ The variant فَمَنْعُهَا is recorded, Shaw., Mughnī.

⁶ The customary greeting to kings in pre-Islamic times, proving that this poet lived at least a century earlier than al-Quhaif al-'Uqaili.

2. (She would be) bought by a ransom and is prized by us ; while the family may suffer hunger on her account, she is not made to suffer hunger.
 3. The filly of two winners in racing who gave her being ; if both their pedigree be traced it goes back to the stallion al-Kurā'.
 4. Therefore, mayest thou disdain (to do a thing that would be occasion of thy) being cursed, do not crave after her, for she will be defended against thee by possible means.
-

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SIDELIGHTS ON KANISHKA

In "The Secret of Kanishka" (JRAS., 1912, pp. 665 ff., 981 ff.) I have attempted to prove by direct evidence that Kanishka flourished in the middle of the first century B.C. I propose here to review some indirect lines of research which lead to the same result. Foremost among these I place the argument which Franke founds upon the history of Buddhism in China.

The introduction of Buddhism into China

Buddhism first entered China in the year 2 B.C. through the medium of the Yue-che.¹ In the middle of the following century Ying, king of Tch'ou, was a zealous Buddhist who supported numbers of Buddhist monks and nuns;² and in A.D. 61 the Emperor Ming-ti sent to India for copies of the sacred writings, and erected temples in his capital to Fo.³ After this we hear nothing more of Buddhism in China till the reign of the Emperor Hwan-ti (A.D. 147-68), when the Amitābha-sūtras were

¹ The different versions of this business given by the Chinese have been discussed very fully by Specht, S. Lévi, Franke, and Chavannes. All are agreed that a Chinese official, a *po-che-ti-tsen*, or minister of the Emperor's ancestral temple, learnt Buddhist Sutras from a Yue-che of high rank named I-ts'un. But whether I-ts'un came as an ambassador to China, or the Chinaman formed part of an embassy to the Yue-che, and whether the Chinese official's name was Ts'in King, or King Lou, or King Hien—all this is in dispute. Specht, JA., October-December, 1883, pp. 317 ff.; January-February, 1890, pp. 180 ff.; July-August, 1897, pp. 166 ff.; S. Lévi, JA., January-February, 1897, pp. 14 ff., and November-December, pp. 527 ff.; May-June, 1900, pp. 451 ff.; O. Franke, Beiträge, etc. (Abhandlungen d. könig. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1904), pp. 90 ff.; Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1905, p. 546, nn. 3, 4, and p. 547, n. 1.

² Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1905, p. 550, n. 1.

³ Ibid., p. 546, n. 3; MacGowan, *History of China*, pp. 117-18.

brought to China from the headquarters of the Yue-che.¹ From this time forward Yue-che missionaries play a leading part in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

We have therefore two stages in the history of Yue-che missionary activity; the first dates from the beginning of the Christian era, the second from the middle of the second century A.D., and in each case this missionary activity is closely connected with the Buddhist zeal of the Yue-che kings. The interval between the two stages corresponds with what we know of the Indian Yue-che. Wema Kadphises, who reigned in the latter half of the first century A.D., was no Buddhist, but a worshipper of Śiva. Kanishka, Vāsishka, and Huvishka are famous as Buddhists, and the conversion of the first of them, Kanishka, was always regarded as a capital event. The later Indian Kushans, who put the name of Kanishka on their coins, were, some of them at any rate, ardent Buddhists, if we are to give any credence to Tāranātha. These later Kushans date after, probably soon after, A.D. 125; they belong in any case to the second century A.D.²

Now, if we put Kanishka and his immediate successors in the latter half of the first century B.C., the history of Buddhism under royal patronage in India will exactly correspond with its propagation by the Yue-che in China. But if we put Kanishka and his line in the second century A.D., we are obliged to postulate with Boyer and Oldenberg the existence of unknown Buddhist kings of the Yue-che in the first century B.C., who played the exact part that tradition assigns to Kanishka. This is possible, of course, but is it probable? If it were otherwise proved that Kanishka belonged to the second century A.D., then one would necessarily have recourse to some

¹ E. A. Parker, "Origins of Chinese Buddhism": *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, p. 382.

² Rapson, "Indian Coins" (*Gründriss*), § 74; see also my forthcoming papers on "The Nameless King" and "The Later Kushans".

such supposition; but I think that the opposite is proved.¹ In the latter case the history of Chinese Buddhism becomes intelligible, and is strong confirmatory evidence; in the former case it must remain an insoluble riddle.

Asvaghosha and Charaka

The literary history of India brings us to the same conclusion. Dr. Barnett has pointed out that the "lowest possible limit" for the "famous Aśva-ghosha" is "the first century A.D. . . . If we adopt the chronology of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Kennedy for the Northern Kshatrapas and Kushans, we may assign the period of Aśva-ghosha to c. 50 B.C., and this fact strikingly confirms the Buddhist traditions which connect him with Kanishka."²

The same thing is true of Charaka. Tradition associates him also closely with Kanishka. Now, Hoernle, in the preface to his edition of the Bower MS., points out that the Nāvanitaka in that MS. implies the pre-existence of Charaka's Samhitā, and at the same time he provisionally assigns the Nāvanitaka to the second century A.D. This fits in exactly with the assumption that Charaka flourished c. 50 B.C.; indeed, it practically precludes a later date.³

The Ahin Posh Stupa

Our knowledge of the artistic and archaeological history of the time is at present too fragmentary, too vague and inchoate, for any solid superstructure. We are almost wholly ignorant of local differences, and when we talk of the Śunga, the Kushan, or the Gupta period, we speak in centuries. Moreover, there is reason to believe that

¹ *Vide* my papers on "The Secret of Kanishka", and J. F. Fleet, "The Question of Kanishka," JRAS., 1913, pp. 95 ff.

² JRAS., 1913, p. 193.

³ The traditions which connect Aśvaghosha and Charaka with Kanishka are found in S. Lévi, JA., 1896-7, ser. ix, vol. viii, pp. 444-89; vol. ix, pp. 1 ff.; Jolly, "Medicin," in Bühler's *Gründriss*, pp. 11-12; F. W. Thomas, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, pp. 345 ff. I am obliged to the kindness of a friend for calling my notice to the facts regarding Charaka.

a considerable, if not the greater, part of the Gandhāra remains belongs to a period later than the second century A.D.¹ I therefore turn to numismatics. It is not my intention to follow the numismatic argument in detail in this place. I shall deal only with one particular case which is said to be crucial; it may be said to be the most important fact in support of the "late Kanishka" theory. I refer to the find of coins in the Stūpa at Ahin Posh which has been invoked both by my friend Mr. V. Smith and by Professor Oldenberg.

The Ahin Posh Stūpa is one of the numerous stūpas in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad, and it was excavated by Mr. W. Simpson in 1879. He found, among other things,

¹ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 177 ff., and V. Smith, "Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilisation of Ancient India," JASB. 1889, have discussed the date of these Gandhāra sculptures at considerable length. I should like to point out in this connexion one fact which appears to me of importance, and which, I think, has been overlooked. The Roman sculptors of the time of Trajan and Hadrian attempted to give their bas-reliefs the effect of a picture. They used colour, of course, but that was not peculiar to them. Their peculiarity was that, like Gioberti in after days, they made their figures recede from the spectator in different planes by the use of foreshortening and a vastly improved perspective (Mrs. E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*). Some of the Amarāvati bas-reliefs show the influence of this art. There is a distinct effort to foreshorten some of the figures, more especially the elephants, and an attempt is made at the grouping of a picture. Had the Gandhāra bas-reliefs been executed in the second century A.D., we should have expected to find something similar. But the case is otherwise. There is rarely, or never, the smallest attempt at perspective; the figures are ranged the one above the other; and the modelling of the figures resembles that on the Christian sarcophagi and the Roman ivory diptychs, which date from the latter half of the fourth and from the fifth century of our era. Much of the Gandhāra work might easily pass for fifth century Roman work, were it not for the presence of small Indian details. Moreover, the Corinthian capitals from Gandhāra are of a late type, and those which contain human figures hidden among the acanthus leaves cannot be earlier than the third century A.D. Most of the Jamalgarhi and Takht-i-Bahāi bas-reliefs will ultimately turn out, I fancy, to be fifth century productions, or perhaps even later. The Sassanian monarchs employed Byzantine artists, and it was probably through the work of these artists that Græco-Roman influences penetrated to Gandhāra.

a gold reliquary with a gold coin of Kanishka and another of Wema Kadphises inside it. Eighteen other gold coins were lying among the ashes on the floor of the relic chamber: of these, nine belong to Wema Kadphises, five to Kanishka, and one to Huvishka. There were also gold coins of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), Trajan (A.D. 98-117), and the Empress Julia Sabina, wife of Hadrian (A.D. 117-38).¹

Messrs. Smith and Oldenberg assume that the stūpa was erected during, or soon after, the reign of the latest of the three Kushan kings, whom they take to be Huvishka.² The age of this stūpa I shall discuss presently. The main argument rests upon the fresh condition of Huvishka's gold piece. A friend says: "It is not easy to understand how the relative conditions of the Ahin Posh Stūpa can be explained" on the theory of a pre-Kadphises Kanishka: "the coins of Wema [Kadphises] were 'so very much worn as to have lost 10 grains of weight',³ 'some of Kanishka's were much worn,' and the single coin of Huvishka was in 'very good preservation' (Proc. ASB., 1879, p. 209)."⁴ The wear and tear of the coins is the criterion here implied.

I would reply that in this very find there are coins of Wema Kadphises which appear to be as fresh as Huvishka's solitary specimen. Dr. Hoernle, reporting on this find, says of Wema Kadphises' coins:⁵ "Nos. I and II are in good preservation; Nos. VII and VIII are fairly good; the rest [apparently with the exception of No. X] are

¹ For the excavation of the stūpa and the report on, and discussion of, the coins and the building *v.* Proc. ASB., 1879, pp. 78, 134, 208.

² Oldenberg, "Zur Frage nach der Aera des Kanishka" (Nachrichten v. d. könig. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1911, p. 440), quoting V. Smith, JRAS., 1903, p. 35. Professor Oldenberg's article is noteworthy, not only for the learning and ability of the author, but still more for its courtesy and candour.

³ Cunningham merely says, "several of the specimens of Wema Kadphises are so very much worn as to have lost 10 grains in weight," Proc. ASB., 1879, p. 209.

⁴ Private letter.

⁵ Proc. ASB., 1879, p. 123.

very much worn". No. X "is in a very fair state of preservation", and distinguished from "all the others of the Indo-Scythian class" by its "superior sharpness, a miniature-like clearness, with which both the figures and the inscriptions are cut".¹ Dr. Hoernle adds that "the fillets are Sassanian". Of the six Kanishka coins, No. XI is "well executed and in a very fair state of preservation"; but some of the others "are much worn".² With regard to the single coin of Huvishka, Dr. Hoernle says: "Both as regards execution and preservation this is a very good specimen."³ It would seem, then, that some of Wema Kadphises' coins are in as good a state of preservation as Huvishka's. The comparative freshness of the coins gives no clue as to the relative priority of the rulers.

But we cannot base an argument on a single specimen;⁴ we must take the mass of the coins as a whole for an inquiry of this kind. Now, Cunningham furnishes us with some figures which may be helpful. One hundred and seventy-nine specimens of Kushan gold coins gave the following weights:⁵—

19 dinars of Wema Kadphises average 122·21 grains			
21	"	Kanishka	" 122·19 "
118	"	Huvishka	" 122·16 "
21	"	Vāsudeva	" 123·3 "

¹ Proc. ASB., 1879, p. 127.

² Ibid., p. 129.

³ Ibid., p. 134.

⁴ There is always the possibility that any particular coin may have been put into hoard soon after it was issued, and taken out of the hoard just before its deposit in the place where it was found. Dr. Fleet informs me that he has rupees, half rupees, quarter rupees, and two-anna pieces of William IV, dated 1835, and of Victoria, dated 1840 and 1841, and half annas and quarter annas of the East India Company dated 1835, taken at haphazard from money which came out of hoard in and about 1894, when the coinage of silver was under suspension. The copper coins and a few of the others show some small signs of wear; but others of the silver coins are as perfect as on the day when they were minted. It was the pressure of circumstances that brought them out: but for that, they might have remained hidden, in just the same state, for an indefinite time.

⁵ Cunningham, p. 79 of the reprint from *Num. Chron.*, ser. III, pp. 268-311.

"The later coins of Vāsudeva," he adds, "which are less worn than the others, give the full weight of 123·3." If we are to judge by the wear and tear of these coins, Huvishka is the oldest and Vāsudeva the latest of the series, Wema Kadphises coming third. In another table which I have quoted elsewhere,¹ Cunningham gave the weights of certain selected specimens, and rejecting all the specimens under 123 grains, he found that—

2 of Wema Kadphises average	123·1 grains
11 of Kanishka	„ 123·1 „
25 of Huvishka	„ 123·4 „
21 of Vāsudeva	„ 123·3 „

Here the series is reversed. Huvishka comes last, while Kanishka and Wema Kadphises tie together for priority. Evidently the greater the number of specimens, the greater are the chances that they will include the two extremes. But if we judge not by selected specimens, but by the general wear and tear, the coins of Kanishka more especially, but those also of Huvishka, would appear to be prior to those of the Kadphises king.

On the other hand the coins of Vāsudeva are anomalous. And this fact may be connected with another to which Professor Oldenberg has called attention. The coins of Kanishka, and less frequently the coins of Huvishka, are often found in conjunction with those of Kozoulo and Wema Kadphises; while the coins of Vāsudeva are remarkable by their absence. One part of the explanation is obvious: Vāsudeva never ruled over those parts of the North-West Panjāb where these finds are most numerous; his kingdom appears to have been limited to the Eastern Panjāb, and possibly Kashmir. On the other hand, it would appear as if his coins circulated for a much shorter period than those of his predecessors, a fact which is very

¹ JRAS., 1912, p. 997; Cunningham, p. 20 of the reprint, *Num. Chron.*, ser. III, vol. viii, pp. 199-248.

intelligible if Wema Kadphises followed with an abundant coinage of his own.

I claim, then, that if the wear and tear of the coins is to be taken as an evidence of age, the balance of evidence inclines in favour of the priority of Kanishka and Huvishka. At the same time it is not a point on which I lay great stress, since many other circumstances may possibly affect the circulation of a coinage.

Nor is the age of the Ahin Posh Stūpa very pertinent to the present inquiry, but it is an interesting question, which throws some light upon the times, and also bears on the assumption of a second-century Kanishka. Simpson, who discovered the stūpa, thought it some centuries later than Domitian (A.D. 81-96), whose coin he recognized.¹ Hoernle at first dated it between A.D. 200 and 250,² but afterwards admitted that it might date from the second half of the second century A.D.³ Cunningham put it between A.D. 120 and 140, i.e. during or immediately after the lifetime of Sabina.⁴ But Cunningham overlooked the condition of Sabina's coin, upon which Hoernle dwells;⁵ it is "considerably worn", and in describing it he says,⁶ "the rim is considerably indented and worn." It had seen much service, and must have been interred in the stūpa long after the age of Sabina.⁷

Only one other coin of Hadrian's reign has been found in the Panjāb, a silver denarius of his which formed part of a hoard dug up in the Hazara country.⁷ The rest of the hoard consisted of consular or Augustan denarii, together with two of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37). We cannot date this deposit. A hundred years had elapsed between Tiberius and Hadrian; another hundred may have elapsed, very possibly did elapse, between Hadrian's date and the burial of the hoard. There is one, and only one, other

¹ Proc. ASB., 1879, p. 78.

² Ibid., pp. 135-6.

³ Ibid., p. 212.

⁴ Ibid., p. 209.

⁵ Ibid., p. 212.

⁶ Ibid., p. 135.

⁷ *Num. Chron.*, ser. III, vol. xix, p. 263.

find of Roman coins of the second century reported from the Panjāb. Three gold coins of Hadrian's successor, the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-61) and two of his wife, the Empress Faustina, were found in the Rawal Pindi district. They had been strung together by gold wire to form an ornament. The latest of these coins belonged to the year A.D. 159.¹ The coins were all "in very good preservation"²—very different therefore from the Sabina coin of the Ahin Posh Stūpa. Still, says Dr. Hoernle, "some time must be allowed for the travelling of the coins to India, and for their wear and tear, of which they show some traces. This need not have been more, however, than some 40 or 50 years."² Accordingly he dates this ornament from c. A.D. 200. We have no reason on numismatic grounds to date the interment of the Sabina coin in the Ahin Posh Stūpa earlier; much earlier it cannot be, it may well be later.

The architecture of the stūpa leads to a similar conclusion. Among the fragments of the Indo-Corinthian capitals were found "two acanthus leaves, each with a figure of Buddha seated upon it".³ Similar figures are found in the Gandhāra sculptures,⁴ more especially in the examples which are said to have come from Takht-i-Bahāi. It had long been the fashion in the West to insert birds and winged creatures among the rich foliage of the Corinthian capital, but the fashion of inserting human figures appears to have first arisen, so far as Rome is concerned, in the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138),⁵ who may have introduced it from Syria.

¹ Hoernle, Proc. ASB., 1886, pp. 86-9.

² Ibid., p. 88.

³ Ibid., 1879, p. 209.

⁴ CASR., v, p. 193.

⁵ Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 133) says that granite capitals enclosing the bust of Hadrian among acanthus leaves adorned the gateway of St. Peter's basilica at Rome, erected by Constantine. I have also seen mention of the practice in some second century writer, possibly the rhetor Ælius Aristides, but I cannot at this moment lay

The earliest existing examples of the kind are to be found in the baths of Caracalla (A.D. 211-17).¹ Syria was in all probability the native home of this as of most of the artistic creations of the time, and from Syria the fashion would naturally travel by way of Palmyra to India. But the great period of Palmyrene architectural splendour is the first half of the third century. I think Dr. Hoernle's original conjecture was probably right, and that the Ahin Posh Stūpa cannot well be earlier than the first half of the third century A.D. It cannot well be earlier, it may be somewhat later. But few will be inclined to make it contemporary with Huvishka.

Thus three lines of indirect research lead to the same conclusion—the priority of Kanishka.

J. KENNEDY.

THE DATES IN THE BURMESE INSCRIPTION AT BODH-GAYA

At Bōdh-Gayā there have been found two Burmese inscriptions, in respect of which Sir A. Cunningham said in 1892:²—"Of all the inscriptions discovered at Mahābodhi the most interesting and by far the most important are the records of the two Burmese missions in the 11th

my hand on the reference. The ordinary textbooks of architecture, e.g. Durm, *Die Baukunst der Römer*, p. 260, mention only the capitals of Caracalla's Thermæ, which were begun in A.D. 212, and finished under Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-34). The practice of introducing human figures among the acanthus leaves cannot have been common at Rome; they are not found in the Corinthian capitals of the Arch of Septimius Severus erected in A.D. 203, nor have I met with any earlier instances except those mentioned above.

¹ Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 178, n. 3, falls into an amusing mistake, when correcting Cunningham. Cunningham had put Caracalla at the beginning of the Christian era, and founded an argument upon the date of his baths. Fergusson corrects Cunningham, but makes Caracalla a century too late (312-30). Both are mere oversights.

² See his *Mahābodhi*, p. 75.

century A.D. [for this we must now say 'at the close of the 13th century']. To them we owe the only account that we possess of the fortunes of the Great Mahābodhi Temple, from its earliest days down to the date of the Burmese embassies."

One of these two inscriptions is a quite short record on a copper-gilt umbrella which was found buried underground. This one seems still to await proper decipherment.

The other is a record of nineteen lines on a stone fixed in one of the walls of the residence of the Mahant of the temple. It has been a subject of treatment by several scholars, who have differed somewhat as to its exact purport, and in particular as to the years of the two dates which are mentioned in it.¹ A final edition of it—text and translation, with a facsimile—has now been given by Mr. Taw Sein Ko at pp. 119–20 of the latest issue of the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 11, part 3: from this we learn as follows:—

The record asserts that the temple is one of the 84,000 shrines which Aśoka is said to have built, and is on the site where Buddha took a meal; namely, as explained by the editor of the record, the meal of rice porridge which Sujātā offered to him just before he attained enlightenment. The temple fell into ruin owing to the effluxion of time, and was repaired by a Mahāthēra named Pinthagugyi. Subsequently it was repaired by Thadomin. Again it fell into disrepair; and King Sinbyuthikhin deputed the Royal Preceptor, Siridhammarājaguru, to undertake the work of repair. The preceptor's disciple, Sirikassapa, had sufficient funds, but could not take the work in hand; owing, probably (the editor suggests), to the absence of skilled artisans. He therefore sent Varavāsi, a junior Thēra, to King Pyutathin Min, who complied with the request for assistance.

¹ See *Mahābodhi*, pp. 27 f., 75 ff., and the references given there.

The record then tells us that the work of repair was begun in the year 657 of the Sakarāj,¹ i.e. of the Burmese Era of A.D. 638, on Pyatho waxing 10, and was finished in the Sakarāj year 660, on Tazaungmon waxing 8.

The editor of the record says that these dates fell in January, A.D. 1295, and November, A.D. 1298. If the first month were correct, then 1295 would be a mistake for 1296. But both the months are wrong. Not only might these mistakes have been avoided, but also the editor could have given the exact equivalents of the dates by having recourse to a very simple process, as may now be shown.

The full details of the first date are : the year B.E. 657, Pyatho waxing 10, Thaukkya-ne (Friday).

Turning to the "Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A.D. 638 to 1752" given by Sir Alfred Irwin in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 39 (1910), p. 289 ff.,² we find (1) that the solar year B.E. 657 (expired) began on Monday, 28 March, A.D. 1295 :³ and (2) that Tagu waxing 1, the

¹ The form in which this name is actually presented in our inscription is 'Sakarac', twice. In the Po-u-daung inscription of A.D. 1774 and the Kalyāṇī inscription of A.D. 1476 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 22, pp. 2 ff., 151 ff.) it is given as 'Sakkarāj'. This seems to be the form which is habitually used now. And Mr. Taw Sein Ko has told us (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 23, p. 256) that the first component of the name is popularly supposed to be Sakka, = Sakra (Indra). But he added :—"In ancient books and inscriptions, however, the word is found written Sakarāj, which is more consonant with its true etymology from Sakarājā" (the Śaka king). The reckoning was started by cutting off 560 years of the Indian Śaka era of A.D. 78 : and for this reason it is also known as the Khachha-pañcha or 0-6-5, i.e. the 560 reckoning.

² This table was given to supplement his book, mentioned farther on, which does not go back before A.D. 1739.

³ It is always to be borne in mind (1) that the years of the Burmese Era change their number at the Thingyan Tet, which is the mean Mēsha-saṃkrānti, the entrance of the mean sun into Mēsha (Aries), of the Hindūs ; and so the reckoning goes by solar years, and some days of Tagu, or even the whole of that month and some days of Kason, may belong to the end of a given year, instead of its beginning : and

first day of the concurrent lunar year, was Thursday, 17 March, and the lunar year was a common one (i.e., not having an intercalated Wazo).

Turning next to Sir Alfred Irwin's *Burmese and Arakanese Calendars* (1909), table 9, part 1, we find that in any common year, when Tagu waxing 1 is 17 March, Pyatho waxing 1 is 7 December. Consequently, the given day Pyatho waxing 10 was 16 December, A.D. 1295. And from table 10, part 1, in the same book, we find that in any common year, when Tagu waxing 1 is a Thursday, Pyatho waxing 1 is a Wednesday, and consequently Pyatho waxing 10 is a Friday.

Accordingly, the given date B.E. 657, Pyatho waxing 10, Thaukkya-ne, answers quite regularly to Friday, 16 December, A.D. 1295. And we can check this result in respect of the weekday by referring to any good "perpetual calendar", such as Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar* (1896), table 13, or Sewell's *Indian Chronography* (1912), table 41, from which we find that in A.D. 1295 the day 16 December was indeed a Friday.

Perhaps, however, we have at hand only Sir Alfred Irwin's table in the *Indian Antiquary*, and not his book on the calendars: also, his table 9, being prepared for a book which deals with the calendar only from A.D. 1739 onwards, does not provide for cases in which Tagu waxing 1 falls earlier than 13 March; whereas, for many years after A.D. 638 (when it happened to be 21 March) it was liable to fall even as early as 23 February. We must then work on other lines, which may be illustrated by means of the same date.

(2) that the expired year is habitually cited, though it is not described as such. In accordance with (2), we always make our first calculation for the expired year, and turn to the current year only if we cannot get a correct result with the expired year. Sir A. Irwin's tables are framed for the expired years.

As has been said, in A.D. 1295 Tagu waxing 1 was Thursday, 17 March; and the lunar year was a common one (not having an intercalated Wazo), so that the months consisted of the usual number of 29 and 30 days alternately, all through. We proceed as in col. A below, as far as the given day, Pyatho waxing 10:—

A		B	
Tagu	29	17 to 31 March . . .	15
Kason	30	April	30
Nayon	29	May	31
Wazo	30	June	30
Wagaung	29	July	31
Tawthalin	30	August	31
Thadingyut	29	September	30
Tazaungmon	30	October	31
Natdaw	29	November	30
1 to 10 Pyatho	10		259
		1 to 16 December . . .	16
	275		275

This marks Pyatho waxing 10 as the 275th day of the lunar year. For the English date we then reckon 275 days, as in col. B, from and including 17 March. This gives 16 December as the equivalent of Pyatho waxing 10.

As regards the weekday: we have a period of 275 days, = 39 weeks and 2 days, beginning with 17 March and ending with 16 December. The first day, 17 March, being given as a Thursday, the remainder, 2 days, marks 16 December as a Friday. This we may verify by a perpetual calendar, as suggested above.

Thus, by a slightly longer but equally simple process we reach again Friday, 16 December, A.D. 1295, as the equivalent of the given date.

I give this paper with a view to inducing scholars who are working on the inscriptions of Burma and those parts

to use the means provided by Sir Alfred Irwin, and to round off their treatment of the records by including the exact English equivalents of the original dates. As can be seen, the Burmese calendar being a simple mean-time calendar, the process of calculation is a very easy one, requiring nothing but ordinary care and accuracy, and quite free from the complications attending Hindū dates, which are governed by true time (i.e., true time according to the Hindū bases). At the same time, the matter is not always without some little difficulty, as is illustrated by the second date in this Burmese inscription at Bōdh-Gayā.

In this second date the full details are: B.E. 660, Tazaungmon waxing 8, Tahninganu-ne (Sunday).

Sir Alfred Irwin's table in the *Indian Antiquary* shows (1) that the solar year B.E. 660 (expired) began on Friday, 28 March, A.D. 1298: and (2) that Tagu waxing 1, the first day of the concurrent lunar year, was Friday, 14 March, and this lunar year, again, was a common one (i.e., not having an intercalated Wazo).

Working by either of the means shown above, we find that Tazaungmon waxing 8 was 13 October, A.D. 1298. But we also find that this day was a Monday, instead of a Sunday as stated in the record: and we are not helped if we take the year 660 as current, instead of expired; in that year Tazaungmon waxing 8 was Thursday, 24 October, A.D. 1297.

This date, therefore, must be classed as an "irregular" date,—meaning a date the details of which do not work out to match the statement of them. Some mistake may have been made in the record of it. But that is not necessarily the case: an adjustment might possibly be made as follows:—

The third Burmese lunar month, Nayon, has normally 29 days. But it is liable, in accordance with a certain rule, to have 30 days in a year in which there is an intercalated Wazo. Sir Alfred Irwin's table in the

Indian Antiquary shows (1) that the preceding year, B.E. 659 (expired), was such a year, with an intercalated Wazo, and in that year Nayon had 30 days: and (2) that the following year, B.E. 661 (expired), also had an intercalated Wazo, but on this occasion Nayon had only 29 days. The almanac-makers of the period of our record may possibly have worked the rule differently, so as to give to Nayon 29 days in B.E. 659 and 30 days in B.E. 661. Then Tagu waxing 1 in A.D. 1298 would have fallen one day earlier, on Thursday, 13 March; and that would make Tazaungmon waxing 8 answer to 12 October, a Sunday as required.

To test this possibility we want one or two more dates in B.E. 660; or perhaps better still some dates in B.E. 659 later than Nayon, and in 661 earlier than Wazo.

J. F. FLEET.

THE PURANIC ORDER OF THE PLANETS

In connection with the remarks made by me about the Purāṇic order of the planets,¹ it seems useful to put on record the purport of the statement which is found in the somewhat inaccessible Bengal recension of the Padma-Purāṇa in the Bodleian Library. The passage, which Mr. Pargiter has kindly transcribed for me, is in verse, as is most usual, in chapter 6, Bhuvādivarṇana, of book 3, Svargakhaṇḍa, on pp. 15*b*, 16*a*, of the Wilson MS. No. 114: the manuscript is in Bengali characters; the verses are not numbered.

This text gives that arrangement of the "planets", etc., which is the most usual one in the Purāṇas: next to the earth, the Sun; then the Moon; then the *nakshatras*; then, one after the other, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter;

¹ See this Journal, 1912. 1048 f.; especially the remarks about the Padma-Purāṇa in the footnote on p. 1048.

and Saturn;¹ above Saturn, the Saptarshis; and then Dhruva (the pole-star). It places distances of 200,000 *yōjanas* between the *nakshatras* and Mercury and between each of the five planets properly so called: its other distances are all of 100,000 *yōjanas*.

It seems strange that a similar passage is not found in either of the other two recensions of this Purāṇa mentioned by me.

J. F. FLEET.

IDENTIFICATION OF ASOKA'S FIRST BUDDHIST SELECTION

[The following remarks, extracted from *The Light of Dharma* (San Francisco, April, 1904, pp. 148-50, and July, p. 193), are republished here because they seem to have remained unknown to scholars, owing to their having appeared in an extinct magazine.]

In my original manuscript,² and also in the proof-sheets, sent from Leipzig (where the Journal was printed), my title for A. 2, the second division of the Bibliography, was "Remains of Lost Recensions of the Canon in Prākṛit and Sanskrit". Rhys Davids has altered this to "Prākṛit and Sanskrit Books".

Now, these Buddhist books in Prākṛit and Sanskrit contain enough matter verbally identical with the Pāli Canon, in spite of later additions (Buddhist apocrypha), to rank as sister canons, or rather remnants of such. The largest book included under A. 2, viz., the Mahāvastu, calls itself "The Mahāvastu of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, according to the Recension (*pāṭhena*) of the excellent Mahāsaṅghika Docetists of the Middle Country". The concluding portion of it follows, with the exception of interpolated Jātakas, etc., the main lines of the Pāli Mahā

¹ It would be, then, from the point of view of the weekday order, not of the order presented in the Bhāgavata, that another passage in the Padma, quoted by me (loc. cit.), treats Mercury as the middle planet.

² i.e. of my "Buddhist Bibliography", in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, London, 1903. (Note of 1913.)

Khandhaka, or opening section, of the Mahāvaggo. This is the Pāli biographical introduction to the more detailed portions of the Vinaya, and contains the account of Buddha's Enlightenment, his First Sermon, and early successes as a teacher. It is this very narrative which is the nucleus of the Lalita Vistara, coming at the end of that prolix romance, just as it comes at the end of the Mahāvastu. Other Mahāyāna biographies exhibit the same composition. Subtract from the Mahāvastu the kind of expansions common to it and the Lalita Vistara class of narratives, and we have before us the Mahā Khandhaka, with interpolations. Takakusu expressly parallels the Mahā Khandhaka of the Pāli Mahāvaggo with the Pravrajyā-vastu of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya. This may be seen also in the Tibetan Dulva, which is the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya Piṭaka. Other Vinaya sections, too, called Khandhakas in the Theravādin Canon, are called *vastus* in that of the Sarvāstivādins (I-Tsing, Introduction, p. 37). Even the Pāli itself betrays the fact that Vinaya-vastu (Pāli, *vatthu*) was the older name for the Mahāvaggo (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xx, p. 411).

That this introduction to the Vinaya was a favourite theme for expansion and embellishment is clear from a colophon to a Chinese recension of the same, translated by Beal (*Romantic Legend*, p. 386). From this we learn that the Mahāvastu of the Mahāsaṅghikas is called the Great Magnificence by the Sarvāstivādins, while the Mahīśāsakas call it the Foundation of the Vinaya, and two other sects associate it with the Jātakas. Throughout his translation, Beal frequently gives different renderings of the text according to different schools. Mahāvastu therefore should be rendered, "Main Body of the Vinaya," or "Substance of the Vinaya". Containing the First Sermon, it fitly stands at the head of the Canon in recensions other than the Pāli, and is older than the Vibhaṅgas, which are a commentary on the Pāṭimokkha—

a commentary whose canonicity was disputed by the Mount Abhaya monks of Ceylon.

The Mahāvastu or Mahāvaggo, in its primitive form, was probably the Sermon in the Deer Park, with a little introductory matter, and may well have been the first document of Asoka's Edict of Bhābrā. This is called *Vinaya-samukkañsa* (Supreme Discipline). It would be strange, indeed, if the Emperor omitted the First Sermon from his selections. A strong support to my view that Asoka meant the First Sermon, etc., is the expression *sāmuḥkañsīkā dhammadesanā*, in Udāna, v, 3, applied to the Four Truths. Here the Sermon is called the Supreme Sermon of the Religion.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

ANDHRADRAVIDABHASA

Burnell said in the *Ind. Ant.*, i, p. 309, that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has, in his *Tantravārttika*, used the word *āndhra-drāviḍabhāṣā*, and he interpreted the phrase to refer to the Telugu and Tamil languages jointly. Now it is extremely doubtful if *āndhra* meant Telugu (the language and not the race or province) in the seventh century A.D.; but without raising this question here, I wish to point out that the phrase in the printed text of the *Tantravārttika* is *atha drāviḍabhāṣāyām*. Dr. Gaṅganātha Jhā, of the Allahabad University, our greatest authority on the *Mīmāṃsā*, informs me that in his MSS. of the *Tantravārttika*, in *Telugu* script, the reading is also *atha* and not *āndhra*. This reading disposes also of the grammatical difficulty of the form *āndhrabhāṣāyām*. As Burnell's statement has been twice copied by Konow in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iv, as also by other writers, I have thought it desirable to point out that Burnell must have been misled by an incorrect MS.

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR.

SOME MORE VERSES RELATING TO GIFTS OF LAND

On p. 249 ff. of the Journal for 1912 Mr. Pargiter has quoted from inscriptions a number of verses proclaiming the merit of making gifts of land or denouncing the sin of confiscating them. These verses are often said to occur in the *Mahābhārata*, but several of them are not found there, though they occur with certain modifications in some of the *Purāṇas*. In a copperplate inscription recently discovered by me,¹ along with the two usual verses beginning with *sva-dattām* and *bahubhiḥ* mentioned by Mr. Pargiter, occur two verses, not met with in any other record so far as I know, which are found in the *Mahābhārata*. The plates refer themselves to the reign of the Ganga king Mādhavavarman, and record a grant of land by him to a Buddhist named Buddhasatva. The date of the plates is supposed to be about A.D. 400. The said verses, which occur in a modified form in the *Udyōgaparva*, 35,² run thus:—

Kṣudra-paśvanṛtē pañca daśa hanti gavānṛtē,
 śatam aśvānṛtē hanti sahasraṁ puruṣānṛtē.
 Hanti jātān a-jātānś ca suvarṇnasyānṛtē prabhōḥ,
 sarvaṁ bhūmyanṛtē hanti mā sma bhūmyanṛtaṁ vadēt.

In the *Mahābhārata* the first pāda of the first verse and the second pāda of the second read *pañca paśvanṛtē hanti* and *hiraṇyārthē 'nṛtaṁ vadan*, and the second verse ends with *vadēḥ* instead of *vadēt*.

The first verse is also found, though with certain modifications, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,³ where it runs:—

Śatam aśvānṛtē hanti sahasraṁ tu gavānṛtē,
 ātmānam sva-janaṁ hanti puruṣaḥ puruṣānṛtē.

As another curiosity in this line I may mention a verse

¹ See Mysore Archaeological Report for 1910, paras. 47-50.

² [Calcutta text, § 34, verses 1215-6; Kumbakonam text, § 35, verses 44-5.—ED.]

³ iv, 34, 9.

cited from the *Anargharāghava*, a drama by Murāri, in a comparatively modern inscription dated A.D. 1521 which has been lately examined :¹ the verse runs thus :—

Madhu-Kaiṭabha-dānavendra-mēdaḥ-
plava-visrāmiṣam ēva mēdinīyam ;
adhivāsyā yadi svakair yaśōbhīś
chiram ēnām upabhuñjatē narēndrāḥ.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

AN OLD SANSKRIT VERSION OF THE BRHATKATHA

Students of Sanskrit literature are well aware of the two Sanskrit versions of the Paiśācī Brhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya written by Kṣēmendra and Sōmadēva in the eleventh century A.D. Another Sanskrit version, styled *Brhatkathā-ślōka-saṁgraha*, by an author of the name of Buddhasvāmin, has recently been published in Paris by Professor F. Lacôte. On page 147 of his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Brhatkathā* the Professor has expressed the opinion that this version was composed at some time in or about the eighth and ninth centuries.

In a copperplate inscription, recently discovered by me, of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, which probably belongs to the first half of the sixth century,² the following epithets are applied to the king :—

Śabdāvatāra - kārēṇa dēvabhārati - nibaddha - Vaḍḍa -
kathēna Kirātārjunīyē pañcadaśa - sarga - ṭikā - kārēṇa
Durvinīta-nāmadhēyēna.

From this we learn that Durvinīta was the author of three works, namely, a Śabdāvatāra, a Sanskrit version of the Paiśācī Vaḍḍakathā or Brhatkathā, and a commentary on the 15th sarga of the Kirātārjuniya. That he was the author of the third work had long been

¹ See Mysore Archæological Report for 1912, para. 108.

² Ibid., paras. 65-9.

known,¹ but his authorship of the other two works is learnt for the first time from this record. This reference to a Sanskrit version of the Brhatkathā, written centuries before the three other versions referred to above, is an interesting item of information for students of Sanskrit literature.

This inscription also enables us to interpret correctly an expression occurring in the Hebbūr plates² which has been misunderstood. It runs thus:—

Śabdāvatāra-kāra (for -kārō) dēvabhāratī-nibaddha-
Brhatvathah (for -Brhatkathah).

Comparing this with the extract given above, we see that two of the same epithets of Durvinita are given here in the nominative case instead of the instrumental. It has been supposed that the expression meant that Durvinita had Pūjyapāda, the Jaina author of the Śabdāvatāra, for his teacher or preceptor.³ But in the light of the extract from the present inscription it is plain that Durvinita himself was the author of a Śabdāvatāra, as also of a Sanskrit version of the Brhatkathā, so that there is no ground for connecting Pūjyapāda with Durvinita and making him his contemporary. It is true that an inscription of A.D. 1530 mentions Pūjyapāda as the author of a *Nyāsa* on Pāṇini named Śabdāvatāra,⁴ but the expression quoted above makes no manner of reference to him. The earliest inscription, as far as I know, that refers to Pūjyapāda, is one at Lakshmēshwar, dated Śaka 651 (A.D. 729–30), of the time of the Chalukya king Vijayāditya.⁵

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

¹ This Journal for 1911, p. 187.

² *Epigraphia Carnatica*, xii, Tumkūr 23.

³ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 2.

⁴ *Ep. Car.*, viii, Nagar 46.

⁵ *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 373; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vii, p. 112.

THE BRHATKATHA IN MARKANDEYA

The Vizagapatam edition of Mārkaṇḍeya's Prakrit Grammar contains much that is interesting. Not the least important passage in it is the 9th sūtra of the section dealing with Kēkaya-paiśāciki. It is here stated that *kvacit* takes the form *kupaci*, and as an example says "Bṛhatkathāyām—'kupaci pisālam'". Mārkaṇḍeya appears to have lived in the middle of the seventeenth century (Pischel, *Pr. Gr.*, § 40). If the printed text is correct, we therefore gather from the sūtra that it was possible to quote from the Bṛhatkathā in the seventeenth century, and that that work was composed in what Mārkaṇḍeya called "Kēkaya-paiśāciki". In other words, according to Mārkaṇḍeya, the Bṛhatkathā was composed in a dialect belonging to the extreme north-west of India, and MSS. of it were probably in existence 250 years ago.

CAMBERLEY.

G. A. G.

February 22, 1913.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF PRAKRIT PALATALS

The true pronunciation of the palatal mutes in Māgadhī Prakrit has raised difficulties in the minds of several writers on the subject.¹ Vararuci (xi, 5) says, *cavargasya spaṣṭatā tathōccāraṇaḥ*, which Bhāmaha interprets as meaning that *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, and *ñ* are so pronounced as to be clear (*cavargō yathā spaṣṭas tathōccāraṇō bhavati*). Lassen (p. 397) suggests that instead of *spaṣṭatā* we should read *aspaṣṭatā*, i.e. "unclear" instead of "clear". Cowell (p. 179) suggests *asprṣṭatā*, "with a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth." Kramadīśvara (Lassen, 393) seems to say that *y*, *p*, and the *cavarga*, when forming part of a compound consonant, are lightly pronounced (*yapacavargayuktā manāguccāryāḥ*), but the text is very doubtful. Another text in my possession gives *ṣaṭavargayuktā*, etc., which is no plainer.

¹ Cf. Hoernle, *Gd. Gr.* 8; Pischel, *Pr. Gr.*, § 217.

Whatever the exact meaning of these sūtras may be, it is clear that they indicate that *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, and *ñ* were not pronounced in Māgadhi as in Standard Prakrit. The Standard Prakrit was Māhārāṣṭrī, and therefore these letters were not pronounced in that dialect as in Māgadhi.

So far Vararuci and Kramadīśvara. Hēmacandra, Trivikrama, and Simharāja give us no help, but the edition of Mārkaṇḍeya lately published in Vizagapatam has some remarkable sūtras that bear on the subject. In xii, 21 (dealing with Māgadhi) he says *cajayōr upari yah syāt*, i.e. *y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*, as in *yciram* (or *ycilam*), *ycia* (? *yjāā*), i.e. *ciram*, (?) *jāyā*. This has already been noted by Hoernle and by Fischel, loc. cit. Again (xii, 32), he says that the Śr. *cittḥadi* (*tistḥati*) becomes *sciṇṭadi* (? *cistḥadi*) in Mg., which again (xiii, 3) becomes *yciṣadi* in Śākāri, a debased form of Mg. Again, taking us to the North-West, he tells us (xviii, 2) that in the Vṛacaḍa Apabhraṃśa spoken in Sindh *cajōr upari yō bhavēt*, i.e. *y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*, as in *ycalai* (*calati*), *yjalai* (*jvalati*). Finally (xx, 4), in Śaurasēna-paiśāciki, which is a variety of the Kēkaya-paiśāciki, of the extreme North-West, *cavargasyō'pariṣṭād yah*, or *y* is prefixed to the letters of the *cavarga*, i.e. only to *c*, *ch*, and *ñ*, as the language does not possess sonant mutes. Thus, *ychalē* for *chalam*, *laycchanē* for *lakṣaṇam*, *paycchē* for *pakṣam*.¹ I presume that the name means "the Paiśāci spoken by the Piśācas of Śūrasēna", i.e. of the present North-Eastern Rājputānā. The connexion between the dialects of the North-West Frontier and of the East has often been pointed out,² and here it is sufficient to say that Mārkaṇḍeya considered that, besides the Standard Prakrit pronunciation of the palatals, these letters had another sound, not only in

¹ It will be seen here that, while the dialect is based on Kaikēya-paiśāciki, in Śaurasēna = paiśāciki, as in Māgadhi Prakrit, the nominative of *a*-bases ends in *ē*.

² First by Hoernle, *Gd. Gr.* xxxi ff.

Māgadhi, but also in a dialect of the North-West and in another dialect of the Midland closely connected with it. This sound he represented by the letters *yc*, *ych*, *yj*, *yjh*, and *yñ*. He thus agreed with Vararuci and Kramadīśvara in the main point that in Prakrit the palatals had two sets of sounds, some dialects employing one and others the other. Is it possible to find out what these two sounds were ?

Scholars are not all at one as to the oldest pronunciation of the palatals in India.¹ We may write down the two Prakrit sets in Mārkaṇḍeya's notation as follows :—

Standard palatals, *aspaṣṭa*,—*ca*, *cha*, *j*, *jha*, *ñ*.

Māgadhi palatals, *spaṣṭa*,—*yca*, *ycha*, *yj*, *yjha*, *yñ*.

It follows as a necessary inference from Vararuci's sūtra that in the Standard, or Māhārāṣṭri, Prakrit the pronunciation of these letters was not *spaṣṭa*, and was therefore *aspaṣṭa* ; for he differentiates from it the Māgadhi pronunciation because the latter was *spaṣṭa*. The question is, "What is the exact meaning of *spaṣṭa*, clear, as applied to a palatal ?" We gain some help towards answering the question from the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Putting the extreme eastern languages, Bengali and Assamese, to one side, as they have developed under special local conditions, we find two pronunciations of the palatals current in India of the present day. First, there is (see Kellogg, *Hindī Gr*². 15) the ordinary pronunciation, slightly more dental than the *ch* in "church" and than the *j* in "judge". This is current in Bihār and westwards over the Gangetic Valley and the Panjāb, i.e. over the Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi areas, and over the northern part of the Śaurasēni area. Secondly, in Rājputānā, i.e. the southern part of the Śaurasēni area, and in Gujarāt, the language

¹ See Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i, 137. Cf. Trumpp, *Sindhī Gr.* 14, "The old pronunciation of these letters must have gone through great variations, till they have become the compound sounds of the modern Indian idioms."

of which is closely connected with Rājasthānī, both *c* and *ch* are commonly pronounced as *s*. Thus, Mārwarī *sakkī* for *calckī*, a millstone, *sās* for *chāch*, buttermilk; Gujarātī *usō* for *ūcō*, high, *pūsyō* for *pūchyō*, asked. Moreover, in North Gujarāt *j* and *jh* are pronounced as *z*, as in *zād* for *jhād*, a tree. This *s* and this *z* are often pronounced as *ts* and *dz* respectively, as in the word *Tsarōtar* for *Carōtar*, the name of the tract in which this pronunciation prevails.

In Marāṭhī (omitting borrowed words, including Tatsamas, and a few other special cases) *c* is pronounced *ts*, *ch* as *s*, and *j* and *jh* as *dz*, except before palatal vowels, in which case they are pronounced as in the Ganges Valley. The *s*-sound of *ch* is said by Joshi (*M.Gr.*, p. 115) to be merely a substitute for *tsh*, which was found difficult to pronounce.

Sindhī usually pronounces the palatals as in the Ganges Valley, but also strengthens *j*, as in *jat^u*, a Jaṭṭ, pronounced something like *jjat^u*.¹ There is no corresponding strengthened sound of *c*, as the language deals in this way only with sonant letters (*ḡ*, *j̄*, *ḍ̄*, and *ḃ̄*).

Finally, in Kāshmīrī, which has no sonant aspirates, there are two complete sets, both in general use—

c, *ch*, *j*, *ñ*, and *ts*, *tsh*, *z*, *ṇ*.

The net result is that in Marāṭhī, unless affected by a neighbouring palatal vowel, *c*, *ch*, *j*, and *jh* are not pronounced as palatals, but as dento-palatals, and that this latter pronunciation persists, with slight variations, as we go north through Gujarāt and Rājputānā, till we reach the Ganges Valley, where we meet another set of palatals, sounding like the English *ch* and *j*, but nevertheless more dental. Now, Marāṭhī is the direct descendant of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, and therefore it is at least probable

¹ In JRAS. 1902, 47, I suggested that this *jj* might be descended from the Vṛācaḍa *yy*, and this is not inconsistent with the present remarks.

that the palatals in Māhārāṣṭrī, or Standard, Prakrit were also pronounced as dento-palatals.

This is borne out by the Greek transcriptions of old Indian words. Wackernagel, loc. cit., points out that *c* was represented by *σ*, *σσ*, *ζ*, *τζ*, or *τι*, and *j* by *ζ* or *δι*. Thus—

Σανδρόκυπτος = Candragupta-.

Πάσσαλοι or Παζάλοι = Pañcāla-.

τζάνδανον = candana-.

Τιαστάνης = Caṣṭana-.

Ὀζήνη = Ujjayinī or (Prakrit) Ujjēṇī.

Διαμούνα = Yamunā or (Prakrit) Jamuṇā.

If we consider these in the light of the foregoing remarks, we find the same two sets of palatals. There is the pure palatal set, in which the Ganges Valley *c* is represented by *τι*, and *j* is represented by *δι*, and there is the dento-palatal set, in which *ts* is represented by *σ*, *σσ*, *ζ*, or *τζ*, and *z* or *dz* by *ζ*.

Mārkaṇḍēya's method of writing the pure palatals is curiously emphasized by the method formerly adopted for writing palatals and dento-palatals in Kāshmirī. In the modern system of spelling, invented by Īśvara Kaula towards the end of the last century, the dento-palatals are represented by diacritical dots placed under the signs for the corresponding true palatal sounds. Thus—

च	ca	छ	cha	ज	ja	ञ	ña
ज़	tsa	झ	tsha	झ	za	ञ	ña

But before his time, writers either made no distinction between the two sets, or else suffixed a *y* to the palatals. Thus—

च or च्य *ca*, छ or छ्य *cha*, ज or ज्य *ja*, ञ or ज्य *ña* ;
but only

च for *tsa*, छ for *tsha*, ज for *za*, ञ for *ña*.

This is in remarkable agreement with Mārkaṇḍēya's system, the only difference being that instead of suffixing,

he prefixed, the *y*. But this prefixed *y* can have been nothing more than a diacritical mark to indicate the true palatal pronunciation, for it is impossible to imagine the *literatim* pronunciation of the compound letter *yca* when initial, as it often was.

It appears to me, therefore, that we can gather from the remarks of the Prakrit grammarians quoted that in Standard Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and in Śaurasēnī (which in this respect followed Māhārāṣṭrī) the palatals were probably pronounced as dento-palatals, as in modern Marāṭhī, but that in Māgadhī they were pronounced clearly as true palatals. This distinction has persisted to the present day, except that in the north of the Śaurasēnī tract the pronunciation of the closely related Māgadhī and of Śaurasēna-paiśāciki has ousted the pronunciation of South Śūrasēna and of Mahārāṣṭra.

Finally, it will be observed that the main conclusions arrived at in this note only carry further the observation of Dr. Hoernle (*Gd. Gr.* 7 ff.) that the palatals of the Eastern Indo-Aryan vernaculars are more distinctly and truly palatal than those of the West and South, a fact which "seems to have been noticed already by the Prakrit grammarians".

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

February 22, 1913.

VRŠĀKAPI AND HANUMANT

In this Journal for 1911, p. 803, I drew attention to two fables which throw some light on the problem of Vṛṣākapi in Rīgv. x, 86, and pointed out (1) that they connect Vṛṣākapi and Hanumant (this is the full Sanskrit base) with the River Godāvarī; (2) that Hanumant admittedly and Vṛṣākapi impliedly belonged to the Dekhan; and (3) that the second fable¹ suggests there

¹ Hanumant's birth, according to the second fable, is also narrated in *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bomb. ed.), Kiś-k. 66, 8-20, 29, 30; and alluded to in id., 39, 18, and 67, 31.

was some connexion between them. The second fable really goes further than that, and implies that they were one and the same personage, inasmuch as it says that a tirtha on the Godāvarī was called Vṛṣākapi because Hanumant made use of it. The fable therefore implies that Vṛṣākapi = Hanumant. Can this be true? If it is, it can apparently be only a question of etymology.

Vṛṣākapi, though treated as one noun, really consists of two words, *vṛṣā kapiḥ*, which mean "male monkey", and, if he belonged to the Dekhan, would presumably be a Sanskrit translation of two Dravidian words. Hanūmant or Hanumant (for both forms are used) is admittedly the name of a Dravidian personage and would presumably be the Sanskritized form of a Dravidian name. Its appearance as a Sanskrit word meaning "possessing jaws"¹ does not prove it is really Sanskrit, but may be due to folk etymology, as might be expected if a Dravidian word were naturalised in Sanskrit.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Hanumant and the other monkeys are clearly assigned to a country, which was some distance south-westward of the Godāvarī, and which lay in the south of the Kanarese-speaking region or in the north-west of the Tamil-speaking region. Hence it is these two languages that should supply a clue, if the question is one of etymology.

Vṛṣā, "male," corresponds to the general Dravidian word *āṇ*, "male," found in Kanarese, Tamil, and Malayalam. Telugu seems to have lost it and employs the words *maga* and *pōtu*. *Āṇ* is prefixed to the word it qualifies.

There are, common to these four languages, only two words which may mean *kapi*, "monkey," namely, *kuraṅgu* and *mandi*. Now *kuraṅgu* means "monkey" in Tamil only, and *kuraṅga* means "deer, antelope" in the three other languages. The latter appears to be the original

¹ It is explained by a fable to mean "having the left jaw broken" (id., 66, 24).

meaning, because Malayalam shows the two forms, *kuraṅga*, "deer," and *kuraṇṇu*, "monkey." The change of meaning seems exemplified by the Sanskrit word *śākhā-mṛga*. The word *mandi* means in Tamil "monkey" in general, but now more particularly "a female monkey", especially of two kinds; in Malayalam the "black-faced monkey"; but in Kanarese "persons, people"; and in Telugu "persons", with a limited use in combination only with other words.¹ It has been pointed out that it is to Kanarese or Tamil we must look if there is an etymological solution. Now, Kanarese does not apparently possess a word that is ancient with the meaning "monkey", because "monkey" in it (and also Telugu) is *kōti* and *timma*, two words peculiar to them, with no corresponding forms in Tamil and Malayalam; but Tamil has the ancient word *mandi* with the meaning "monkey". Hence *mandi* would seem to be the oldest Dravidian equivalent of *kapi*.²

If these suggestions be tenable, *āṇ-mandi* would be the Dravidian term corresponding to *Vṛṣākapi*, and *Vṛṣākapi* would be the Sanskrit translation of it. It is for Dravidian scholars to decide.³

Now, *āṇ-mandi* when Sanskritized might well appear as *Hanumant*. The Aryans when borrowing Dravidian names appear to have sometimes kept an initial short

¹ This strange difference in meaning is not noticed by Caldwell, and is worth investigation, and it may perhaps have some relation to the description of the forest tribes as monkeys in the *Rāmāyana*. There is a closely similar word meaning "flock, herd" in Dravidian, Tel. *manda*, Kan. *mande*, *mandi*, Tam. *mandei* (but not in Malayalam), and it is a question whether the two sets of words are allied or not.

² Caldwell says that Tamil is "in many respects the representative language of the family", and "contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms": *Dravidian Grammar*, Introd., pp. 1, 9.

³ I have consulted Mr. Wickremasinghe about these Dravidian words, and, while he naturally reserves his opinion on such difficult points, he yet perceives at present no material *prima facie* objection to my suggestions. Hence I have ventured to put them forward.

vowel, sometimes dropped it, and sometimes prefixed *h*.¹ In Sanskritizing *āṇ-mandī* popularly (for Hanumant appears first, I believe, in the popular Sanskrit literature) a euphonic *u* would have been inserted and the *ā* shortened in consequence, the final part *mandī* assimilated to the Sanskrit termination *-mant*,² and then *h* prefixed and *ṇ* changed to *n* (which are often interchanged in the Aryan and Dravidian vernaculars)—all these modifications being influenced by folk etymology, so as to naturalise the name as far as possible. Indian folk etymology shows stranger modifications and assimilations than these, e.g., Turamaya = Ptolemy, Āsphujit = Aphrodite, Milinda = Menander, *kemadrūma* = Greek *chrēmatismos*, and *tauksika* = Gr. *toxotēs*.

If this equation, Vṛṣākapi = *āṇ-mandī* = Hanumant, be true,³ it substantiates the suggestions that were put

¹ I would suggest that an example appears in the names *Hiḍimba* (a Rākṣasa killed by Bhīma) and *Hiḍimbā* (his sister); MBh. i, 152, 5927 ff., and 153, 5962 ff. These are not Sanskrit and are presumably non-Aryan names Sanskritized. Tamil has the words *iḍumbu* (and *iḍimbu*), "haughtiness, audacity, oppression"; *iḍumbei*, "pride"; *iḍumbar*, "haughty persons"; and *iḍumbi*, "haughty woman." Malayalam has *iḍaṇṇu*, "oppression," and Telugu *iḍumu*, "trouble, hardship." These words are thoroughly at home in Dravidian, and appear to be derived from a root *iḍi* (found in all four languages), "to pound, crush, shatter," whence follow the ideas of "oppression" and "high-handedness". *Hiḍimba* therefore seems to be Dravidian with *h* prefixed, and to mean "shatterer" or "haughty". These names return from Sanskrit to Tamil literature as *iḍumba-n* (*n* being the masc. termination) and *iḍumbi*, with the probably original *u* restored. The same word, with the initial vowel dropped, appears probably in the name *Ḍimbha* + *ka*, slightly modified by folk etymology: MBh. ii, 21, 886; Hariv. 295, 15404. Tamil has no *h*.

² Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit *hanu* as *anu* and *anu*, and *Hanumant* as *Anumanda-n*. When borrowing true Sanskrit words ending in the suffix *-mant* it adopted them, not in that shape, but in their nom. form *-mān*; thus, *śrīmant* as *śīmān*, *aṇṣumant* as *aṇṣumān*, *nītimant* as *nīdimān*. But Hanumant appears as *Anumanda-n* and not *Anumān*. Was this due to a reminiscence that the final *mant* was not really a suffix?

³ Such expressions in the hymn as *harito mṛgaḥ* (verse 3) and *pulvago mṛgaḥ* (verse 22) can be understood in their natural meaning, and I suggest that the commentators have sought to cloak Vṛṣākapi's true nature.

forward in my former note, that Aryan influence had penetrated into the Dekhan long before the Rigvedic canon was closed (a proposition which is generally and unmistakably asserted by Indian tradition), that monkey-worship existed in the Dekhan originally, and that the hymn grew up there. We see therein an instance of what is common in Hinduism, that local cults, though at first superseded by the Aryan religion, were not extirpated, but reasserted themselves and survived by incorporation into Hinduism. Monkey-worship among the Dravidians was at first overborne by the brahmanic deities, but was ultimately assimilated by the brahmins and is now to be found throughout India.

F. E. PARGITER.

INSCRIPTION ON A PAINTING AT TARISHLAK

Sir M. Stein found at Tarishlak a large stucco image of Buddha seated on a large stucco cushion. The front side of the cushion is decorated with a painting, displaying in the middle an earthen pot containing a lotus and other flowers, and on either side of the pot three figures kneeling in reverential attitude, those on the right being women and those on the left men apparently. It is in the British Museum, and is numbered "Tarishlak 009". Above the figures runs an inscription in one line. It was given to me to decipher, and this short note of it is published at his suggestion.

The first seven letters probably contained the painter's name or some dedication, but are unintelligible, as three have become obliterated. The remainder compose a verse, in what seems to be meant for the *upajāti* metre, but in which only the last six syllables of each pāda conform thereto. It was evidently composed by some local author in honour of the painting and

is in Sanskrit, but the Sanskrit is of poor quality. It runs thus :—

[Pāṇ]ḍya-śubhi-sūryalathaiś¹ = ca dhātvai²
 ta sthīramati³ nava-citrītau yaṁ⁴
 śubhena tena sugatatva-lābhi
 sarve ca satvā⁵ śiva-dharma-dhātāu.

The meaning is fairly patent, though only the last two pādas are quite clear :

“With the (pigment-) juices obtained from [pāṇ]ḍya,⁶ śubhi,⁷ and the sūryalata⁸ this new painting then is enduring (or pleasing). By this (lit. that) splendid (painting) he (the painter) gains blessedness, and all beings (gain blessedness) in the principle of the auspicious Law.”

There appears to be a humorous play on the word *dhātu*, which means “juice, secretion”, and possibly also “coloured earth”, in the first pāda, and the “principle” of the Law in the last pāda. The painter attains to *sugata-tva* by using the former *dhātus*, while all other beings attain it by observing the latter *dhātu*. “Essence” is perhaps the best English equivalent for *dhātu* in these two meanings.

F. E. PARGITER.

THE “AUTHENTICITY” OF THE RTUSAMHARA

In the last volume of this Journal,⁹ Mr. A. B. Keith criticises my article on the authenticity of the *Rtusamhāra*.¹⁰ His remarks compel me to deal with the subject once more.

Mr. Keith first discusses the evidence based on the

¹ Read probably *sūryalataiś*. ² Meant probably for *dhātubhiḥ*.

³ This may be understood in three ways—*tat sthīram asti*, or *tat sthīra-yati* (which are equivalent), or *tat-sthīramati*.

⁴ Read *citrīto 'yaṁ*; but this should be neuter. ⁵ Read *satvāḥ*.

⁶ *Pāṇḍya* (if this be the word) may be an abstract noun from *pāṇḍu*, “creamy whiteness” (which is the ground-colour of the painting); but *pāṇḍu* also means two plants.

⁷ *Śubhi* may = *śubha*, which means “*gorocanā* (yellow)”, and also the “plant *priyaṅgu*”.

⁸ *Sūryalata* is the name of two plants.

⁹ For 1912, pp. 1066–70.

¹⁰ ZDMG., vol. lxxvi, pp. 275–82.

Chinese MS. But that gives a wrong appearance to the importance that I attributed myself to this argument. I said expressly that this argument and that derived from the quotation of Mallinātha are not strong enough by themselves to prove the theme, and that they serve only to strengthen the evidence afforded by the treatment of the Alamkāras. In any case, Mr. Keith makes short work with it by remarking that it is "too preposterous to need refutation". With respect to this peculiar method of refutation, I should like to observe that, if the *Rtusamhāra* were a genuine work of the great Kālidāsa, it is not apparent to me why people of Nepal at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. should have forgotten the fourth Kāvya of the poet. But, I repeat, that evidence is only a subordinate one.

My inference from Mallinātha's remark in his commentary on *Śiśupālavadha*, xiii, 24: *Kālidāsatraya-samjivinyām*, is dispatched by Mr. Keith in section 2 by saying, "*Kālidāsatrayasamjivinī* means a commentary on three (works) of Kālidāsa, not on 'the three'." I should like to mention in defence that I nowhere said that *Kālidāsatraya* must mean "the three"; otherwise I would not have added, Mallinātha seems to know only three Kāvyas of Kālidāsa. It is, on the other hand, wrong to suppose *Kālidāsatraya* means only "some three of Kālidāsa's works"; as nobody would maintain that *lokatraya* denotes, not "the three worlds", but "any three worlds", or, again, *vedatraya* denotes, not "the three Vedas (Rg-, Sāma-, and Yajur-Veda)", but "any three Vedas", and so forth. Thus it may be granted that *Kālidāsatraya* means here probably "the three (Kāvyas) of Kālidāsa". Still stronger is the evidence of verse 4 in the beginning of Mallinātha's commentary on the *Raghuvamśa*. Here it is said:

Mallināthakaviḥ so 'yam mandātmanujighrksayā |
vyācaṣṭe Kālidāsiyam kāvyatrayam anākulam ||

The impartial reader can translate this verse only as follows: "That poet Mallinātha, intending to be of help to the dull-witted ones, explains the three lucid *Kāvya*s of *Kālidāsa*."

Apart from that, it is remarkable that Mallinātha, the great commentator of *Kālidāsa*, if he did look upon the *Rtusamhāra* as a genuine work of the poet, should have left just that one *Kāvya* uncommented. One cannot very well urge in reply that he did not live to finish commenting on *Kālidāsa*'s works. It follows from the quotation from the *Śiśupālavadha* that his activity as the commentator of the greatest poet belongs to an earlier period of his life. Even the fact that the text of the *Rtusamhāra* is comparatively easy cannot be adduced as a counter-argument, as also the easiest texts do not escape the hand of the commentator, and matters grammatical, rhetorical, and the like which call forth comment, Mallinātha could find in the *Rtusamhāra* as well as in the *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava*, and *Raghuvamśa*. Besides, the *Rtusamhāra* was later on commented, e.g. by Maṇirāma. It may be added that the oldest known commentator of *Kālidāsa*, Vallabhadeva, who belongs to the tenth century A.D.,¹ also wrote only three commentaries to *Kālidāsa*, viz., to the *Meghadūta*, the *Kumārasambhava*, and the *Raghuvamśa*.

Here I add further that in works of the Alaṅkāra writers and in the anthologies which contain many quotations both from the three *Kāvya*s and the three dramas of *Kālidāsa*, there is, with one exception,² no instance of verses from the *Rtusamhāra* being quoted with the name of *Kālidāsa*, although that poem is very

¹ See Professor Hultsch in his preface to the *Meghadūta*, p. ix.

² Viz. in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, Nos. 1674; 1678 (= *Rt.* vi, 16; 19). See Dr. F. W. Thomas in his book *Kaṇḍavacanasamuccaya*: A Sanskrit Anthology of Verses, ed. with introduction and notes by F. W. Thomas. Calcutta, 1912 (Bibl. Ind., n.s., No. 1309), pp. 30 seqq.

appropriate just for anthologies. And the before-mentioned Vallabhadeva refers¹ in his commentaries often to the three genuine Kāvya, but never to the *Rtusamhāra*.

In my article I have proved a long row of repetitions of the same idea and the same words as peculiar to the *Rtusamhāra*. Mr. Keith quotes a couple of instances where the same word is used several times in the *Meghadūta*. That does not in the least upset my assertion that repetitions, i.e., not repetitions in general, but of the particular kind that are found in the *Rtusamhāra*, are not to be met with in the *Meghadūta* or in other works of Kālidāsa. Thus e.g., when *sahasva* occurs in v. 94,² and once more eight verses later, in v. 102 *sahate*, or again when *gāḍhopagūḍham* occurs in v. 94 and once more five verses later in v. 99 *gāḍhataptena*, and six verses later in v. 105 *gāḍhoṣmābhīḥ*—these instances are not of the same kind as in the *Rtusamhāra*, where in the first Sarga the root *tap* is repeated in the verses 10,³ 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 27; or *bhūṣ* in iii, 7, 11, 18, 20, 21; iv, 8, 9, 13; v, 8 (twice), 15. My illustrations do not by any means exhaust the possible number of such cases. The following may further serve to illustrate the limited stock of words and thoughts of the author of the poem: The idea *mano harati* is worn threadbare in the lines ii, 4, 8, 19, 26; iv, 9; vi, 23, 24. This idea, too, is very similar to that of *samutsukatvaṁ prakaroti cetasaḥ*, found with slight variations in ii, 9, 16; iii, 5, 11, 14, 15. The verses i, 13, 18 end with the same refrain: *tale niṣīdati* (13, *phaṇī mayūrasya tale niṣīdati*; 18, *phaṇāta-patrasya tale niṣīdati*).⁴ I am fully aware that Indian poets sometimes take delight in twisting about one phrase

¹ See Professor Hultzsck, loc. cit., p. x seq.

² In Professor Hultzsck's edition.

³ In v, 10, *pracaṇḍasūryūtapatāpītā*; v, 11, *pracaṇḍātapatāpītā*; v, 20, *sūryātapatāpītā*.

⁴ Cf. also i, 2^d; v, 2^d. i, 7^b; vi, 13^a.

or turning one thought round and round, giving ever new pictures, but I look upon the attempts of the author of the *Rtusamhāra* as sheer diletantism, and the ideas above mentioned are, I think, too trivial to be worth variation. Repetitions of that kind are not found in the *Meghadūta*.¹

Considering such facts I wrote that with regard to poetic merits the *Rtusamhāra* cannot be compared with the *Meghadūta* or any other Kāvya of Kālidāsa. Against this statement Mr. Keith quotes Professor Macdonell's² words (which appear to be based on the words of Professor Leopold v. Schroeder in *Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung. Ein Cyklus von fünfzig Vorlesungen*. Leipzig, 1887; p. 555): "Perhaps no other work of Kālidāsa's manifests so strikingly the poet's deep sympathy with Nature, his keen powers of observation, and his skill in depicting an Indian landscape in vivid colours." I must confess, I cannot find anything of that kind in the *Rtusamhāra*. The greater half of that Kāvya is stuffed with erotic verses of the cheapest type.³ And, on the other hand, anyone who knows Kālidāsa's genuine works will concede that there are really fine pictures of landscape, not in the *Rtusamhāra*, but rather in the *Meghadūta*, in the verses in which the poet describes the way the cloud is to travel, or in the first Sarga of the *Kumārasambhava*, the greater part of which is devoted to the description of the Himālaya Mountains. But these are only two instances. And it is quite incorrect to say, as Mr. Keith does, that

¹ At the end of section 4 Mr. Keith himself admits "that the repetition in the *Meghadūta* seems more artistic than in the *Rtusamhāra*".

² *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, by Arthur A. Macdonell, London, 1905, p. 337.

³ See i, 3-10, 12, 28; ii, 2, 10-12, 18-22, 24, 25; iii, 9, 19, 20, 23-6; iv, 2-7, 11-17; v, 3-16; vi, 1, 4-13, 15, 16, 18, 21, 26, 27. The list omits all verses which contain e.g. merely an Upamā of erotic nature.

the reputation of the *Rtusamhāra* "is owing to its high qualities of style and poetic conception".¹ The descriptions of the *Rtusamhāra*, in style and manner compared with that of the *Meghadūta*, etc., are, so to speak, only a stammering.

In the fifth section Mr. Keith briefly criticises my argument based on the use of the *Alamkāras*. He says that this argument is "frankly weak", for, with respect to the use of the *Śabdālamkāras*, the two poems agree substantially in the employment of *Yamaka* and *Anuprāsa*. So I said too. From the treatment of those figures we can gather nothing, since the *Yamaka* and *Anuprāsa*, together with the three *Arthālamkāras*, *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, and *Dipaka*, are the oldest figures of speech, as I have shown on a previous occasion.² So nobody will be astonished to find these *Alamkāras* in the *Rtusamhāra* as well as in the genuine works of *Kālidāsa*. On the other hand, it may be said that just the older poets take delight in using those two *Śabdālamkāras*. In opening *Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa*, I find in v, 3, 1, *sa lambaśikhare lambe lambatodayasamibhe*; in v, 3, 3, *sāgaropam anirghoṣām sāgarānilasevitām*; in v, 3, 4, *supuṣṭabala-sampuṣṭām*; etc., etc. In *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita* there are plenty of instances on every page.

Mr. Keith's manner of dealing with the *Arthāntaranyāsa* is indeed peculiar. With regard to the fact that this figure is to be found in the *Meghadūta* (and in the other works of *Kālidāsa*) so often, and in the *Rtusamhāra* not on one single occasion, Mr. Keith remarks: "the *Arthāntaranyāsa* is a figure admirably adapted for the latter poem [the *Meghadūta*] with its constant contrast between

¹ In his Appendix to the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1909, p. 28, No. 217, Mr. Keith asserts the same by saying: "the style and manner [of the *Rtusamhāra*] are entirely those of *Kālidāsa*."

² *Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte der Alamkārasāstra*, Berlin, 1911, p. 9.

the lot of the Yakṣa and his former happiness and the misery of the Yakṣa and the happy fate of the cloud." What the Arthāntaranyāsa¹ has to do with the description of a contrast, is incomprehensible to me. There are numberless instances in Sanskrit literature where the figure is employed in mere descriptions. To mention only a few examples: In the *Śiśupālavadha*, according to Mallinātha, the figure is used in the sixth canto (*ṛtavarṇana*) in the verses 43 and 45. In the eighth Sarga, which contains pure descriptions and bears the title *jalakrīḍā*, in the verses 7, 10, 12, 18, 20, 22, 28, 45, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 69 the Alamkāra occurs. And in the ninth Sarga (*pradoṣavarṇana*) the Arthāntaranyāsa is employed in the verses 5, 6, 12, 16, 23, 29, 33, 43, 57, 68. In the *Kirātārjunīya* one finds the same thing. And in genuine works of Kālidāsa, in the *Raghuvamśa*, in the *Kumārasambhava*, in the numerous passages in which the figure is employed by the author, there is not the slightest trace of the alleged connexion between the Arthāntaranyāsa and "contrast". Mr. Keith is of opinion that the figure "is far less appropriate in the *Ṛtusamhāra* which lacks any such motive [as the *Meghadūta*]", and therefore gives no occasion for the use of the figure. But then, again, how often the poet describes just such separations from the beloved (see i, 10; ii, 12, 19, 22; iii, 9, 15), which according to Mr. Keith supply the appropriate motive in the *Meghadūta*! A later poet could, I am sure, easily fit these verses or such as i, 6, 9; ii, 27; v, 6, with an appropriate Arthāntaranyāsa without offending the accepted canon of the Alamkāraśāstra. I would draw attention to the fact that also the figure Prativastūpamā, though of rarer occurrence, is found in all Kāvya beginning with the *Meghadūta* (v. 77). It is remarkable that both those figures,

¹ About this Alamkāra see Nobel, *Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte des Alamkāraśāstra*, pp. 67 seqq.

Arthāntaranyāsa as well as Prativastūpamā, are absent in the *Rtusamhāra*.

Mr. Keith further remarks that I "ignore entirely the force of the argument from the notices of Vatsabhaṭṭi". He thinks it is quite improbable that the author of the Mandasor inscription should have "imitated Kālidāsa and a work [the *Rtusamhāra*] attributed to Kālidāsa but not Kālidāsa's". I do not see the slightest reason why Vatsabhaṭṭi should not have copied from works of different authors. Perhaps also other passages in that inscription have their original in a Kāvya of still another poet. Even Professor Bühler who wrote about the matter in *Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie*, p. 71, did not draw from those facts the conclusion which Mr. Keith wants to draw. In his Appendix to the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library, p. 28, No. 217, Mr. Keith says: "[The *Rtusamhāra*] is probably a work of Kālidāsa . . . because it is copied in the inscription of A.D. 472 at Mandasor . . . which also copies the *Meghadūta*, and we can hardly assume an anonymous mahākavi." This day, it is true, the author of the *Rtusamhāra* is unknown to us; but in the days of Vatsabhaṭṭi (A.D. 472) the poem was not, to be sure, an anonymous one. In the same connexion, Mr. Keith opposes to me Professor Kielhorn's judgment who "unhesitatingly treats the *Rtusamhāra* as a work of Kālidāsa". Now, Professor Kielhorn had never turned his attention specifically to the question of the authorship of the *Rtusamhāra*. And the only reference he makes to that work is the one which has been quoted by me: "Das Resultat ist, dass Kālidāsa's *Rtusamhāra* vor dem Jahre 472 n. Chr. verfasst sein muss."

Lastly Mr. Keith remarks: "The incorrectness of the whole theory can be seen at once if it is remembered that many great poets [Vergil and Catullus, see Mr. Keith's note] have shown marked changes of power and form in the

course of their careers, and that the gulf between their early and their late, their best and their worst work, is often infinitely greater than that between the *Ṛtusamhāra* and the other three *Kāvya*s ascribed to Kālidāsa." This view of the matter must be rejected in its totality. Latin poets and Latin poetry are fundamentally different, both in the elements which they handle and the effect which they strive at, from Indian poets and Indian poetry. The *kavi*¹ works in pursuance of the dicta of the Śāstra. He must obey the dicta; otherwise he is no *kavi*. And how often are we assured that the Indian poet wishes to please the "savant" who knows the Śāstra and the rules of "good poetry". In the case of the classical writers such a Śāstra is wanting. So I hold that it is just in his first attempt that the *kavi* would try to show that he masters the Śāstra and that he is able to fulfil its requirements. The remark of Mr. Keith that I concede the neglect of the *Kāvya* rules in the *Kumārasambhava* in comparison with the *Raghuvamśa*, rests purely upon a misunderstanding of my words. I said, "entspräche dies wirklich den Tatsachen." But in point of fact I seriously doubt that it is really the case. In the *Kumārasambhava* one meets the same figures as in the *Raghuvamśa*. Prativastūpamā and Arthāntaranyāsa (not to speak of Upamā, etc.), both to be found in the *Meghadūta*, but not in the *Ṛtusamhāra*, are again met with in the *Kumārasambhava* and *Raghuvamśa*, and further in Kālidāsa's dramas. That the employment of the figures in particular cases may be more delicate will be readily conceded.

J. NOBEL.

BERLIN,
CHARLOTTENBURG.

¹ The word *kavi* does not correspond to the English "poet". The authors of the *Mahābhārata* or of the Vedic hymns cannot be called *kavis*, nor are their works *kāvyas*.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE *RTUSAMHARA*

I have carefully considered Mr. Nobel's reply to my criticism (above, 1912, pp. 1066-70) of his attack (ZDMG. lxvi, 275-82) on the ascription of the *Rtusamhāra* to Kālidāsa, but I regret I am still convinced that if that thesis is ever to be proved it must be by arguments of other weight than those adduced by Mr. Nobel. To reply briefly to his arguments—

(1) Mr. Nobel does not know why people in Nepal at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. should have forgotten the fourth Kāvya of Kālidāsa. There are no "people" in Nepal in question: there is a conjectural restoration of a line written by a scribe in a single MS. (2) Mr. Nobel suggests that *Kālidāsatraya* in Mallinātha probably means *the* three works of Kālidāsa, as *lokatraya* means *the* three worlds. But *traya* means only a triad, and unless and until there is external evidence for the special sense *the* triad, as in the case of *lokatraya*, to assert that in this isolated phrase it means *the* triad is wholly unscientific. (3) No possible argument can be drawn from the fact that a commentator treats only three works to the fact that he did not believe in the authenticity of the fourth; on the other hand, on my interpretation of *Kālidāsatraya* we have a distinct admission that there were other works of Kālidāsa's. Vallabhadeva's failure to quote the *Rtusamhāra* is natural, as he did not comment on it. (4) In passing, it may be pointed out that Mallinātha should not be credited with calling Kālidāsa's Kavyas lucid: the commentary gives the lucidity (*vyācaṣṭe-Anākulam*). (5) Mr. Nobel, being reminded of the obvious fact that repetitions are found in the *Meghadūta* as freely as in the *Rtusamhāra*, now discriminates between the class of repetition. I have said that I believe that the *Meghadūta* is a later and more mature work than the *Rtusamhāra*, but I find absolutely no substantial difference between the repetitions in the

two poems, nor will, I think, anyone without a thesis to defend. (6) Mr. Nobel denies again the poetic value of the poem; but he will forgive me if I prefer the judgment of Professors Henry and Macdonell to his. (7) I am unable to alter the view that the Arthāntara-nyāsa is specially suited to the case of the *Meghadūta*; the Prativastūpamā is found for the first time, according to Mr. Nobel, in the *Meghadūta*. This accords excellently with my view of this as the later poem, though in itself a solitary figure—and a natural one—would be no proof. (8) There is no ground why Vatsabhaṭṭi should not have copied from different authors, but when we find that he copied Kālidāsa in one passage of his short poem, and a poem ascribed to him in another, the ratio of probability in favour of the ascription being correct becomes very high. (9) That Professor Kielhorn believed that the *Rtusamhāra* was Kālidāsa's was Mr. Nobel's view when he wrote his first article, for he then wrote, "Kielhorn zweifelt nicht an der Echtheit," and to say that he never turned his attention to the question of the authorship is wholly unjustifiable. Kielhorn was the last man to accept an ascription uncritically, and he evidently took special pains to elucidate the connexion of Vatsabhaṭṭi and the *Rtusamhāra* because it helped to settle the date of Kālidāsa. (10) It is wholly misleading to argue that the Roman poets had no Śāstra to follow, or that a poet in his first effort must show all the tricks of the Śāstra. The power to do so could only come in time even to Kālidāsa, and in truth poets in India, as here, are great, not through the Śāstra, but through their native taste, imagination, character, and genius. (11) Mr. Nobel now denies that in the *Kumārasambhava* there is any less observance of the Kāvya rules than in the *Raghuvamśa*. This is necessary, since he enabled me in my criticism to cite him as an authority for the view that the less careful treatment of Kāvya

rules is a sign of early date.¹ I now gather that this admission was a blunder, but it has been made, and if it is a blunder, then Mr. Nobel holds a totally contrary view to the late Professor Pischel, with whom personally I agree. (12) The *Mahābhārata* is not, we are told, a Kāvya. But it expressly says that it is,² and it probably knew best. And so with the Vedic poets.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE BIRTH OF PURURAVAS

Dr. Johannes Hertel has recently³ propounded an interesting theory of the original character of the Vedic Purūravas. In the *Rgveda* (x, 95. 18) he is called Aīla, which means either son of Ila or son of Ilā, though the former is perhaps the more natural sense, on the assumption that a patronymic is more probable than a metronymic. But beyond this nothing is said in the Vedic texts of his origin. On the one hand, the *Mahābhārata* (i, 75. 18 seq.) says that he was brought into existence (*samapadyata*) in Ilā, and that she was at once his mother and his father, as the report ran. On the other hand, the Purāṇas have a series of variant versions⁴ which reveal Ila or Ilā as a being of changing sex and as sprung in some way through a sacrifice of Manu, desirous of a son. The sacrifice of Manu is of course a Vedic tradition⁵ borrowed in the Purāṇas, though

¹ See his conclusion, ZDMG. lxvi, 279, n. 1, which seems to me excellent sense, but fatal to his own case.

² See Hopkins, *Greek Epic of India*, pp. 59, 80.

³ VOJ. xxv, 153-86.

⁴ *Kūrma*, xx, 4 seqq.; *Liṅga*, i, 65. 19 seqq.; *Matsya*, xi, 40 seqq.; *Padma*, v, 8. 75 seqq.; *Viṣṇu*, iv, 1. 8 seqq.; *Brahma*, vii, 3 seqq.; *Harivaṃśa*, i, 10. 3 seqq.; *Vāyu*, lxxxv, 3 seqq.; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, cxi, 6 seqq.; *Bhāgavata*, ix, 1. 3 seqq. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 87 seqq.

⁵ *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, i, 7. 1. 3; ii, 6. 7. 1-4; *Brāhmaṇa*, i, 1. 4, 4-7; *Kāthaka*, xi, 2; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 8. 1.

not in the *Kūrma* or *Līṅga* or in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The change of sex is not at all a rare topic in Indian literature, and is found as early as the legend of Bhāṅgāśvina, in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*.¹ But Hertel infers from the comparison of the versions and from the use of *kiṃpuruṣa* of Ilā that there lies behind them an older version of the legend in which Ilā was, as suggested by the *Mahābhārata*, "ein Zwitter, ein vollkommener ἀνδρόγυνος"; and this sense of *kiṃpuruṣa* he sees in the *Līṅga*, *Matsya* (and *Padma*) *Purāṇas*, and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though the latter misunderstands its meaning, and probably the *Purāṇas* were in no better case. The *Rāmāyaṇa* recognizes, however, as father of Ilā (it has no Ilā) not Manu but Prajāpati, and this suggests that Ailā in the *Rgveda* has really nothing at all to do with *idā*, "offering," but is a reference to Ilā as the father of Pururavas. Finally, Hertel is led to the conclusion, which agrees with that of Benfey,² that we have in the case of Ilā a relic of the androgynous conception of gods which he believed to have existed in Indo-Germanic religion, and which he illustrated by the relation of the Śakti to the god and the use of names like Indrāṇī. Hertel compares also the legends of the German Loki, who is said to have changed sex,³ and he finds the same double nature faintly reflected in the legends of Prajāpati⁴ and of the birth of Athene and Dionysos⁵ from Zeus, as well as in the Germanic Tuisto, father of Mannus.

¹ See Caland, VOJ. xvii, 351; Winternitz, *ibid.* 292.

² ZDMG. viii, 455 seqq., and in his edition of the *Pañcatantra* (i, § 9).

³ Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, pp. 416 seqq.

⁴ The evidence is, in itself, quite insufficient, consisting only of a few Brāhmaṇa phrases (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, i, 6. 3; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 4. 2. 1), where metaphoric terms are used of Prajāpati's creative action.

⁵ Here, again, Hertel's view is not in accord with the best authorities on Greek religion.

How far we are to see in the legends of the Epic and the Purāṇas traces of the double nature of the god it is not my purpose to consider in detail; the notices are insufficient to carry us far, and the real importance is the Vedic evidence. Hertel discovers in the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda proof of the tradition of a male Ila. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (i, 5. 6. 1) and the *Maitrāyaṇī* (i, 5. 3, 10) we find the verse—

*sāṃ paśyāmi prajā ahām idāprajaso mānavīh |
sarvā bhavantu no gṛhé ||*

Here in Hertel's view we have Iḍā. It is true that in the *Kāthaka* (vii, 1) *idāprajaso* occurs,¹ but that is but a mistaken correction, and is not used in the Brāhmaṇa portion (vii, 8), in which also *sarvāh* is read, and not *bahvīh* as in the verse portion, which Hertel takes for another sign of later character.

Now, the last point evidently tells against, not for Hertel. In an old ritual verse we expect not *sarvāh* but rather *bahvīh*; thus, in the very same section of the *Kāthaka* we find *bahvīr me bhavata*; the *Taittirīya* has *bahvīr me bhūyāsta* (i, 5. 6. 1), and the *Maitrāyaṇī* (i, 5. 2, 9) has *bahvīr bhavata*. So in the *Aśvamedha* (iv, 6) of the *Kāthaka* we have *bahvīr bhavantīr upa no goṣṭham āśuh*, and a similar phrase in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (iii, 7. 4. 15). The use of *sarvāh* is later, not vice versa.

Whether *idāprajasah* or *idāprajasah* is really the *Kāthaka* version we do not know; the two passages rest on too few MSS. to allow us to decide, and it is not certain from von Schroeder's silence if he has specially recorded the readings of his MSS. in the two passages. But Hertel forgets that *idāprajas* does not necessarily mean "offspring of Iḍā", for the simple explanation of it is that *idā* is a shortening for *idā*. The simplicity of

¹ Böhlingk is blamed for not noting this form, but he could not do so as the *Kāthaka* was not printed until 1900.

this explanation commended it to Weber,¹ who quoted as parallels *punḍarisrajā* (*Taittirīya*, i, 8. 18. 1), *grīva-daghna* (v, 6. 8. 3), *senajit* (iv, 4. 3. 2), *iṣṭakacit* (i, 5. 8. 2), *pr̥thiviṣad* (i, 7. 12. 1), *senānigrāmanyau* (iv, 4. 3. 1), *amāvāsyatva* (ii, 5. 3. 7), *pr̥thivitra* (vii, 1. 5. 1), *vasatī-varitra* (vi, 4. 2. 1), *śarkaratva* (v, 2. 6. 2), *saṃyānitva* (v, 3. 10. 1). Probably here too belong *ajatva* (vi, 1. 6. 3) and *ajakṣīra* (ii, 2. 4. 4; v, 4. 3. 2), though in these cases the short *ā* is explained by Wackernagel² on the theory of a reversion to the epicene form, which I do not think at all probable. In any case, there is plenty of evidence to dispose of the view that *idāprajas* must mean "offspring of Idā".

Now if we look to find some explanation why *prajāh* are called *mānavīh* and *idāprajasah*, why should we go beyond the story of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i, 8. 1. 7-10)? There we find the Idā, sprung from the sacrifice, saying to Manu, "If thou wilt make use of me at the sacrifice, thou wilt become rich in offspring and cattle," and the text goes on to say that Manu "through her generated this race, which is the race of Manu", and that "whoever, knowing this, performs with [the Idā], he propagates this race which Manu generated". If ever there was offered to us a clear explanation, surely it is here. Manu's connexion with the Idā is reported in the *Taittirīya* itself (i, 7. 1), in the *Kāthaka* (viii, 4), the *Maitrāyaṇī* (i, 6. 13), and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (i, 1. 4. 4), and again in the *Taittirīya* (ii, 6. 7). In the first series of passages the summoning of the Idā is expressly connected with the gaining of cattle, showing that in the *Kāthaka* (vii, 8) the term *aidh* does not mean, as Hertel³ thinks, "connected with Idā", but "connected with the Idā". The latter passage besides

¹ *Indische Studien*, xiii, 22, n. 5, 47, n. 2. See also Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* ii, 1. 134, 135; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, pp. 75, 76.

² *Op. cit.* 49.

³ *VOJ.* xxv, 183.

mentioning cattle, explains the epithets *mānavī*, *ghṛta-padī*, and *maitrāvaruṇī* as applied to the Idā, the only difference of importance being that nothing is said of Idā being Manu's daughter, the reason of *mānavī* being asserted to be that Manu saw her first.

From this discrepancy and *idāprajas* Hertel deduces that the stories of Idā arose from the misunderstanding of old epithets, that the *Śatapatha* invented the daughter-ship relation, and applied it to Purūravas' epithet Aīla, that the Black Yajurveda texts borrowed the relation of Manu and the Idā, though they still retained the knowledge that Idā was Manu's son and had nothing to do with the Idā. But, as the facts cited above show, Idā in a paternal relationship of any kind in connexion with Manu is a pure fiction for Vedic texts; the Idā is connected with Manu by strong evidence, as his sacrifice—in the *Śatapatha* the relationship is admittedly mythical, not physical—and as the means of winning cattle and offspring. Hence offspring are called "connected with Manu" and "connected with Idā" (*aidīh*) or "offspring of Idā" (*idāprajasah*) by a natural and normal process. It is in this regard of no possible importance whether *idā mānavī* originally, before the Brāhmaṇa stage, meant something else; personally I see no shred of reason to suppose it ever meant anything but "connected with Manu", which is naturally interpreted, as by all the texts it is, in fact, interpreted, as employed by Manu, the mythical first man and exemplar.¹

Purūravas as son of the Idā is thus a possible conception in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi, 5. 1 seq.),² nor can we deny that this may be the original sense. We find indeed in *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (ii, 3), and it may be added in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (iv, 13. 2) and the *Taittirīya*

¹ See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 139.

² It is normally assumed to have this sense, so by Eggeling, Macdonell (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 124), Geldner, etc.

Brāhmaṇa (iii, 6. 1), the phrase *ida īditaḥ*, which the Pada texts take as *idaḥ*. Hertel can make nothing of this phrase, but the St. Petersburg Dictionary seems right in finding in it an epithet of Agni, and if this is so, then it may be that in Purūravas we have to see nothing more or less than a descendant of Agni, and it will not be forgotten that Purūravas' son is Āyu, probably another form of Agni.¹ Therefore it seems to me that Aīla refers to this fact, and not at all to Idā. It must be remembered that the *Śatapatha* never says if Aīla means "offspring of Ila" or "Ila"; that it means the latter is assumed, not proved, nor in any case could the *Śatapatha* be an authority for the early sense of the *Rgveda*. Nor is v, 41. 19 any proof that the Idā was connected early with Purūravas, for the passage is wholly unintelligible.²

I find therefore no trace of a bisexual Ila in Vedic literature. We have the Idā, the personified oblation, on the one hand, connected with Mitra and Varuṇa from the first,³ and later with Manu, and Ila, an epithet of Agni, and nothing more.⁴

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

BUDDHACARITA, I, 30

Le beau travail que M. C. Formichi a consacré au Buddhacarita et à *Açvaghōṣa, Poeta del Buddhismo*

¹ Cf. Āyu's parallelism with Apām Napāt, emphasized by Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, i, 275. Compare also Agni's close relationship with Purūravas (*Rgveda*, i, 31. 4), and with Āyu (*śamsam Āyoh*, iv, 6. 11; cf. ii, 4. 2). Moreover, in *Kāṭhaka*, viii, 10, Āyu and the fire are closely connected (cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, iii, 463; Geldner, op. cit. i, 248).

² Geldner (op. cit. i, 283) admits this, and neither Bloomfield (*JAOS.* xx, 183) nor Oldenburg (*Rgveda-Noten*, i, 338) solves the difficulty.

³ See *Rgveda*, v, 62. 5, 6; vii, 64. 2.

⁴ That the other Samhitās borrowed from the *Śatapatha* is most improbable; they would doubtless have taken the metaphor of daughter if they had. The *Śatapatha* is no doubt the later text.

(Bari, 1912), ferait honneur au plus perspicace et au plus diligent des indianistes, et à M. Leumann lui-même dont la sévérité confine à l'injustice (ZDMG. 1912, p. 517). Il reste que le texte est difficile, qu'on a eu grand tort de ne pas tirer parti de la version tibétaine, et que plusieurs passages n'ont pas été expliqués congrûment.

Voici un de ces passages, intéressant à plus d'un titre :

*krameṇa garbhād abhinīṣṛtaḥ san
babhau gataḥ khād iva yonyajātaḥ |
kalpeṣv anekeṣv iva bhāvitātmā
yaḥ saṃprajānan suṣuve na mūḍhaḥ ||*

Voici, par ordre de date, les traductions de MM. S. Lévi, Cowell, Formichi :—

1. “Sorti, dans l'ordre des temps, du sein maternel, il brillait comme au sortir du ciel, car il n'avait pas été engendré dans une femme ; il avait comme purifié son être pendant de multiples périodes. Il naquit parce qu'il voulait naître et non par folie.”

2. “Having thus in due time issued from the womb, he shone as if he had come down from heaven, he who had not been born in the natural way,—he who was born full of wisdom, not foolish,—as if his mind had been purified by countless æons of contemplation.”

3. “Infatti Egli, essendo stato partorito agrado agrado da uteri materni (nella lunga serie delle sue esistenze anteriori), (questa volta invece) apparve come se fosse caduto dal cielo e non già nato di matrice, et venne al mondo scevro d'ogni errore e sapiente, quasi che l'anima sua si fosse purificata attraverso infiniti evi mondiali.”

A. M. Formichi croit que le premier *pāda* se rapporte certainement aux naissances antérieures de Śākyamuni, au cours desquelles il est passé graduellement (*krameṇa*) d'une matrice moins noble dans une matrice moins noble. Cette explication paraît bien compliquée. Pour moi, la traduction de Lévi-Cowell est seule admissible : *krameṇa* est très justifié après la description de la grossesse, i, 22.

B. M. Formichi voit très bien que Śākya, dans sa dernière naissance, est né d'une matrice : "L'enfant brillait comme s'il était tombé du ciel et non pas né d'une matrice." Les sectes se sont demandé pourquoi Śākya n'avait pas choisi une manière de naître plus noble que la "matrice du chorion" (*Lalitavistara*, pp. 87-8; *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, iii, 9).

C. Je comprends : "Comme il convient à un être qui s'est purifié . . ."

D. Le *Dīgha* (iii, p. 231) nous apprend qu'il y a quatre *gabbhāvakkanti* : l'être descend dans la matrice, y reste et en sort *asampajāna* ; ou bien il descend *sampajāna*, mais reste et sort *asampajāna* ; ou bien il descend et reste *sampajāna* et sort *asampajāna* ; ou bien il descend, reste et sort *sampajāna*.

Même doctrine dans l'*Abhidharmakośa*, iii, 16 :

sampajānan viśaty ekas, tiṣṭhaty apy aparo, 'paraḥ niṣkrāmaty [api], sarvāṇi mūḍho ['nyah] . . .

Et le *Bhāṣya* enseigne que ces quatre *garbhāvakrāntis* sont celles du Cakravartin, du Pratyekabuddha, du Bouddha, des êtres en général.

Il faut donc traduire : "Il naquit en pleine conscience, sachant ce qu'il faisait, et non pas hébété." Aśvaghoṣa emploie les deux termes techniques.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

ANGKOR-VAT

On the occasion of Sir Charles Eliot's address concerning the "History and Monuments of Cambodia" (JRAS., 1912, pp. 541-2) it was pointed out that M. Aymonier had been at one time of opinion that the building of Angkor-Vat was designed for a palace and not a temple. It is therefore worth while to note that the problem has now been solved by M. Coedès, of the École Française d'Extrême Orient, who has already done so much for

research in Indo-China. It appears that in consequence of the deification of the kings the palaces possessed at the same time the attributes of temples (see M. Coedès' papers, "Notes sur l'apothéose au Cambodge" (Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indo-Chine, 1911, pp. 38 sqq.) and "Les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor-Vat" (ibid., 1911, pp. 51 sqq.)).

F. W. THOMAS.

"A PASSAGE IN THE PERIPLUS"

Mr. Kennedy (JRAS., 1913, pp. 127-30) proposes to emend καὶ τούτων ἐπάνω μαχμώτατον ἔθνος Βακτριανῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα οὖσαν ἴδιον τόπον into ὑπὸ βασιλέα Κούσαν [ἄρχοντα] ἴδιον τόπον. But he has not explained the accusative case of the last two words.

A normal emendation of τόπον would be τρόπον, for which reading a reason might be given. But I am not now advocating it.

It may be noted that Κούσαν would be at least a third Greek representation of *Kushan*. We have already the KOPANO, etc., of the coins, and the Ἀσιοὶ of Trogus is regarded by Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p. 206) as a corrupted equivalent of the same name.

I may point out that the equations (of a fact) Ἀσιοὶ = *Kushan*, and Τόχαροι = *Yue-tchi* are really implied in Trogus' sentence *Reges Thogarorum Asiani*, since it has long been recognized (see my article on *Sakastana*, JRAS. 1906, p. 203) that *Kushan* was a dynastic, not a family name.

The fact that the Kabul Valley was taken by the Kushans, not from the Greeks, but from the Parthians (see Mr. Kennedy's article, JRAS. 1912, pp. 680 sqq.), was stated by me in the same article (pp. 193-4 and note), and it was substantiated by testimony. It is a rather significant fact, upon which, however, we need not at present dwell any further.

The information of the writer of the *Periplus* seems to relate to a time prior to the conquest of the Indian Sakas by these *Βακτριανοί* or Kushans. *Per contra*, the Western king-satrap, Nahapāna, etc., proclaim by their title "Satrap" their dependence upon a suzerain, who would at that date necessarily be, not Parthians, but Kushans.

F. W. THOMAS.

THE BOROBUDUR RESTORED

The restoration of the Borobudur, the pride of Java, and one of the grandest monuments of Buddhism, has lately been brought to completion. The following particulars we owe to Major T. van Erp, R.E., of the Netherlands Indian Army, under whose able superintendence this important work of preservation has been carried out.

The restoration of the Borobudur *stūpa* was first seriously considered in 1900, and in the year following a commission was appointed to make proposals for its upkeep. It consisted of Dr. Brandes as chairman and two architectural members. What they proposed was (1) to improve the very defective drainage; (2) to secure the structural safety of any dangerous portions of the monument. These recommendations met with the approval of the Netherlands Indian Government, which in 1904 sanctioned a sum of 48,000 guilders (£4,000) for the work in question. Unfortunately the lamented death of Dr. Brandes in 1905 caused considerable delay, and it was not until 1907 that the repairs could be taken in hand. In the meanwhile it had been resolved to carry out a complete photographic survey of the monument, and for this purpose an additional grant of 10,000 guilders (£833 7s.) was made.

The work of repairs was started in August, 1907, and consisted, first of all, in the clearing of the *stūpa* court, which, owing to the accumulation of debris, had risen in

the course of time. The slopes of the natural mound, on the top of which the *stūpa* stands, were likewise cleared. This excavation led to highly gratifying results. Thousands of sculptured stones came to light, and on close examination it was found possible to restore the great majority of these carvings to their original position in the monument. A further grant of *circa* 35,000 guilders (nearly £3,000) was then made to carry out the legitimate work of restoration. At this stage the chief aims were (1) to bring out the main lines which dominate the architecture of the *stūpa* and to render them their original prominence; (2) to restore the original outline of the structure.

In this manner it was possible, with the aid of the ancient fragments, to restore a part of the monument to its original state. That this was feasible was due to the remarkable unity and symmetry—we might say the architectural rhythmus—of the Borobudur. In reality the monument displays on the walls of its lower, square, terraces a 432-fold repetition of the same decorative device, while the upper, circular, terraces exhibit the *stūpa* motif in 72-fold repetition. In the course of restoration no fresh carved stones have been introduced. Where, with a view of structural stability, new work was unavoidable, plain-dressed stones have been used throughout. About the middle of 1911 the work of repairs was brought to completion.

The photographic survey was finished about the same time. Nearly 2,000 negatives were taken, each decorative or illustrative bas-relief being separately photographed. The Netherlands Indian Government has now made a very liberal grant of about 49,000 guilders (more than £4,000) for the publication of the materials thus obtained in a manner worthy of one of the finest religious monuments of the world.

J. PH. VOGEL.

THE USE OF ROMAN CHARACTERS FOR ORIENTAL
LANGUAGES

A very able and suggestive article on the above subject appeared in the JRAS., July, 1912, by R. Grant Brown, I.C.S. Having for years been especially interested in this problem, I am pleased to see the proposed plan for a "phonetic system" to be used for "any language" at least in Asia. If such a system can be agreed upon and accepted it will be a great boon to workers in such countries as Burma and Assam, where languages and dialects seem to grow like mushrooms.

Mr. Grant Brown is evidently not aware that the Roman characters were used when the Kachin (the Jinghpaw dialect) was reduced to writing sixteen years ago. As I made the first attempt along that line I have naturally followed the development of the written Kachin with special interest. For about fifteen years the system has been taught in various schools, and several books have been printed. Thus it may be regarded as having passed the experimental stage. It may not be absolutely perfect, but it represents the Kachin sounds as well as the Burmese characters represent the Burmese; the Kachin children learn it without difficulty, and it is written with only three diacritical marks.

From my experience with this and related dialects, I very much question the possibility of devising a single system that will meet all the requirements outlined by Mr. Grant Brown. His second qualification, that it should be on the principle of "one sound one symbol", presents to my mind insurmountable difficulties, even though theoretically desirable. He gives as an example the word *thaw*, which with such a system should be written by "two letters, not by four". One symbol for the consonant and one for the vowel. Now there is in Burmese, from which this word is taken, the explosive *t*, the aspirated *t'*, and the *th* sound. How to represent these different

sounds would be the problem here. The first can be written as *t* in English, but there must be some way to distinguish between the two other sounds. Nearly the same difficulty presents itself when we deal with the *k* and *p* sound. There are problems like these confronting us in all the Tibeto-Burman languages. Mr. Brown suggests the use of "diacritical marks or new symbols", where the phonetic demands cannot be supplied from characters from the leading European languages. It is here the greatest difficulties will be encountered. I am personally strongly opposed to the use of diacritical marks; they should be as few and simple as possible. They present difficulties to the type-setter and the proof-reader; they make a strange and blurred-looking page, and cause confusion when taught to children. The systems in use for transliterating Sanskrit and Pali, Arabic and Hebrew are not at all pleasing to either eye or mind. To invent new symbols is both difficult and objectionable. It is doubtful if we can reach agreement along these lines.

In my own studies I have found the Hunterian system an excellent basis from which to work. It would not be difficult to adjust this system to the needs of such a language as Burmese. There would have to be modifications and the adoption of two or three new characters. Even then a page of Burmese could be read almost at sight by anyone familiar with the continental vowel-system. In Kachin the Hunterian system is used as far as it was practicable. Where it proved insufficient use has been made of digraphs (even of trigraphs) and diphthongs. I much prefer to write the aspirated *t*, for example, *ht*, than to use the Greek rough breathing, and the aspirated *p*, *hp*, instead of a *p* with a dot above or under it. *Th* and *ph* are, of course, impossible, as they would be confounded with these sounds in English. Such a combination as *chy* to represent what is almost

identical with the "kagyi yapin" sound in Burmese may seem cumbersome, but is after all plainer than a *c* with a dot or a line above or below, and when it comes to multiplying dots or lines is much to be preferred.

There are few dialects that do not present some peculiarities all their own. We have in Jinghpaw (Kachin) thirty-one consonants and twelve vowels, each represented by a different character. With these I can transliterate a page of Burmese without much difficulty. But they are not sufficient to represent some of the sounds in Märu and Atsi, dialects closely related both to Burmese and Jinghpaw. It is necessary to find some characters to represent the sounds peculiar to these and similar dialects. Here I would prefer digraphs and diphthongs to "diacritical marks" and "new symbols".

In illustrating how this works in Jinghpaw, let me give the numerals of the "Taman" dialect as given by Mr. Grant Brown, and show how they would look in this system. The numerals in the two dialects are almost the same, and I give the Jinghpaw to show the system of spelling. It will be noticed that in these ten words only one diacritical mark is used.¹

Taman.	Taman in Jinghpaw characters.	Jinghpaw.
1. tō	taw	lāngai
2. nek	nek	lāhkawng
3. sūm	sum	māsum
4. pōli	pāli	māli
5. mōŋpō	māngaw	mānga
6. kwa	kwa	kru
7. sōnē	sānē	sānit
8. pēsē	pāsē	mātsat
9. tōxä	tahkö	jāhku
10. fi	shi	shi

¹ Transliteration and pronunciation of vernacular terms—

VOWELS: *a* as in "father"; *ä*, short and somewhat suppressed sound of *a*; *e* as in "ten"; *ē* as *a* in "ale"; *as* in "machine"; *u* as *oo* in

It will be admitted, I think, that the Jinghpaw system is here the simpler and most natural, even if it multiplies the use of letters.

Mr. Grant Brown is in favour of the system used by the International Phonetic Association. For purely scientific purposes, for the use among scholars in transliterating ancient alphabets, there can be little objection to the system. But it is a different problem when we come to reduce bookless languages to writing with a view of developing a literature and teaching a people how to read and write. Here an elaborate system of diacritical marks, and new symbols easily confused with the old, and with each other (as for instance *o* and *ə*), would not prove practicable and workable.

As a more practical solution of the problem, I would suggest the Hunterian system as a basis. Let there be an agreement along the lines of this system, upon the writing of the consonants and a dozen vowels, as applied to some of the leading languages of India and Burma. Let there, at the same time, be left room for the special characters as required by dialects under consideration. All such characters should, however, be submitted for approval to a board of experts in questions of this kind. Along these lines an agreement can be reached, and a practical solution found to a most complicated problem, that individuals are now left to settle the best way they can.

O. HANSON.

NAMHKAM, NORTHERN SHAN STATES, BURMA.

August 24, 1912.

"moon"; *ai* as in "aisle"; *au* as *ow* in "cow"; *aw* as in "law"; and *oi* as in "oil".

CONSONANTS: all of them as in English, with the exception of *chy*, the nearest equivalent of which is our *ch*; *g* is always hard; *hk*, *hp*, and *ht* represent the aspirated forms of the explosives *k*, *p*, and *t*. Thus, such words as *Jinghpaw* are pronounced as *Jing-hpaw*, never as *Jingh-paw*.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE ANNAMESE LANGUAGE

The languages and races of Indo-China are full of problems, mostly unsolved as yet. Questions of origin, relationship, mixture, and mutual influence of the most complicated kind seem to be always cropping up in every corner of the field. Great generalizations are made by comparative philologists of one epoch, only to be split up again in the next. Thus Logan in the middle of the last century, recognizing the common element that undoubtedly exists in the Mon and Annamese, as well as some other languages, created the compound name Mon-Annam as a title to comprehend the whole family, for such he conceived it to be. In recent years some scholars, more impressed by the profound differences which sever Annamese from the rest of these languages than by their resemblances, have preferred to put it provisionally on one side and style the others Mon-Khmer. It would seem that their caution is going to receive its justification. In a recent number of the BEFEO. (tom. xii, No. 1), Professor Henri Maspero goes more deeply into the matter than his predecessors have done. Though the title of his article is merely "Etudes sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite", he does in effect raise the whole issue, and he also suggests a new solution to the difficult problem.

As bearing on the affinities of a language we may take into account the elements of vocabulary, phonetics, morphology, and syntax. The last-named is not discussed in the article and does not appear to be of much help, anyhow in this particular case, for the syntax of Annamese, while differing considerably from the Chinese, has a general resemblance to that of the Mon-Khmer languages and the Tai family as well. The Annamese vocabulary is a very composite affair. To begin with, there is an enormous percentage of Chinese in it, so

much so that some authors have rashly styled the language a Chinese dialect, which it certainly is not. The Chinese words, as M. Maspero shows, are plainly loanwords, and no part of the original body of the language. Side by side with Annamese there exists in Annam the official language styled "Sino-Annamite", which is merely Chinese pronounced in a peculiar, provincial, and archaic fashion, influenced and modified by Annamese phonetics, and in its turn contributing Chinese words to the Annamese vocabulary. Then comes the Mon-Khmer element. This includes a very large percentage of words in everyday use (the numerals, for example), and it was therefore only natural that it should have been readily assumed to be the really original and essential part of the language. There is indeed one notable difference: in Annamese these words appear as monosyllables, whereas in the Mon-Khmer languages they often have several syllables.

This brings one naturally to the other differences between Annamese and the Mon-Khmer languages. The former is a toned language, while they are not. They have a clearly traceable agglutinative system, which is wanting in Annamese.¹ Assuming it to be a member of the family, the question therefore presented itself in this form: had Annamese split off from its cognates before or after they developed their agglutinative system of prefixes and infixes, and were the tones of Annamese to be regarded as a sort of compensation for the absence of an agglutinative system and for the effects of phonetic decay? Schmidt refers to this question briefly in his *Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens*, but prefers to leave it unanswered. From M. Maspero's article it can be plainly seen that the Mon-Khmer words in Annamese have often dwindled from

¹ Subject to the exceptions mentioned by M. Maspero on pp. 78-9 of his article.

a dissyllabic to a monosyllabic form, i.e. Annamese in these cases represents a stage of decay, not of original simplicity.

The point is made abundantly clear by the fortunate circumstance that the Annamese evidence does not stand quite unsupported. In the valleys of the hill-country bordering Annam to the westward there are tribes speaking a number of dialects (collectively styled Mu'õ'ng) which are closely related to Annamese, but somewhat more archaic in type. The forms which they have preserved are often intermediate between Annamese and Mon-Khmer. From them it becomes perfectly certain that the Annamese *sau*², "six," for instance, goes back to a dissyllabic form like the Talaing *tarau* (Old Talaing *turow*), for the Mu'õ'ng dialects give a variety of forms, such as *ksau*, *prau*, *phlau*, etc. And the case can be paralleled by quite a number of other such words. The first part of the question can therefore be answered in the sense that the Mon-Khmer words in Annamese are often mere remnants of more elaborate structures.

But what of the second part, the relation of the tonal system to this breakdown in the phonetic and morphological systems of the language? Following the usually accepted modern views of the origin of tonal systems in general (as illustrated in Conrady's monograph *Eine Indochinesische Causativ-Denominativ-Bildung und ihr Zusammenhang mit den Tonaccenten*), the most obvious inference would seem to derive the Annamese tones from these phonetic and structural changes. M. Maspero points out that there are grave difficulties in the way of such an apparently simple explanation. In all the groups of toned languages of South-East Asia it can be shown that the tonal system runs through each group, and is therefore a relatively ancient thing. Moreover, the Annamese (and Mu'õ'ng) tones follow the system of the Tai group, and accordingly are not likely to be of independent origin.

It is to be noted, too, that the Annamese vocabulary contains a considerable number of words which are characteristically Tai. M. Maspero does not venture to draw the conclusion that it should be classed with the Tai languages, but he evidently inclines towards that view, with the reservation that some words in the Annamese vocabulary appear to be neither Mon-Khmer, Chinese, nor Tai, so that possibly some other, unknown source has entered into its composition.

Evidently there is scope here for further research. I have some recollection that the late M. Terrien de Lacouperie, that highly imaginative and brilliant, but not always reliable, authority, once threw out the suggestion that the Tai languages were the result of a mixture of Chinese and some archaic Mon-Khmer language. If that conjecture should prove to be right, M. Maspero's reasoning would have brought us pretty much to the "as you were" position, for Annamese would still go back to a Mon-Khmer origin, *via* Tai. But I hasten to add that I have no desire to argue such a difficult case on the present insufficient data.

A few words must be said on another point which M. Maspero makes. He lays stress on the fact that, as he puts it, loanwords from toned languages lose their tones in entering into untoned languages, and vice versa, loanwords from untoned languages immediately acquire tones when they enter toned languages. From this he infers a fundamental difference between the two types of language. To me it seems that the gulf is not as wide as all that. The fact surely is that every word in every language has some tone or other. In untoned languages, so-called, the tone is of little importance because it does not affect the meaning of the word; therefore, it is variable according to the idiosyncrasies of the speaker, or can be deliberately varied to give different shades of meaning (affirmative, interrogative, dubitative, emphatic, etc.) to

the syntactical unit, the sentence, or merely to embellish speech artistically. In toned languages, on the other hand, you cannot change the tone at pleasure; it is fixed¹ and bound up with the meaning of the individual word, and where changes are made (e.g. in combinations of words) they follow regular laws. But a word in passing from the one kind of language to the other does not really lose or gain a tone: it loses or gains this fixity, or variability, as the case may be. It need not necessarily change at all.² Moreover, ancient as the so-called tonal systems may be, we are by no means bound to believe that fixity of tone was an earlier phenomenon than variability; indeed, the evidence seems to point in the opposite direction. If that be so, then at some time or other, whether remote or recent, an untuned language has evolved into a toned one. It would, therefore, be a mistake to rely on this as an absolutely fundamental distinction. Even in the closely related Teutonic group we know that the Scandinavian languages possess many pairs of words which are only differentiated by tone: to that extent we might style Danish a toned language. I must add, however, that these considerations do not, in my judgment, affect the validity of M. Maspero's conclusions, though his arguments might perhaps with advantage have been expressed somewhat differently. Plainly, we have to face the fact that Annamese possesses the remnants of an ancient and elaborate tonal system of which the Mon-Khmer languages show no trace. To what extent their

¹ To avoid misunderstanding I must observe that it is only a relative fixity, relative, that is to say, to the pitch of the other words of the sentence, not to any absolute standard. In a toned language a sentence is like a musical phrase, which remains essentially the same, no matter what key it may be played in.

² I mean to say that a loanword picked up by ear from an untuned language may happen to have been pronounced, when heard, with a tone which fitted it to be received unchanged in the toned language. It would, I admit, be a lucky accident.

scheme of vowel modification by surds and sonants respectively (so curiously parallel to the root-principle of the Tai tonal system) may be regarded as a really cognate phenomenon, is a further question which requires separate consideration.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A MISSING MS. OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

In the *Journal* for January, 1913, p. 107 f., Mr. H. Beveridge suggests that the MS. of the *Arabian Nights* which, according to Richardson (*Grammar*, p. 199), was "in the possession of William Jones, Esq.", is the same as the seven-volume Wortley Montague MS. at present in the Bodleian. That this suggestion is impossible can easily be shown. Richardson printed, from the William Jones MS., Nights 162 and 163, containing the story of the Barber's Fifth Brother. But from the description of the Wortley Montague MS. given by Burton in appendix ii to his sixth supplemental volume (vol. xii, pp. 312 ff. of the Smithers ed.) we learn that the story in question comes in that MS. before Night 68.

It is precisely this numbering of the Nights which makes the William Jones MS. so interesting, and, if it could be found, would render it so valuable. The numbers indicate the same recension as the Galland and Vatican MSS. which I am editing.

D. B. MACDONALD.

HARTFORD, U.S.A.

NOTE ON COINAGE OF HUSAYN BAIKARA

Mr. Beveridge has brought to my notice for reference as to Husayn's coins the following extract from Bābur's *Memoirs*: "Behboud Beg, employé d'abord dans le Corps des pages où il s'était distingué par ses services durant le cours des expéditions du Mirza. En recompense on lui

avait accordé le privilège de voir son nom gravé sur le sceau et sur la monnaie" (De Courteille, Trans., vol. i, p. 391).

This is interesting with regard to a part of the legend on Husayn's coins which was a difficulty giving occasion to a good deal of discussion amongst numismatists some years ago; that is, two words which, although there are no diacritical marks to the **ب**, have been read **به بود**, and so together consist of the same five letters as are in the name Bihbūd, but the final form of the **ب** shows that they are not one word. They are always apparently associated with the mint-name, and we find them generally together with it in a small enclosure in the centre of the reverse area, as thus—

به بود استرا باد	بلخ به بود	بود به 8تیراد	به بلخ بود	به بود سمنان
---------------------------	------------------	---------------------	------------------	-----------------

Blau, Stickel, Tiesenhausen, and S. Lane Poole all agreed to the reading **به بود**, and regarded the words as an expression of genuineness or guarantee of the coin, meaning "it is good", put on the coin in a similar way as are other words on various Arabic coins, such as **وا ف - عدل - بخ - اکرم - احکم** and many others. But it is remarkable that **به بود** occurs on coins of no other ruler than Husayn, except sometimes as a countermark or overstrike on coins of Timūr or Abū Sa'īd, of the dynasty under which he was the Governor of Khurasan, which countermarks were no doubt so put on them to facilitate currency in the province under Husayn. I do not find in the writings of the great numismatists I have mentioned any allusion to the story about Bihbūd, and so conclude it was not brought to their notice with reference to this question.

The final form of the **ب** shows that the five letters cannot be read as the one word **به بود**, but **به بود به** might

be read, for syllables of words are often disconnected on Oriental coin legends.

Mr. Beveridge thinks it quite possible that Husayn, who was a very debauched ruler, though a great soldier, may have meant to honour his page, as told by Bābur, but at the same time to disguise the fact, and so put on his coins the name in two words, به and بود, so as to be able to deny it if need be to save his face when reproached for so doing. On the other hand, it may be thought that the story was told by Bābur by way of writing something nasty about Husayn, for whom he seems to have had little regard or respect, but if so, it is curious that the words should only be on the coins of Husayn and the story would hardly have been made up unless there were such a person as Bihbūd. It should be noted, too, that Bābur was through a good part of his life a contemporary of Husayn.

O. CODRINGTON.

THE CAVES OF THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS

In the discussion which followed the paper on "Western Manichæism and the Turfan Discoveries", recently read before the Society, I called attention to a colophon bearing the date A.D. 1350, which I had recently found in a manuscript brought by Sir A. Stein from the walled-up temple library at Tun-huang.¹ I then considered that the existence of this colophon would invalidate the view that the library had been walled-up in the early part of the eleventh century. My remarks on the subject were summarized in a footnote on p. 81 of Mr. Legge's paper published in the last number (January, 1913) of this Journal.

¹ The booklet in which this colophon occurs is that represented on plate No. 192 (facing p. 180 of vol. ii) of Sir A. Stein's *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, where it is marked "4".

Since the meeting in question a number of circumstances have been brought to my notice which go to show that the presence in the library of documents belonging to the fourteenth century and later in no way militates against the view that it was closed in the early part of the eleventh century, strange as this may at first appear.

The case stands briefly thus:—

The walled-up library which was discovered in A.D. 1900 by a Taoist priest, is one of about five hundred caves cut into the Tun-huang cliff, which rises on the western bank of a little stream which comes from the south-west. Nearly all these caves were constructed before the middle of the eleventh century, and the most ancient belongs to the first half of the sixth century. About a mile to the north of the principal group are a certain number of undecorated and four or five decorated grottoes, which date from the Mongol epoch (fourteenth century).

Most of the caves of the principal group were ransacked during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, and to-day most of them are empty. The library discovered by the Taoist priest, however, remained intact till 1900, and the priest's discovery was recorded in a wooden inscription which still exists.

A number of MSS. and pictures were removed between 1900 and 1907, the year in which the cave was first visited by Sir A. Stein, and the whole library was rearranged by the priest (Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 190). In the intervening years the priest examined also the second group of caves belonging to the Mongol period, and found in the sand a few MSS. When Monsieur Pelliot in 1908 visited this second group he found two caves still untouched, and these contained only documents of the fourteenth century and later.

Now, the documents found in the walled-up library were for the most part in compact bundles, which were piled up

against the wall. In addition to these were a number of loose documents, etc.

Of the documents selected by Stein and Pelliot from the bundles none of those bearing dates extended beyond A.D. 1022, whereas both the travellers found later MSS. among the loose documents. These later MSS. belong, like the booklet containing the colophon dated A.D. 1350, to the Mongol period or later. On the other hand, no dated documents have been found belonging to the intervening period, and it is a specially strong argument in favour of the walling-up in the early part of the eleventh century that nothing has been found relating or belonging to the Hsi-hsia, who conquered Tun-huang between A.D. 1034 and 1037.

In view of all these circumstances it is more than probable that the later documents found in the walled-up temple library were placed there after A.D. 1900 by the Taoist priest.

In conclusion, I would call attention to the following slips occurring in Mr. Legge's paper: Mr. Paul Pelliot did not take part in the mission of the Viscount (*not* Count) d'Ollone; Professor F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, bears the name of Friedrich, not Franz; Theodore bar Kh'oni (p. 78) was Bishop of Kaskar in Babylonia, not of Kashghar in Chinese Turkestan. Finally, my own name is correctly written as under—

E. DENISON ROSS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GREEK PAPYRI OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Catalogue, with Texts. Vol. IV: THE APHRODITO PAPYRI. Edited by H. I. BELL, M.A.; with an Appendix of Coptic Papyri edited by W. E. CRUM, M.A. 4to; pp. xlviii + 648.

Papyri of the early Arab period have not begun to come to light from Egypt until recently, although they are now represented in most of the great libraries. The magnificent Erzherzog-Rainer collection of ancient Egyptian documents at Vienna, which dates from 1877, was the first to bring together any considerable number. The Khedivial library at Cairo now possesses about a thousand, dating from the first century of the Hijrah. Another large accumulation is found in the Schott-Reinhardt collection at Heidelberg. These Aphrodito papyri are a remarkable group in the class, for, being all connected with one place and falling within a short period of time, they throw, as it were, a concentrated light on one spot in the history of Egypt at an obscure epoch, during which a great change was in progress.

Aphrodito was the Greek name of a small town or village in Upper Egypt, which is situated about four miles from Timâ and is now known as Kaum Ishqau, but formerly was called simply Ishqau. Two important discoveries of papyri have been made at this place. With the later of the two, consisting of sixth century documents, most of which are now at Cairo, we have nothing to do. The Aphrodito papyri spoken of here belong to the earlier find of 1901. They have been dispersed; some have gone to Cairo, some to Heidelberg, some to Strassburg, some to Constantinople, and some perhaps elsewhere, but it seems

that the British Museum have succeeded in obtaining the large majority. A group out of the Heidelberg and Strassburg portion of the find, consisting of some twenty Arabic letters and requisitions, is included in *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i, which was published in 1906 by Professor C. H. Becker, and was reviewed in this Journal for 1908 (p. 597) by Professor Hirschfeld. Professor Becker has also published (in vol. xx of *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*) the few very fragmentary Arabic letters included in the British Museum share. The catalogue now brings out the whole of the Aphrodito papyri in the British Museum, except these Arabic fragments. The papyri dealt with are in Greek and Coptic. They appear to fall entirely within the years A.D. 698-722 = A.H. 79-104. In Greek there are some eighty letters, more or less complete, and the remains of about fifty account books and registers. The letters, which all probably date from between A.D. 708 and 711, are written in the name of Qurrah ibn Sharik, the Arab governor of Egypt, and addressed in nearly all cases to the local administrator of Aphrodito, the pagarch Basileus, whose name shows he was a Christian. They relate to various administrative matters. The accounts and registers range over rather a wider period, and have to do mostly with the taxes of Aphrodito. Several of the books included under this heading contain from ten folios up to as many as thirty-three, and one or two of them are complete. The Coptic papyri are less extensive than the Greek, and few of them are perfect. They consist of declarations and guarantees of various descriptions, besides a few private letters. The number altogether is about 150. The period covered is probably not quite so wide as in the case of the Greek texts. They are described by Mr. Crum as representing almost without exception the response of the local authorities to the demands of the central Government.

This large mass of new and precious historical material is treated by the catalogue in a worthy way. Except in the case of insignificant fragments, full texts are given of all the papyri, with explanations as to the nature of their substance and ample historical and critical notes. Translations are added to the Coptic texts—a most welcome assistance. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Bell is publishing in *Islam* translations of the Greek letters and portions of the accounts, and, in view of the difficulties offered by many of the texts, they will be of much service to all students who have not made a special study of Greek papyri. The catalogue is furnished with an admirable general Introduction by Mr. Bell, in which the chief historical and other results obtained from the papyri are carefully discussed and summarized, some of the separate questions that arise being treated of at greater length in the descriptions of the particular papyri which are principally concerned. The general Introduction is in itself an important contribution to Egyptian history of the early Arab time. A short separate Introduction to the Coptic texts is given by Mr. Crum. There are full indexes of subjects, persons, places, words, texts, etc. The large amount of scholarly research that has been expended on the book will readily be recognized, and students will be grateful for the pains that have been taken to provide them with help for making use of the store of information which it contains. Only by labours of this kind can such records be made to yield more than a very small proportion of their material significance, and, as the publication of properly edited texts of the papyri of the period has by no means kept pace with the quantity that has been collected, this new volume is particularly welcome.

But a few of the results of the collection can be noticed here. The village of Aphrodito is shown to have been the centre of a small administrative district of the same

name, consisting of the village itself with its lands and of sixteen other units, half of which were lesser villages or hamlets and the rest monasteries. The district was a pagarchy, in Arabic a *kārah*. Mr. Bell, after a full review of all the evidence available, arrives at the conclusion that, at the time, pagarchy and nome were practically equivalent, but that the former was the official designation and the latter term was used to indicate a geographical division. He is able to show, too, that the larger division of Egypt into eparchies, such as the Thebaid, was still in force, and that there was some financial relation between the eparchy and its pagarchies, though its exact nature is not clear, for the pagarchy corresponded direct with the Governor of Egypt and paid its taxes direct to the central treasury. A larger division of the country still was that into Upper and Lower Egypt. A certain class of government demands are found addressed, not to the pagarchy, but (through the pagarch, it is true) to the separate communities within it. The result is to show that Egypt was divided administratively into the four kinds of divisions named—Upper and Lower, eparchies, pagarchies, communities—but that while the lesser must obviously have been subordinate to the greater for certain purposes, they were not so for others, and the smallest of all had some measure of independent recognition from the Government. Many of these communities must have been quite insignificant in size, as is seen in the case of the monasteries and most of the hamlets of Aphrodito; the centralization and consequently the cost of the clerical system required to deal with them must have been enormous. None of the villages of the pagarchy of Aphrodito seems to be identifiable, but there are other indications that the whole district was a very small one. Its case, however, seems to have been quite exceptional, and it was probably far below the normal size of a *kārah*.

The principal subject illuminated by the papyri is the important one of the taxation of Egypt. Aphrodito was no doubt typical of the rest of the country. The papyri show that the district was charged with an annual contribution to the public revenue, and that the inhabitants in addition were required to render a certain amount of personal service. The contribution was levied in three divisions. The first and by far the largest item was the *demosia*, in Arabic *jizyah*, the public ordinary taxes: it was payable entirely or almost entirely in money. Next was the *embola*, in Arabic *daribat et ta'ám*, the contribution of corn, consisting of wheat and a small proportion of barley, and thus being a levy in kind; but to some extent a money composition could be accepted in lieu of grain. The third element was the *ekstraordina*, the extraordinary charge, the Arabic equivalent for which does not appear; this was payable partly in money and partly in goods. One may notice that it included a quantity of milk and honey, representing, it would seem, the *wadak* and *'asal* of the annual delivery of which historical tradition speaks. One of the letters (1352) speaks of a requisition for garments, which are also spoken of by historians as having been contributed, but it does not appear from the papyri whether they came under the same heading. The *ekstraordina* included also an item called *tetartia*, which seems to have been a percentage on the general tax-collection. The personal service was in the nature of conscription, for work on Government buildings, in connexion with the irrigation, duty with the fleet, and so forth, the locality having to supply artificers, labourers, and seamen, to whom wages were paid, and charged, in some instances at least, against the *ekstraordina*. The amount of the contribution under each heading was fixed by the central administration, quotas being established for each separate community within the pagarchy. The quotas were based on registers,

which were sent up regularly from time to time to headquarters (perhaps merely as a check), and specified all the taxpayers, the amount of each man's holding, the number of date-palms and acacias, besides giving other details. The contributions referred to were not all paid to the public treasury and granaries, but parts were expended on the Government service locally, and parts remitted under directions to other places, requisitions being made for payments as required after they had become due. The assessment of the individual taxes, by which the contributions demanded from the localities by the Government were raised, was made, under certain rules of custom and subject to the Government control, by the localities themselves. In the assessment the communities were the units, but probably the pagarchy was responsible for the collection. The individual taxes consisted of three principal items—land-tax, poll-tax, and *embola*; there was also *dapane*, and possibly others. The rate of the land-tax was not proportionate to the area charged; it varies from $\frac{2}{3}$ to $1\frac{5}{16}$ solidus (*dinâr*) for the same extent of land (4 *arouras*), the normal rate appearing to be about 1 solidus. The rate of the poll-tax per head shows similar but still more marked variations, running from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to as much as 8, with a normal of about 3 solidi. This tax was not paid by women. The *embola* was evidently the tax out of which the *embola* contribution was provided. Though apparently a tax upon land, the amount is seen not to stand in any constant relation with the land-tax. The *embola* was collected by contractors (*qabbâls*), who received 5 per cent for their services. *Dapane* "was probably a charge for the support of local officials only", and "was not paid by a large proportion of the taxpayers". Tradespeople appear to have been subject to some kind of special tax.

The system of raising the revenue, which has been outlined above, is seen to have been identical with

that of Byzantine times, and thus the Arabs, more than seventy years after their conquest of Egypt, were still carrying on the fiscal measures of their predecessors. One finds later a plan under which two main taxes were levied—the *kharāj*, charged upon land, and the *jizyah*, or poll-tax, payable only by non-Muslims. There is no distinction between these terms at the time of the papyri, and consequently the later arrangement represents an innovation, instead of being an original practice, as the Muhammadan jurists seek to prove. Before the Aphrodito papyri became available, the cardinal facts as to the early Arab system of taxation in Egypt, including the point respecting *kharāj* and *jizyah*, had already been shown by Becker in his *Beiträge*, following the studies of Wellhausen and others who have dealt with other parts of the Muhammadan empire. The papyri generally confirm Becker's theories in a remarkable way, and afford many details for filling in the picture drawn by him.

Documents of this sort, in the almost complete absence of guidance from contemporary historical writers, naturally present various problems, and here there are several that have to be left unsolved or with a more or less doubtful solution. For instance, it is an important question whether the requisitions for the *demosia* amounted altogether to the established quota, or whether only what was actually needed was collected by the Government, leaving a residue which was not collected at all; and although Mr. Bell arrives at the conclusion that the whole amount according to the quota was raised, he would probably agree that the evidence is not of such a nature as to put the point beyond doubt. It is strange to find that in two cases communities appear to have been called upon to make payments in excess of the quota established for them. The quota of the *embola* seems to have varied, although the evidence is not conclusive. The quota of the *demosia* seems to have been constant. There are

a number of miscellaneous taxes referred to in 1413 and 1414 which, though one of them is undated, can be shown to belong to different years, and in each case the quota given for these taxes is the same. Do these miscellaneous taxes represent the whole of the *ekstraordina*? This again is an important question, for if they do, except for variations in the *embola*, in itself a small charge in comparison with the rest, the district will have been subject to a regularly appointed burden of taxation and not liable to sudden arbitrary exactions. The evidence seems to point to an affirmative reply, but hardly to be sufficient for an answer to be given with certainty.

A separate section of the Introduction is devoted to the information derived from the papyri as to the naval organization. Regular expeditions were made against the Byzantine empire, known as *Koursa*. One learns from Arab historians that such expeditions took place both in summer and winter, whence the names *sá'ifah* and *shútiyah*. An example of a winter naval expedition of nearly the same date as the papyri is given by Ibn 'Abd el Hakam. There are allusions to five different fleets or squadrons. The ship's companies are shown to have consisted of two distinct elements. The subject-peoples provided seamen non-combatants, for whom the whole of the river population of Egypt must have been drawn upon. Very considerable numbers of men to act in this capacity had to be supplied by this small inland district, and not for service with the Egyptian fleets alone, but also for other fleets. The combatants in the vessels consisted of Arabs and their *maulas*.

In another section of the Introduction there is a discussion of the evidence of the collection as to the general character of the Arab rule. Qurrah ibn Sharik, the governor of Egypt at the time of most of the papyri, has with the native historians a reputation for severity and harshness. His letters show him in a by no means

unfavourable light. The extent to which the historical verdict should be modified is a matter of opinion, but in any case the nature of the administration as a whole could not have been much altered by Qurrah. The Arabs had come to Egypt generally well disposed towards the inhabitants, who benefited in some respects by their arrival; but before Egypt had been in their hands for a century the oppression of their rule was such that the Copts, unwarlike as they were, were driven to take up arms in the endeavour of getting relief. Taxation beyond endurance was what brought the Christian population to this pass, and the intolerable burden to which they became subjected was certainly not the consequence of religious persecution alone, if at all. Several more or less demonstrable causes may be pointed to. As time went on the Arabs were not content with the simple standard of living that had satisfied them at first; there was an increase in the number of Arab settlers in the country; additions seem to have been made to the armies: hence one may suppose a need for extracting a larger revenue. Probably the irrigation was not well maintained, so the productiveness of the country would have decreased. So long as Muhammadans escaped payment of most of the taxes, conversions to Muhammadanism by lessening the number of taxpayers would have added to the individual burdens of the Christians. One seeks to ascertain whether the taxation had become oppressive under Qurrah, and how far any of the causes suggested was in operation. The papyri supply many facts which may enable answers to be given when further material is available for comparison, but are not of much significance by themselves. The large number of men from Aphrodito employed with the fleet has been alluded to. On the other hand, it has been noticed that the evidence is against the Government having made arbitrary or increasing demands on the districts, and it would thus

seem that any additional income that may have been raised must have been got in some other way. The taxpayers of Aphrodito do not appear to have included any Muhammadans, but there is no means of telling whether the reason is that there were none among the inhabitants or that Muhammadans were exempted from taxes. While the total amount paid by individuals in taxes is sometimes given, the cases where their holdings in land are given also are very few, and even then the doubt about what their total incomes may have amounted to is so great that it is hard to judge whether they were heavily taxed. There are two circumstances that seem to show that the population were ground down. The taxes appear from the letters to have been continually in arrear. The second fact is the existence of the fugitives or *jāliyah*. These were peasants who forsook their native places, to which they were bound by law, and migrated elsewhere. There is a list (1460) of the fugitives from other pagarchies who had resorted to Aphrodito, and another (1461) of those from Aphrodito who had gone elsewhere. Both are incomplete; the first contains about two hundred names and the second about seventy-five. This gives some idea of the extent of the movement. The anxiety of the Government to repress it shows that it was detrimental to the revenue. The fugitives probably fled to avoid taxation, but seeing that they can only have gone from one part of Egypt to another it is not clear how they succeeded in doing so, nor, inasmuch as the Government contributions were levied on communities, how the Government suffered. The migration of peasants had begun under the Arabs before the time of Qurrah. Similar disturbances had taken place also in Byzantine times.

Among the miscellaneous information derived from the papyri are the prices of all sorts of articles, such as sheep, poultry, corn, wine, oil, wood, ropes; also details of the

wages of carpenters and other workmen. One learns that workmen from Egypt were employed at Jerusalem and Damascus—in the latter place at the building of the great mosque, facts of which the importance in connexion with art influences has been well recognized. Respecting linguistic science and palæography of Greek, the texts afford much. As regards Arabic, it is of interest to observe that the transcription of names shows that *jīm* was pronounced soft and not as now like *g*; the name 'Amrun occurs in "Abou Amron", and this incorrect form seems to be the one solitary instance of a trace of the *i'rāb*. There are three allusions to Musā ibn Nusair, and, although they do not do much more than confirm facts previously known from literary sources about the conqueror of Spain, they may be esteemed on account of the touch of reality they give to a figure so distinguished in history.

A. R. G.

TARJUMÁN AL-ASHWÁQ, by Muhyi'd-Dín ibn Al-'Arabí.

Edited by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M.A., Litt.D.
pp. v+155. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1911.

Ibn el 'Arabí, the famous Muhammadan mystic who flourished in the thirteenth century, was a prolific writer. He has been credited with 500 books. This may be an exaggeration, but at all events 150 books by him are extant. It is remarkable that but one of his works, and that merely a short glossary, had appeared before in a European edition. Several of them have been published in the East.

The *Tarjuman el Ashwāq* is a collection of sixty-one odes, some of which are quite short, the whole amounting altogether to less than 600 verses. The collection includes a short introduction by the author. Later, Ibn el 'Arabí added a commentary to his poems, and

entitled the entire work so expanded *Ed Dakhá'ir wa el A'láq* or, perhaps, *Dakhá'ir el A'láq*. An edition of the poems and commentary under the latter title was published in 1897 (A.H. 1312) at Bairút. The Bairút edition is almost entirely wanting in vowel points. Dr. Nicholson in the present volume gives the full Arabic text of the *Tarjuman*, with all the poems completely vocalized. He adds in English, besides some useful introductory matter, a translation of the poems and a summary of the introduction showing the variations that occur in different recensions, also an abridgment of the commentary. Two good indexes are a useful feature.

The title given to the collection, which may be rendered "The Exponent of the Yearnings of the Soul", indicates the general theme, the soul's longing and its grief. Love is the emotion by which they are stirred—generally love for an unattainable mistress or for friends departed never to return. The poet is constantly in pain and anguish. Often he dwells on his afflicted plight; he recalls some well-known episode or scene; again and again he describes the beauty of the maiden on whom his heart is fixed; he calls after his dear ones as they recede from his gaze, or sends them tender messages and greetings. He stands by the ruins and weeps over the traces of the habitations, starts at the flash of the lightning, and is troubled by the cooing of the dove on the *bán* tree, implores the camel-driver to turn aside, and marks the croak of the raven of separation. His love is a bough of the sand-hills planted in a garden, her glances are sharp swords; she is a gazelle, her pasture is his heart. Nearly all the poems are in this strain, so in general the style is that of an ordinary Arab love poem. There are a few that cannot be read merely as the outcry of human devotion, but are clearly mystical throughout; and in the others a certain number of undoubted mystical

allusions are to be found. Ibn el 'Arabi asserts that a mystical meaning is intended for the whole. His commentary is occupied with little else than explaining the esoteric sense, which it brings out from every verse, even from those where a natural application seems absolutely plain.

In the case of Eastern poetry said to be allegorical, the question often arises whether the inner signification is really present; and it has to be considered here, notwithstanding the evidence of the author himself, who cannot, like an ordinary commentator, be entirely mistaken as to what was intended. One reason is what is known with regard to the composition of the poems and the commentary; our information is derived from the book itself, and thus rests on the authority of Ibn el 'Arabi. Dr. Nicholson sets out all the material facts in his introduction, and it will suffice to mention here a few which seem to be the most important. The poems were composed to celebrate a beautiful and accomplished girl called Nizâm, to whom Ibn el 'Arabi had been deeply attached. The first introduction stated this clearly, declaring that every name introduced was intended as an allusion to her name, and every abode spoken of was meant for her abode; at the same time it emphatically warned the reader to beware of taking the external meaning of the words only, and invited him to look to the inner mystical sense. The two purposes seem to be hard to reconcile. One of Ibn el 'Arabi's contemporaries refused to accept the poems as anything but love-songs. The commentary was then composed and read to him, and he was convinced of his error. In later recensions of the introduction the mention of Nizâm is suppressed.

Dozy has charged Ibn el 'Arabi with falsifying the date of composition by some thirteen years, with a view of concealing his real intention, but Dr. Nicholson is able to show in a way that seems to be unanswerable that the

date given by Ibn el 'Arabî is correct, and that there is no ground for the accusation. An unjustifiable slur is thus removed, but the attitude of the original objector may still be taken up, and each person may decide for himself whether he finds the commentary as convincing. The commentary, no doubt, tells much about Ibn el 'Arabî's religious thoughts and ideas, but it can hardly be said that, interpreted by its aid, the poems become anything like a clear exposition of mystical truths and beliefs. Possibly the reason may be that Ibn el 'Arabî presupposed a general knowledge of his theosophic system, which we have not got, and no doubt many of the explanations of the commentary would be more intelligible with such a clue. At any rate, the text, as interpreted by the commentary alone, seems in general to be characterized by great obscurity and at times by incoherence. Dr. Nicholson points out that "the author admits that in some passages of his poems the mystical import was not clear to himself", and gives the text of a passage to this effect from the commentary.

Whatever view may be taken of the mystical value of the poems—and the subject is one with regard to which general agreement can hardly be expected—there seems to be no need to doubt Ibn el 'Arabî's sincerity. Had he intended deliberately to deceive the reader, he would surely have been careful to avoid any mention of Nizâm in his introduction. He says he wrote the poems to celebrate Nizâm; he seems to have believed that he was mystically inspired at the time, and he may well have been deluded to some extent as to the nature of his inspiration.

Taken according to their obvious meaning, the odes may be read with pleasure. As a rule, the language is comparatively simple and the style is clear, so they are likely to appeal to some of those who are repelled by the difficulty that Arabic poetry often presents. They

show that their author was an elegant writer and that he was a skilful versifier, but they follow such conventional lines as hardly to leave room for the display of much originality. One remarks a part of an ode (xxix, 1-12) that seems to be very closely modelled on three verses by El Mutanabbî (Bûlâq, 1287, i, 90), and possibly further parallels of the same sort might be found; but in any case the images, the metaphors, and comparisons, all or for the most part, had been used over and over again by Ibn el 'Arabi's predecessors. A wide knowledge of their works would be wanted to decide whether he has been able to produce anything novel out of these well-worn materials, to form any new combinations, or to contrive in some way to express a feeling particularly his own. Whether they have merit of originality or not, the odes certainly have plenty of grace and charm.

Dr. Nicholson gives us an excellent text. The almost complete absence of misprints, so difficult to avoid with such a large number of signs, is an evidence of the care that has been exercised. The translation is a close rendering of the original, in clear and well-chosen English. The text and translation in manuscript passed under the eye of Sir Charles Lyall. A few observations may be hazarded on points of detail, with all due diffidence.

A. R. G.

Observations on the Text and Translation

xi, 15. Perhaps the translation of the second hemistich should be "My religion and faith is *the* religion, i e. the right religion".

xii, 1. في صور الدمي. Perhaps "among the forms of the marble statues".

xiii, 4. Probably read أبين . . . بشين; this seems to give the sense required by the commentary.

xiii, 11. قاتلي, as in the Bairût text, seems to give more point than قاتل.

- xv, 4. Read *لَقْنَا*.
- xvi, 14. Probably read *هَمِيَّتُهُ*, following the Bairût text
- xx, 7. *ما عليه من نارها* seems to mean "their fire does not harm him". Cf the familiar colloquialism *ما عليش*.
- xxii, 5. Read *تَهَيَّوْ*. This form is required by the commentary, and not *تَهَيَّوْ*.
- xxiii, 6. *وطأ الحريق* "like the treading-out of a conflagration". This meaning seems straightforward.
- xxix, 7. Probably read with the Bairût edition *المجالبات* for *المجالبات*.
- xxx, 1. Probably read *الطَّيْب*.
- lviii, 3. For *تَمَنَّ* read *تَمَنَّ*.

HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Litt. THE BOOK OF PROTECTION, being a Collection of Charms now edited for the first time from Syriac MSS. with translation, introduction, and notes. 8vo; lxxxvii, 103, with 27 illustrations. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1912.

Under the above title Professor Gollancz has published for the first time a collection of Syriac Charms gathered from all the MSS. available, at any rate as many as hitherto known to exist in public and in private libraries. Two of these belong to the editor, one is in Cambridge, and one at the British Museum. All these MSS. are more or less of late date, but they are undoubtedly copies of much older texts, rare in any case, for very seldom are charms and conjurations written down; and the owners of such MSS. guard them very jealously, for they are often their stock-in-trade, and they are not likely to communicate their possession to others.

Professor Gollancz has been fortunate enough to obtain two of these MSS., one of which turns out to be the most

complete and best preserved, and which is not only carefully written but in which also the vowel points are added, and this contributes to facilitate the reading of texts so difficult and often so obscure, as charms of necessity are. Every kind of literature has, as it were, a language of its own; none so pronounced as that of charms and conjurations, for very old material is preserved with great tenacity, and corruptions will be transmitted from generation to generation without any attempt of the copyist to correct or to improve. The more barbarous the words the more efficacious are they thought to be, and in the vocabulary of the charms the whole syncretism of ancient magic has found its practical expression. Moreover, episodes from sacred history, genuine or apocryphal, miracles of saints, legends connected with holy men, all these are materials for charms and conjurations. Sympathetic magic finds its explanation in the application of such legends to cases in point. It was, therefore, not an easy task to publish such a collection of charms and to translate them faithfully and accurately. Popular language, moreover, is best seen in such charms; names of diseases and other ills are to be found abundantly in charms, which are not found in dictionaries. The publication of these charms is therefore of extreme value also from a philological point of view, and Professor Gollancz has rendered a great service to Syriac literature by his scholarly publication. He has collated some of the MSS. in those passages in which the charm is repeated, and by comparing one with the other has often succeeded in giving an intelligent translation of texts otherwise very corrupt and unintelligible. Some MSS. are accompanied with rude pictures and illustrations. These have been also faithfully reproduced in exact facsimiles, and claim a value of their own. For some of these, I hold, are used in a detached form with the inscription or conjuration as an amulet to be

worn by the people as protection against all kinds of diseases.

A brief introduction and an excellent translation make this publication of Professor Gollancz accessible to a wider circle of readers, and add to the permanent value of a book so unique in its character and so important from every point of view. A word of commendation may be added on the excellent print of the text, translation, and facsimiles carried out by the Clarendon Press. Author and publisher may be heartily congratulated on so excellent a production.

M. GASTER.

LUN-HÉNG. Part II: Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung. Translated from the Chinese and annotated by ALFRED FORKE, Professor of Chinese at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin. Berlin, Georg Reimer; London, Luzac & Co.; 1911.

The title of the book under review, *Lun-Héng*, left untranslated by Dr. Forke, may be fairly rendered "A Discussion of Criteria", and a singular and interesting work is unfolded in the eighty-three chapters now extant, of which the present volume contains the forty omitted by the translator from his first.

Dr. Forke shows that the *Lun-Héng* must have been written in A.D. 82 or 83, and what sort of mark its author left on the thought of his own and of later generations may be seen by what Mayers writes of him in his *Chinese Readers' Manual*. "A philosopher," he says, "perhaps the most original and judicious among all the metaphysicians China has produced. He attracted notice while occupying an obscure station by the extent of his learning, acquired in despite of poverty; but the views he expounded were too conspicuously opposed to the superstitious orthodoxy of the learned classes to meet

with general acceptance, or to gain for him official favour. . . . In the writings derived from his pen . . . he handles mental and physical problems in a style and with a boldness unparalleled in Chinese literature. He exposes the 'exaggerations' and 'inventions' of Confucianists and Taoists with equal freedom, and evinces in the domain of natural philosophy a strange superiority to the fantastic beliefs of his countrymen."

Thanks to the excellent English version now before us, we can test in detail this appreciation of the alert and penetrating intellect that inspired it. And one thing emerges clearly. Wang Ch'ung was not a purely sceptical or destructive force. He held very definite and logical views on the nature of the universe and on the working of natural law in many spheres of operation, though he does not propound, I think, any general statement of his philosophic scheme at large. But it was certainly based on those then prevalent views of natural philosophy, the meaning and development of which Dr. Forke has outlined for us in a full and lucid exposition forming Appendix I, "The Theory of the Five Elements and the Classifications based thereon."

Wang Ch'ung's aim was to apply his dialectic method to received views, accepted texts, traditional superstitions, whether held and defended by the most revered names or followed unreasoningly as popular beliefs by the illiterate masses, whenever in his eyes these orthodox or traditional opinions were inconsistent with truth or unwarranted by it. Dr. Forke has classified the separate chapters or essays into four groups — Metaphysical, Ethical, Critique (why not Critical?), and Folk-lore and Religion. Much throughout the volume, but especially in this last division, should be of great interest to readers quite outside sinologic circles, the more so as the author, in order to combat them, discloses many curious beliefs and customs of his time, examining the grounds on which

he knows or supposes they are held or followed, and thus providing us with material doubly valuable for having been sifted through a very close analytic sieve.

I should have liked, but space does not admit, to have given an example of Wang's dialectic method, and shown how, for instance, in "A Last Word on Dragons" he argues that the construction of a clay dragon on a certain historical occasion in order to attract rain, though often misunderstood by scholars, is not an absurdity but essentially reasonable, being based on the sympathetic and mutual action of affinitive "fluids", as Dr. Forke renders the Chinese term, though "influences" would perhaps better express Wang Ch'ung's conception. Let me add that the translator treats this chapter severely, remarking that it "is not to the credit of our author, who here shows himself as credulous and injudicious as those of his countrymen whose superstitions he likes to expose".

Dr. Forke has freely but always briefly annotated each page, and, owing to the allusive nature of the original, a Western reader would be greatly hampered without this help. Indeed, I wish the notes had been somewhat more abundant in one particular. There are paragraphs of which the exact bearing upon the author's argument is not easy to seize. In some cases this may be due to a defective choice of a word or an idiom on the part of the translator, who is not using his own language, excellent as his grasp of English is. But oftener, I suspect, the uncertainty arises from the original reasoning having been addressed to a Chinese mind, and not to a modern and occidental one. In such cases Dr. Forke could doubtless have helped us better than we can help ourselves.

And so, with congratulations to the translator, I take leave of an able rendering of a notable original.

L. C. HOPKINS.

TAOÏSME. Tome I: BIBLIOGRAPHIE GÉNÉRALE. (1) Le Canon (Patrologie); (2) Les Index Officiels et Privés. Par Dr. L. WIEGER, S.J. 1911.

This is the first volume of what promises to be a monumental work on Taoism by a learned Jesuit who is not a novice at his work, nor are his interests confined to one branch of sinology. He has already published a book on Buddhism, and yet another—a *Manuel du Chinois Parlé, Koanhua du Nord, non Pékinois*, not to mention other of his writings.

This present volume is bibliographical, as the author considered it necessary for a serious study of Taoism to have almost exhaustive lists of authoritative and other works in Chinese on that cult, and this he has accomplished.

Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* contains, under the heading of Taoism, considerably less than a hundred titles. The first list in the present volume contains the names of 1,464 Taoist books under the heading of Le Canon (Patrologie) taoïste, which were gathered by the monks and fixed as a canon during the sixteenth century.

A few lines, or at least one or two, are given in addition to the Chinese title to explain in each case the scope of the work. Not content with this, the author has classified the material composing this list, and arranged them under sections and subsections with different headings, such as Dogmatique, Grande-Ourse, Pôle, Rits et Rituels, etc., so that books bearing on one branch of the subject can easily be found. Then, further, this is followed by a "Table alphabétique" of the titles. An "Essai de Classification" still further renders reference easy.

The Archimandrite Palladius is said to have read 750 Chinese Buddhist works in his study of the Chinese development of that religion. We cannot say how many Taoist books Dr. Wieger has read in his study of Taoism,

but this volume shows that an immense number must have passed through his hands before the results here shown could have been achieved.

But this is not all, for, following what has been already described, there is, as Dr. Wieger says: "Ensuite, un Index, réunissant les listes officielles ou privées des ouvrages taoïstes, dressées par des laïques, à diverses époques, du premier au dix-septième siècle." This last list, purely in Chinese, is arranged under dynastic headings.

Then comes an alphabetical list of Taoist authors and their pseudonyms.

This valuable material, thus gathered together for the student of Taoism, is preceded by a Preface and an Introduction. The latter contains a succinct account of the doctrinal and historical evolution of Taoism, both most valuable.

We trust that in a future volume Dr. Wieger will explain the two words "Reminiscences nestoriennes" which appear under No. 190, as an explicit account of any influences which he may have discovered that the Nestorians had on Taoism would be intensely interesting, and we take it this may be what he means.

J. DYER BALL.

THE ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES OF CONFUCIUS AND HIS SCHOOL. By CHEN HUAN-CHANG, Ph.D., Chin Shih of 2455 A.K. (A.D. 1904), former Secretary of the Grand Secretariat, Peking, China. 2 vols. New York, Columbia University: Longman, Green & Co. Agents, London: P. S. King and Son. 1911.

This work is one of the firstfruits of the study of Western institutions, science, and learning by Chinese students. Deeply versed in his native literature, a mandarin who has held office in Peking, and a friend

and pupil of Kang Yu-wei, the author has added to his acquirements in the Eastern hemisphere a study of the knowledge of the Western side of the world. The result of all this is that he is a Chin Shih (Chinese LL.D.) and a Ph.D. He has all the Chinese scholar's intimate knowledge of the Chinese classics and kindred literature in his native language, and he has evidently spent much study on the economic science of Europe and America. An immense amount of erudition is displayed in the production of this book. His English is very good, though scarcely perfect. This is not to be wondered at; the wonder is that it is so near perfection. For the acquisition of a facile pen in a foreign tongue like English by one who has to spend long years in making himself a master of his own literature is no mean task. We cannot praise too highly the patience and determination with which he has set himself to the courses of hard study he has had to undertake to fit himself for the task before him in the production of this book.

There are many most interesting passages in the two volumes before us, and much valuable information otherwise inaccessible to the English reader is to be found in them, but, unfortunately, the book is a disappointing production.

The author has taken the ideas of Confucius and his school as seen by him (the author), and labelled them with the nomenclature of modern political economy; that is to say, the economic teachings of Confucius and those of his followers and opponents are gathered together here and there from the Chinese classics and other Chinese books and set in a Western arrangement in the order of modern economists (p. 37). But the author sometimes goes beyond Confucius, and the premises will not justify the conclusions he draws. He reads into the ideal state (which he quotes as spoken of by the Sage, a state which, by the by, has never existed and never will exist), a condition which the

language fails to justify. The last state of China would be worse than the first in such a state as the author depicts.

Dr. Chen's conceptions of what religion is are such as to render him scarcely competent to judge between different ones, as he presumes to do, to the detriment of all which meet the needs of man's spiritual nature, and his materialistic view prevents him from seeing the difference between mind and soul (pp. 28, 116-118).

The author discounts the saying of Confucius that he was "a transmitter and not an originator" by ascribing this to the Chinese characteristic modesty (p. 30). This description of the Sage by himself being thus swept aside, the ground is clear for the enunciation of the following: that Confucius created "ancient civilization out of his own mind", though "the data given in his writings" are "often true" (pp. 28, 30); that he uses "the names of the ancient kings to father his theories" (p. 30); that "Confucius was the real creator of his new religion, although incidentally transmitting some elements from the ancients" (p. 30). It is therefore not surprising after this to find that Dr. Chen claims "to have discovered some new truths contained in the old texts" (p. 38).

Purely material prosperity is to put right what is rotten in the State of Denmark. "Human nature changes to either good or evil in accordance with the economic condition. If there is economic prosperity distributed to everyone the nature of the people must be good" (pp. 134, 136). Human nature is to be changed by seven things: abolition of war, technical invention, the control of nature, the *tsing tien* system (i.e. the equal distribution of land), universal free education, representative government, and the abolition of social institutions, such as state, family, and private property (p. 134).

Dr. Chen's quotations are not always, we are afraid, to

be trusted, nor, though he is a Chinese, is his rendering of Chinese words always correct or happy. Why call the Emperor "The Son of God" when a better translation, sanctioned by long usage, is "The Son of Heaven"? *Tien* sometimes means Providence, but that does not justify turning it into God (p. 62). Bolstering up arguments in such ways is not commendable. Neither should *yüan* be rendered as God (pp. 58-59). It is a pity the book is marred by such serious defects, which have the tendency to lead to wrong conclusions. Special pleading based upon wrong premises does not establish a case.

When writing about present conditions of life in China our author's descriptions are too roseate, and a glamour is thrown over some phases of Chinese life which is far from the real thing, and the book is thus again misleading. There are some most extraordinary statements to be thus found, and the calm assurance with which the author can make them in face of known facts is most astounding. We are told that "throughout the whole Chinese history no blood has ever been shed on account of religious controversy" (p. 61). Professor de Groot's book on religious persecution in China is sufficient proof to the contrary. Again, we read (p. 551), "In Chinese history there are very few officials who accumulated a great fortune in any way they could. Modesty and purity were the general spirit." Really one's confidence in any statement made by the author is shaken after that.

Then we are told that "in the present day every district has an almshouse". Bald statements of this nature, without any qualifying details to show what the real facts of the case are, are worse than useless—they are misleading.

Dr. Chen labours ineffectually to try and prove that woman according to Confucianism is the equal of man, though he has to acknowledge that "of course in

paternal society woman inevitably suffers many disadvantages" (p. 68). Now, here again our author does not state the full facts of the case, for, as regards her name, used by him in the argument, the Chinese married woman is described in legal documents with both her husband's and her own surname. And again, like the Western lady, whose condition the author cites to her disparagement in this connexion, she is called by her husband's surname in common life, and her own name is not mentioned.

One reason which he adduces for the practical absence of divorce in China is "their social position does not allow either husband or wife to have any sweetheart beside the other" (p. 151). It is the case that Chinese social customs are such that a man does not meet the wives of his acquaintances (there is no need to speak about the wives not meeting the husbands of their lady friends, as divorce is for the man and not for the woman against the man); but men do take "sweethearts" and bring them into their families as secondary wives, if they so desire, since the Chinese marital relations are so elastic as regards the man alone. If nothing else, this proves the inequality of the sexes in that land.

With regard to dress our author tells us, in contradistinction to clothing in the West, "the children do not purposely expose any part of their body." What, then, about the thousands upon thousands of infants who go naked in summer and later on in childhood have scarce anything on?

Dr. Chen writes about gold and silver coins in China in past times, whereas for hundreds and thousands of years the only coinage was copper. Ingots of silver are not coins.

There are other points we meant to notice, but space forbids.

If this is the class of book which is issued by the

Columbia University in their "Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law", of which this is the forty-fifth volume, a more careful editorial supervision of these publications is imperative.

J. DYER BALL.

RAPPORTEN VAN DE COMMISSIE IN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIË
VOOR OUDHEIDKUNDIG ONDERZOEK OP JAVA EN
MADOERA. 1909, 1910, 1911. Uitgegeven door het
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Albrecht & Co., Batavia, and M. Nijhoff,
'sGravenhage, 1911, 1911, and 1912, respectively.

These three volumes contain the reports of the Archæological Survey of Java and Madura for the years first above mentioned, together with several interesting appendices. They deal in some detail with a great number of objects of antiquarian and artistic interest, mainly architectural or sculptural and for the most part connected with the old Hindu civilization of Java. Of these there are also some excellent illustrations in the plates contained in each volume. In particular I note the famous temple-ruins of Prambanan and Chanḍi Sewu, besides other less known buildings. A number of decorative details are separately figured (e.g. the curious makaras of Chanḍi Bubrah, plates 151-2, 1910), and a considerable number of statues and statuettes are also represented. They include the usual divinities: I may mention a Durga, eight-armed, from Surakarta (plate 159, 1910) as a typical example of the kind. The series also contains a few Buddhist figures.

Amongst the appendices is a rather succinct but interesting account of Dr. N. J. Krom's archæological tour in India, Ceylon, and Indo-China, during which he appears to have seen a great deal in a relatively short time. Having had the opportunity, given to few

archæological experts, of surveying Indian archæological remains in all these different regions, Dr. Krom makes some instructive comparisons. Finally, I note a Sanskrit-Javanese inscription of 1188 Śaka, of some historical interest, which is discussed in the volume for 1911 (pp. 117-23), the copper plate on which it is engraved being figured on plate 181 of the same volume.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SIAM: A HANDBOOK OF PRACTICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND
POLITICAL INFORMATION. By W. A. GRAHAM, M.R.A.S.
London: Alexander Moring. 1912.

The title of this book conveys a suggestion of somewhat varied contents, but hardly does full justice to the encyclopædic character of the work. Within its compass of some six hundred pages Siam is described and discussed from almost every conceivable point of view. The main headings are those dealing with Geography (including Climate and Meteorology), Natural History, Races of Men, History, Social Organisation, Government (with interesting historical sketches of the development of the different departments), Industries (including Agriculture and Irrigation, Forestry, etc.), Trade, Communications, Art, Archaeology, Architecture, Music (with Dancing and the Drama), Religion, Language, and Literature. Besides these, there are useful appendices giving the English, Siamese, and Latin names of a number of Animals, Plants, and Minerals, likewise some tables of Currency, etc., and just preceding the appendices a chapter of Bibliography which is both interesting and valuable.

A bald enumeration of the contents of a work under review may on occasion serve a useful purpose, and I therefore make no apology for the above catalogue of subjects. It must, however, be added that I have not

endeavoured to give more than the main subdivisions of the book: the index to it will help the reader to see at a glance what subjects are included in its pages. To me it is a marvel that any one man should have mastered such a multifarious wealth of material. Thus much for the matter. With the manner in which Mr. Graham has handled it I am not in a position to deal adequately. I can only say that he makes it all very interesting reading, and that, so far as I have been able to check his statements of fact, they appear to be thoroughly trustworthy. Perhaps, in fairness to both of us, I ought to add that I claim no first-hand acquaintance with Siam myself. But having had occasion to read a good deal of the literature relating to it, I venture to say that Mr. Graham's book will take a high place therein. In noticing a work of this comprehensive kind it is hardly worth while drawing attention to minor matters of detail, but with reference to the statement that *Thai*, the native name for the Siamese, is a totally different word from *Tai*, the national name for the northern branch of the family, it seems as well to point out that Professor Maspero, in a recent number of the BEFEO. (tom. xi, p. 153), has given reasons in support of the view that they are the same word, the phonetic correspondence being quite regular.

I ought to add that the work contains ninety-nine excellent illustrations and a serviceable map.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

BULLETIN DE LA COMMISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE L'INDO-CHINE. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908-11.

INVENTAIRE DESCRIPTIF DES MONUMENTS DU CAMBODGE.

Par E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE. Tome troisième.

Cartes. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1911.

The Commission archéologique de l'Indochine was constituted in January, 1908, by the Ministre de

l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts for the purpose of examining all communications relative to the conservation of the ancient monuments of French Indo-China. Its members, partly retired civilians, partly professional experts and Orientalists, include a number of distinguished names. Without encroaching upon the powers and duties of the Government of Indo-China, they were at their inaugural meeting invited to assist that Government in the proper care of the archæological treasures committed to its charge. The reports which the Commission has published from time to time contain much interesting reading. Though dealing largely with questions of conservation and restoration, they include papers on other matters as well. In the one for 1909 I notice particularly a valuable bibliography by M. G. Cœdès of works relating to the archæology of Camboja and Champa, an account of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, and a most interesting article on the archæology of Siam by Commandant L. de Lajonquière, with good illustrations thereto. This article is based on actual observations made during a special mission, which also included visits to the Malay Peninsula and parts of India and Burma.¹ The report for 1910 includes *inter alia* a well-illustrated catalogue of the pieces of Khmer sculpture kept at the Trocadéro and Guimet Museums (by M. Cœdès), an important but rather too succinct account of the epigraphic results of the Lajonquière mission already referred to, and a description (with plates) of the bas-reliefs of Bapuoṇ, these two articles being by M. L. Finot.

Of the inscriptions of Southern Siam it is to be hoped that we shall hear more. They include several in the Tamil character (and, presumably, language), one of which, here illustrated by a plate, has since been handed to

¹ The account of this journey, in the same volume, also makes very interesting reading, particularly the part dealing with the little-known districts of Southern Siam.

Dr. Hultzsch for decipherment and translation. The estampages of some of the others are temporarily in my possession: unfortunately they are not very clear, and it is to be hoped that better ones will be obtained some day.

The report for 1911 contains several important articles by various writers, including a copiously illustrated description by M. Cédès of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat, an index compiled by the same writer to M. Aymonier's *Cambodge*, a bibliographical article by M. A. Cabaton on the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian sources for the study of Indo-Chinese history, and two papers by MM. Finot and Cédès respectively on certain religious beliefs, legends, and customs of Indo-China, particularly Camboja. Altogether the Bulletin bids fair to form a valuable record of scholarly as well as strictly archæological work in connexion with the French possessions in Indo-China. It is fitting that it should receive here a cordial, if somewhat belated, welcome.

The third volume of Commandant de Lajonquière's great work completes the text, and is supplemented by two maps issued under a separate cover. One of these indicates the sites of Khmer archæological remains throughout Camboja and the neighbouring regions; the other gives on a larger scale the topography of the Angkor group of monuments. These, the most imposing and important of all the Cambojan remains, represent the nucleus of the old Khmer kingdom and culture, which flourished on the northern shore of the great lake. The descriptive text also deals with them and the archæological remains of the adjacent districts, which until a few years ago were under the Siamese Government, but now again form part of Camboja. Further chapters are concerned with the Khmer remains in Siam and Cochinchina. A very large number of specimens of architecture and sculpture are described in detail, there are many good illustrations and plans, references are given to the

writings of earlier authorities, and the existence of inscriptions (whether published or not) is noted in connexion with the places where they were found. The volume also contains an introduction on the more general aspects of Cambodian architecture, sculpture, etc. It is hardly necessary to say more about this thorough and comprehensive piece of work, creditable alike to its author and to those who supported him in his years of research. His book will long remain the leading authority on the subject, and this third volume maintains to the full the high standard he had set himself in the preceding ones.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF MODERN INDIA: 1494 TO 1894.
By JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S.,
M.R.A.S. Demy 8vo; pp. vi, 483. Edinburgh:
John Grant, 1913.

Dr. Burgess's book does for the later period of Indian history what was done for the earlier period by Miss Mabel Duff's well-known book *The Chronology of India*, which was published in 1899: it follows that book in its arrangement; and as the preface says, the two books together form a continuous chronology of events in India from the earliest times to the present. It starts with a statement of the leading sovereign rulers of the various divisions of India in A.D. 1492, and then enumerates briefly, year by year, the important events, historical, administrative, and others, from that time down to 1894, the beginning of Lord Elgin's viceroyalty. The first tabular entry in it is:—"A.D. 1492. H. [i.e. Hijra] 897. Sikandar II Lodī of Dehli conquers Bihār, and dispossesses Husain Sharqī of Jaunpur." The last is:—"A.D. 1894. Dec. 31: Amīr-ul-Mulk, a younger brother of Nizām-ul-Mulk, at the instigation of Umṛā Khān of Jandol, has the Mehtar of Chitral murdered and claims the

succession. The Chitral war follows." The materials for the book have been collected from all the leading histories of India, and are supplemented here and there from the inscriptional records. The volume supplies a great desideratum, and will be very useful to students of Indian history and to others who have need occasionally to look up the dates of Indian events: the copious index helps greatly towards using its contents.

Dr. Burgess tells us in his preface that differences in the dates of events are not unfrequent, occurring chiefly in translations of Mohammadan histories, and arising partly, perhaps, from inattention in turning dates in the Hijra era into their European equivalents. Any corrigenda in this or any other direction, brought to the author's notice, would be received with appreciation and noted for attention in a second edition.

A footnote on p. 1 presents a mistake, due to some unlucky oversight, which may be corrected now. We are told there (quite rightly) that the epoch of the Śaka era is in A.D. 78; also (quite rightly) that that era is 135 years later than the Samvat or Vikrama era: and yet we are also told that the epoch of the Vikrama era is in B.C. 57. But a period of 135 years counted back from any day in A.D. 78 takes us to the corresponding day in B.C. 58 (not 57); and the epoch of the Vikrama era is indeed in B.C. 58: the case is as follows:—

By the "epoch" of an era we sometimes mean its year 0; that is, the whole year, of the same kind with the year used in the era itself, which preceded its first current year. But the epoch is more strictly the point of time at which there began the first day of the first current year of the era. There are three principal Hindū eras; the Kaliyuga, the Vikrama, and the Śaka. The Hindū books and almanacs tell us that the Vikrama era came 3044 years after the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and the Śaka era 135 years after the beginning of the

Vikrama: see, e.g., this Journal, 1911, pp. 681, 694 ff. It is well established that the epoch of the Kaliyuga, the moment at which the first day of its first current year began, is mean sunrise, 6.0 a.m., on Friday, 18 February, B.C. 3102, or according to another school the preceding midnight. Consequently, the epoch of the Vikrama era falls in B.C. 58, and that of the Śaka era in A.D. 78. The position, as regards all the three epochs, is no matter of opinion, as to which there might be a difference: it is proved by the results of many calculations of dates in all the three reckonings.

J. F. FLEET.

HISTORY OF INDIAN AND EASTERN ARCHITECTURE. By the late JAMES FERGUSSON, C.I.E. Revised and edited with additions: Indian Architecture by JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E.; Eastern Architecture by R. PHENÉ SPIERS, F.S.A. 2 vols. pp. xxiii, 450; xvi, 521. London: John Murray, 1910.

Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, originally issued as a supplementary volume to his general history of architecture, has for nearly forty years been the indispensable guide to all interested in the subject, and still retains its value, although naturally the progress of excavations and surveys has rendered an enormous amount of new material available since its publication. Although it has been reprinted it has never been re-edited, and the need of a new edition brought up to date by competent scholars has been much felt. This revision has now been undertaken by Dr. Burgess as regards the main part of the work, the section on Eastern Architecture being contributed by Mr. Phené Spiers. The new edition is in two volumes, and there is considerable expansion in every section, in some much more than in others. The original woodcuts are retained with many additions, as well as thirty-four photographic

plates, and it is to be regretted that the latter are not more numerous. The old woodcuts too have lost much in the process of reproduction. Compare, for instance, that of the palace at Dig, on p. 483 of the first edition, with that on p. 180, vol. ii, of the second. Dr. Burgess has dealt most fully with the earlier sections, especially with Buddhist architecture. The Ceylon section (under this section) has been much expanded, the new materials being fully dealt with. Part viii, dealing with Further India, rewritten by Mr. Phené Spiers, now presents a fairly complete and well-illustrated account of the remains of ancient architecture in Burma, Siam, Kamboja, and Java. The section dealing with China and Japan hardly seems adequate to such a vast subject, and it is perhaps to be regretted that it has been dealt with in this work at all, as full treatment was impossible in the space available.

The account of Jain architecture now forms book v, and follows the books dealing with the Himalayan, Dravidian, and Chalukyan styles. There is a great deal of new matter in this section, and the chapter on Jaina caves, especially the interesting Orissa group, is entirely new. Fergusson's discussion on the origin of the Hindu and Jaina *śikhara* (or spire with curvilinear outline), which was placed by him under Jaina architecture, will now be found under the Dravidian group. The theory of its origin from elastic bamboos bent inwards towards the centre, first ventilated by Mr. W. Simpson, and recently applied to the *śikhara* by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *History of Fine Art in India*, is not alluded to. Fergusson simply considered it a "constructive necessity", and his explanation is in no way modified in the present edition. The bamboo theory is, however, evidently in no way incompatible with constructive necessity, and the stone structure might naturally arise from a bamboo origin in a country abounding in large bamboos. It is

strange that Fergusson should not have applied this theory to the temple roofs, seeing that he explained the curved cornices in the modern temples of Bengal (e.g. Kātanagar, a view of which was the frontispiece of the first edition) by the use of elastic bamboos (see p. 466 of first edition and pp. 159-61, vol. ii, of the present edition). The account of Himalayan architecture now occupies book ii, and naturally follows Buddhist architecture, from which that of Kashmīr and the Salt Range is evidently derived. The interesting group of temples in the Salt Range extending to the banks of the Indus is hardly adequately dealt with, and is still illustrated only by the small woodcut of the temple at Malot, reproduced from the original work.

The section on Dravidian architecture is considerably expanded, and the account of the rock-temples at Mahavellipore—now appearing under its correct form as Māmallapuram—is full and interesting, and brought up to date. The same may be said of the Kailās at Elūrā, of which an improved plan is given. Under Civil Architecture (book iii, chap. v) the description of the remarkable palace at Mādura is supplied with a plan by Mr. Chisholm, but the grand Gothic-looking hall is still illustrated only by the woodcut taken from Daniell's *Views in Hindustan*, although we are informed in a note that "in this view a more decidedly Saracenic character is given to the work than it actually possesses". Surely under these circumstances the resources of Mr. Murray's firm might have proved adequate to furnishing a photograph of this important building showing its actual appearance.

In the section on Chalukyan Architecture, Dr. Burgess has been able to make important additions, and to throw new light on this interesting style, one of the most important of the middle ages in the Deccan. This section is also illustrated by good photographic views of the

temples at Ittagi, Gadag, Lakkundi, Galaganāth, and Balagāmi.

The section on the Northern Hindū styles (classed together in pursuance of Fergusson's classification under the head of "Northern or Indo-Aryan style") has been revised and improved by the addition of some good photographs. The remarkable Orissa group might perhaps have been placed in a separate section, to which it is quite as well entitled as the Chalukyan group. The classification of Indian architecture is, however, a difficult subject, and for practical purposes that adopted by Fergusson may well be left undisturbed.

No doubt can exist as to the Indo-Saracenic style being absolutely distinct from other Indian architecture, although it may be divided into numerous sections. These were very fully dealt with by Fergusson, and the buildings which come under this head are so well known that there is little opening for much additional matter here. Some good photographs have been added, and some plans, as for instance of the Jāmi' Masjid at Champānēr and the Fort of Lahore. The classification adopted by Fergusson has not been modified, and the early Musalman architecture is still described as "Pathān", though no Pathān had anything to do with it. The buildings erected by the only Pathān or Afghān who has left his mark on architecture—Shēr Shāh Sūrī—are quite properly classed in the early Mughal style. The early kings who erected the remarkable mosques and tombs of Delhi and Ajmēr were the Turkish slave-generals of the Iranian kings of Ghor and their successors of Turkish or Sayyid race. The unfortunate use of the term Pathān for these dynasties, because the king overthrown by Bābar was a Lōdi Afghān, is responsible for many misconceptions. Thus in this work Gaur is called the old Afghān capital of Bengal, although all the Afghāns did to it was to destroy it.

Although some deficiencies have been pointed out, it must not be understood that this edition is in any way unworthy of its subject. It is still in the main Dr. Fergusson's work, and Dr. Burgess has acted wisely in not attempting to recast it as a whole. He has supplied wherever it was possible to do so accurate information based on the most recent authorities, and this was what was wanted in an edition of this classical guide to Indian architecture. It may therefore be hoped that it will prove as useful to modern students of the art as its predecessor was in the last generation.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA. By Don MARTINO DE ZILVA
WICKREMASINGHE. Vol. I, Part VI.

The sixth part of the first volume of this interesting publication begins with three inscriptions of King Mahinda IV (A.D. 1026-42). All three are written on slabs; the first two (Nos. 19 and 20) lie in the Jetāvanārāma area, not far from the stone canoe on the outer circular road in Anurādhapura, the third (No. 21) at Vevālkātiya, about twenty-one miles to the north-east of Anurādhapura. Nos. 19 and 20 are published here for the first time. Of No. 21 I have given a rough transcript, with a short introductory note but no translation, in my AIC., No. 122.

Nos. 19 and 20 evidently belong together. No. 19 gives a poetic description of the Abhayagiri monastery and a general survey of the charitable acts Mahinda IV performed and of the religious monuments he built or repaired. It was promulgated on the tenth day of the waxing moon, in the month of Poson (May - June). Unfortunately the number of the year is obliterated, but Wickremasinghe suggests that it may be the eighth year

of Mahinda IV (A.D. 1034), and I agree with him in this respect. No. 20 must have been promulgated soon after No. 19. It gives an account of the repairs Mahinda IV effected at the Abhayagirivihāra and the rules which he instituted for its good government.

The contents of both inscriptions agree with those of the slab inscription of Kassapa V at Anurādhapura (*Ep. Zeyl.*, No. 4) and the tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale (*Ep. Zeyl.*, No. 7).

No. 21 is very interesting, as it gives a lot of information with regard to the treatment of criminals during the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., especially in the *dasagama* of Kibi-nilam District in Angam-Kuḷiya in the northern quarter. There are several difficult words in this inscription, but, as far as I can see, Wickremasinghe's translations are correct. In his introductory remarks on p. 243 f. Wickremasinghe seems to be doubtful whether *dasagam* is to be identified with *daṣagrāma* or with *dāsagrāma*. I believe that it can only mean *daṣagrāma*, as we see from different passages that the country was divided for administrative purposes into groups of ten villages. Wickremasinghe himself quotes Manu, vii, 115, Viṣṇu, iii, 8, and the term *dāṣagrāmika* in the inscription of the Buddhist king Dharmapāladeva (*Ep. Ind.*, iv, No. 34). We learn from these passages that the king was authorized to appoint headmen of one village (*grāma-syādhipati*), of ten villages (*daṣagrāmāpati*), of twenty villages (*vinṣatīga*), etc. These headmen remained under the personal control of the king as long as they held office. King Bimbisāra, for instance, had to control 80,000 village presidents (Mahāvagga, v, 1, 1). It appears from lines 11 and 42 of our inscription that these headmen used to sit in session and inquire of the inhabitants of the *dasagam* if any murder or robbery with violence had been committed. This session was called *sabhā* (Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 172) and the judges

sabhyāḥ or *sabhāsadaḥ* (Jolly, *Zeitsch. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, 44, p. 344).

The expression *dasagam* occurs also in the slab inscription of Kassapa V at Vessagiri (*Ep. Zeyl.*, No. 2, l. 26), and there Wickremasinghe (p. 37) translated it by "barbarians", a translation which he tries to justify by the etymology *dāsagrāma* or *diçāgama*. I do not believe in this translation, nor in one of these two etymologies. The word *dasagam* has the same signification here as in the Vevālkātiya inscription, viz. "a group of ten villages".

With regard to p. 249, n. 6, I may add that the Sanskrit word *khaṇḍaphuḷḷaḥ* occurs, Mahāvīyutpatti, 281, 225, the Pāli Cullavagga, vi, 5, 2, and vi, 17, 1.

No. 22 is much older than the three inscriptions mentioned above. It belongs to a king who calls himself Maḷu Tisa, son of King Naka, and is identical with Kaniṭṭha Tissa (A.D. 229-47), son of Mahallaka Nāga. This inscription was found in the area of the Jetāvanārāma, and the question arises whether it really belongs to this monastery or whether it has been brought there from the Abhayagirivihāra. In order to settle this question Wickremasinghe might have referred to Henry Parker's *Ancient Ceylon* (London, 1909), pp. 299 ff., who wants to make out from the Mahāvansa and from Fa Hien's account that the Jetāvana and Abhayagiri dāgobas are identical. I cannot discuss this matter fully here, as it would lead me too far, but I shall say a few words about the inscription in question.

Wickremasinghe states (p. 253) that "Upalaketaka may have been a tract of field in Upalavibajaka or -bijaka referred to in the inscriptions of Pālu-Mākiccāva and Tammānākanda". On p. 210 he mentions also the Upaladonika tank in the two inscriptions at Wihārāgala (AIC. 11), which was built by King Vasabha, and this may be identical with the Rājuppalavāpi, Mahāvansa,

xxxv, 95; Dīpavansa, xxii, 7. The corresponding names from the Rājāvaliya and Pūjāvaliya are given, *Ep. Zeyl.*, p. 68.

Among the tanks mentioned in the inscription of Pālu-Mākiecāva (*Ep. Zeyl.*, No. 18) there is also the Vadamanaka tank constructed by King Vasabha. Wickremasinghe correctly states that this is the Abhi-vaḍḍhamānaka tank mentioned in Mahāvansa, xxxv, 95; Dīpavansa, xxii, 7. In the footnote on p. 211 he adds that Professor Geiger's edition of the Mahāvansa has the reading Aggivadḍhamānaka instead. Now it is curious to observe that Professor Geiger's reading is supported by the inscription of Habarane (AIC., No. 61), which has clearly Agivadamana vaviya in ll. 1, 3, and 4.

With regard to the translation of *tela ca hutica mula kotu*, I now quite agree with Wickremasinghe. The expression *mal milae*, "money for flowers," occurs in the inscription of Mahinda IV at Ambasthala, Mihintale (*Ep. Zeyl.*, No. 7, B 3), where *milae* corresponds to *mula* in the present inscription.

With this part the first volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* comes to an end. We look forward with great expectations to the second part of this interesting publication.

E. MÜLLER.

BERNE.

January, 1913.

BANGER JĀTĪYA-ITIHĀS, OR THE CASTES AND SECTS OF
BENGAL. By NAGENDRA NATH BASU. Calcutta.

This is a large work projected in Bengali, of which three volumes have reached me. The first two deal with brahmans and the third with vaiśyas. In the first volume the author begins with a discussion of the origin of caste and the families of the ancient rishis according to the Veda, the Purāṇas, and other Sanskrit books, noticing

that the distinction between castes and the right to offer sacrifices were not rigidly fixed in the earliest times. He then enters upon the Brāhmaṇ-kāṇḍa, dividing the subject into parts. In the first Part he deals with the earliest or Gauda brahmans in Bengal, and then with those who migrated from Kanauj and developed into the Rārhiya and Bārendra brahmans.

The second Part has not reached me, but the third, fourth, and fifth Parts form the contents of the second volume. The third Part treats of Vaidik brahmans who came to Bengal from the west and from the south, bringing with them and reviving the study of the Veda, which had been neglected there. The fourth Part deals with the Śakas and similar dynasties and the so-called Śākadvīpiya brahmans who upheld the worship of the sun; and the fifth Part considers the Jijhotiya brahmans briefly.

The third of the volumes begins the Vaiśya-kāṇḍa and comprises the first Part of this subject, treating of ancient merchants and trade, internal and foreign, the conditions of business as they were affected by the dynasties of the Kali Age, and the rise of the vaiśyas with the Gupta dynasty.

The author introduces each subject with an account of it in ancient times and brings it down to the present time, explaining it with much information about events, persons, places, genealogies, rights, and customs during the modern period. Much of this is taken from family records and other local sources, supplemented with particulars gleaned from inscriptions that have been deciphered. All the modern portion comprises a large quantity of information, which is presumably valuable and fairly correct, but which it would be out of place to review here. The treatment of the ancient portions is but an introduction to existing castes and sects, and turns upon many points of high interest, which have not

been properly worked out yet, but upon which the author offers his own opinion.

The work is written in Bengali, which is clearly expressed, but makes copious use of Sanskrit words and phrases. The information about recent and present-day matters should be of service to anyone interested in the subject, but the fact that it is in Bengali places it beyond the reach of those unacquainted with that language.

F. E. P.

GESCHICHTE DER INDISCHEN LITTERATUR, von Dr. M. WINTERNITZ, O. Professor an der deutschen Universität in Prag. Vol. II, Part I. Leipzig, 1913.

In this instalment of his History of Indian Literature Professor Winternitz deals in detail with the Buddhist literature. He apologizes in the Preface for daring to do so in the present state of our knowledge, and the difficulties are indeed considerable, and from two opposite reasons.

During the last generation about ninety volumes, not including tracts and fragments, of Pali texts, and a score or more of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, have been edited and made accessible to European scholars. On these texts there have appeared, in the introductions to the texts or in one or other of the numerous journals at home and abroad devoted to such studies, quite a large number of notes and articles. To give a sufficiently accurate description of the contents of these books, to discuss their historical relations, and to take note of the more important expressions of opinion already put forth, is no light task. But, on the other hand, the task is rendered more difficult still by the meagreness of the materials. We know the names of more than a score of schools of thought into which the early Buddhists were already divided before the time

of Asoka. We have from different sources many lists of such schools, each giving eighteen as the number of them, and each stating that the original school, from which all the others were mediately or immediately derived, was the school of the Theravādins. The Pali texts are the work of that school; but they exist in collections made at uncertain dates, and containing pieces old and new. To assist us in criticizing these collections we have only one work at present available that purports to be the output of any one of the other schools, and there is a complete blank from the time of Asoka to that of Kanishka.

Over the first of these two difficulties—the great number of books to be studied—the author comes out an easy victor. With commendable industry and patience he has described, so far as the limits of his space permitted, and from the point of view of literature, the whole of these religious books. He writes with impartiality and a good sense of proportion. As the treatment is purely literary, there has been no need to discuss the real subjects of the works—ethics, religion, and philosophy. The author tells us of the literary form, gives extracts from the stories and legends, and examples of the similes used; and from the store of his wide knowledge of folk-lore adduces interesting parallels. He seems to think these early efforts of some literary value. The modern minor poet or novelette-reader would probably scorn them. Have these old books really any value at all as literature? Everyone admits their historical value, but that is quite another matter. There are isolated paragraphs and verses, which, apart from the thought they express, come up to our standard of literary form. These are a welcome relief to the historical student who, searching these books for evidence of social and religious movements, finds them full of interest. And every such student will be grateful to Professor Winternitz.

The other difficulty—that arising from the want of material—is really unsurmountable. In the absence of evidence, conclusions must necessarily be uncertain. The author's careful and sober balancing of the probabilities in each case as to the date and origin of the books will scarcely be enough to convince those who have already expressed different views on any of the numerous points that arise. But we may hope in this subject, as in others, for a gradual narrowing of the issues, and approximation to a consensus of opinion.

In this volume the absurd and misleading convention of classifying Buddhist books as Northern or Southern has disappeared completely; and the fable of a Sanskrit (or even a Mahāyāna!) canon having been settled at Kanishka's council, so often used to mislead the unwary, is mentioned only to be brushed aside. Attention is directed throughout to the evident fact that the so-called books are not books at all in the sense of that word as used in modern literature. Only one or two have an author. They are anthologies in prose or verse or both. They contain paragraphs, stanzas, episodes, of different dates; and each of these must be judged by itself. Another point of mere common sense that is made, let us hope finally, is that in dating any Indian work by the date of its translation into Chinese one should make sure that the translation is really one of the work in question, and not of a different work with a similar title. After urging these points for years it is good to find them taken up in a standard manual.

Other points are more doubtful. The author says (p. 10) that Māgadhī was the home dialect of the Buddha, and says it as if it were so certain, that the point need not be discussed. Why is he so very sure that Gotama and his people spoke, at home and among themselves, a foreign dialect, the dialect of a distant and hostile kingdom? Could we lay it down as an axiom that the

home dialect of an Essex man must be Scotch, or the home dialect of a Hanoverian Saxon?

Then (on p. 11) the author says that "Pali remained always the language spoken by the monks". The context shows that "monks" means here the Bhikkhus resident in Ceylon. They spoke Sinhalese. No evidence is adduced to show that they spoke Pali—a dead language, far more widely different from Sinhalese than Vedic from Sanskrit. A certain number of them, never probably very large, learned portions of the Pali canon by heart. Each of these scholars was the walking, living edition of a certain text; his pupils learnt it by heart, and he explained it to them in Sinhalese. To assist them in recollecting this explanation, which was not learnt by heart, certain doggerel mnemonic verses were taught to them in Pali. So far as our evidence goes this was the only use made of Pali till, six centuries afterwards, we have the first book composed in Pali in Ceylon—the *Dipavaṃsa*. So entirely awkward is the management of the language in this work, that it is certain that its author, or authors, were not accustomed to the use of Pali as a medium of expression. To suppose that through these six centuries the Bhikkhus in Ceylon had spoken Pali habitually seems, to say the least, very bold. There is simply no evidence that they spoke it at all.

At p. 136 there is a curious omission. Instead of the words "this difficult catechism" there should of course be "the doctrine of the Four Nikāyas as classified and summarized in this difficult catechism". At p. 133 we are told that the *Pāramitās* are not mentioned in the majority of the *Jātaka* stories. That would seem to suggest that they are mentioned in some. But surely it is only the verses, not the commentary on the verses, that should be considered in this connexion, and if there be a single case where the later doctrine of these Perfections is mentioned in the verses, a reference to that case would

be desirable. As is well known, the doctrine does not occur in the Four Nikāyas. What need can there be to discuss the strange theory that the Cariyā Piṭaka was composed to bring the Jātakas into harmony with a previous doctrine that did not previously exist? We see in the Cariyā Piṭaka one of the earliest signs of that slackening of effort, no doubt inevitable, which led the weaker brethren to give up the struggle for self-mastery along the Eightfold Path, and to seek comfort rather in devotion. They did not as yet call it *Bhakti*; but they found it easier to adore their teacher than to follow his advice.

Meanwhile we may congratulate ourselves on having at last a thoroughly sane and scholarly treatment of a difficult and important subject, and should also congratulate the author on having written a book that will long remain, in spite of different opinions on matters of detail, the standard textbook on Buddhist literature.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE DUAB OF TURKESTAN. By W. RICKMER RICKMERS.
University Press, Cambridge, 1913.

This is a beautiful book. The reproductions of photographs are delightful, and Mr. Rickmers writes with sympathy and eloquence about the scenery of Turkestan and his adventures in the mountains. He is not a historian or an antiquary, and there are few references to old buildings or to fights fought long ago, and very few dates. But he is, what is probably more important, a geologist and a mountaineer, and he has much that is interesting to say about the configuration of Central Asia. In respect of its geological details the book resembles Mr. Pampelly's *Explorations in Turkestan* (Washington, 1908), but it

contains many other things, and is far more alive than the somewhat stolid record of the American scientist. Mr. Rickmers does not profess to be an Oriental linguist, and his spelling of place-names, etc., is rather peculiar. On the frontispiece and at p. 108 there are views of the monument to the protomartyr of Samarkand, the Shāh Zinda, that is, the living Pir or Saint, and these are labelled "Shakhzinde at Samarkand". But the *h* in Shāh is not the Arabic *h*, and should not be written as *h*. The Shāh Zinda was a well-known personage, and he is mentioned by Bābur under his proper name of Qāsim b. Abbas. P. de Courteille in his excellent translation of Bābur's Memoirs renders the word "Shāh" by *roi*. But the saint was not a king, and the word Shāh here only means that he was a faqir, or king of himself, the title often being given to dervishes in this sense. Again, at p. 478 and in his glossary Mr. Rickmers has Uraza as the name of the Ramāzan Fast. I am not sure what Oriental word this stands for. Is it Roza, or is it 'Uras, the celebration of a saint's birthday?

Mr. Rickmers calls his book *The Duab of Turkestan*, meaning thereby the country between the Oxus and the Sir or Jaxartes. The title is appropriate, but might not the old name of Transoxiana, the Mā Warāu-n-Nahr, "the country behind the river" of the Arabs have done equally well? There is, or was, another word for the land, namely Miyānkāl, which according to Reclus means "between the rivers", but though Miyān means between, the meaning of the last syllable is doubtful, and Blochmann says Miyānkāl means the mountains between Samarkand and Bokhara. I do not know if the designation be still in use.

Mr. Rickmers' second and third chapters, "The Physical Features of the Duab" and "The Zarafshān", are especially attractive. In the former he gives an interesting account of the Loess (to be pronounced Lās), which, as he says,

meets us at every step and plays as important a part as water in Middle Asia. "It is the soil of all plant-life worth speaking of." Mr. Rickmers defines it as "a friable, yellow clay containing lime and a large percentage of sand". He adds that its characteristic quality is porosity, and that it is now generally agreed that it has been sifted and deposited by wind and not by water. The other chapter, on the Zarafshān, is an enthusiastic description of the beneficent river of Samarkand and Bokhara, which well deserves its name of the "Showerer of Gold". Here we are glad to see that Mr. Rickmers holds that the river derives its name from its irrigating power, and not from "the few miserable grains of yellow metal found among its gravel". The Zarafshān is the Nile of Sogdiana, and below Panjkent feeds about a million of people. Like other benefactors, it crowns its work by death, and perishes before reaching the Oxus. In this respect it is like the Pūn Pūn in Bihar, which during most of the year dies exhausted before reaching Mother Ganges. In Bokhara, says Mr. Rickmers, the Zarafshān is tapped by forty-three principal ariqs, or canals, and at p. 60 he gives a singular diagram composed of a square-inch section of the survey-map of the river, and showing a bewildering network of canals in the Samarkand basin. These canals make walking and riding very difficult, as the Emperor Bābur found when on a dark night he fled with his mother and some followers from the city of Samarkand. "We lost our way," he writes, "having entangled ourselves among the great branches of the canals of the Sogd, and, after encountering many difficulties, we passed Khwāja Didār about dawn." It is rather a digression, but I cannot refrain from adding that Bābur's spirits revived with the daylight, and that he then and there amused himself by racing his horse against two of his followers. His saddle-girths broke and he lighted on his head, and felt stupefied till the evening!

In the course of his travels Mr. Rickmers did a good deal of mountaineering, and he claims that he and his friend Albrecht von Krafft (who unfortunately afterwards died when in the service of the Indian Geological Survey) were the first to attack the inner bastions of the mountains. Chapter v contains an interesting account of Bokhara and of a journey to Kārshi, but of course it is not so full of information as Olufsen's special work on Bokhara and its Amir.

In the chapter on Samarkand, Mr. Rickmers has an amusing recipe for making a mental picture of the ruined city of Afrāsyāb, the original of Samarkand: "Take all the crockery and china of London, Paris, and Berlin, smash it to pieces, mix it with two or three million cubic yards of clay, and bricks and bones — such is Afrāsyāb."

Chapter xi describes a visit to the Zarafshān Glacier, and at p. 253 there is a photograph of the glacier gate of the river.

Chapter xii, "The Mountains of the Fān," is exciting, for it describes two narrow escapes of the author. One was an accident from a falling stone, which injured an artery in the temple and caused a considerable loss of blood. The other adventure was more serious, for it was an attempt by two robbers, who were accompanied by dogs, to murder and rob Mr. Rickmers. Luckily his Tyrolese guide came up in time. One of his assailants was afterwards caught and punished, and at p. 299 we see him tied to a tree and awaiting judgment. Mr. Rickmers says the cornices of the Fān defile are the most horrible he ever trod. This is interesting, for in 1500 Bābur went over the same ground on his way from Samarkand to Hissar, and says—

"A Pass! and what a Pass! Never was such a steep and narrow Pass seen; never were traversed such ravines and precipices. Those dangerous narrows and sudden falls, those

perilous heights and knife-edge saddles, we got through with much difficulty and suffering, with countless hardships and miseries. Amongst the Fān mountains is a large lake; it is 2 miles in circumference, a beautiful lake, and not devoid of marvels" (Mrs. Beveridge's translation; in Erskine the Fān is wrongly called the Qān, owing to an incorrect MS.).

Bābur does not name the lake, but it is evidently the Iskandar Kūl of Rickmers and other travellers. In Mr. Rickmers' expedition one of his best horses was lost by falling over the *khad*. Perhaps the marvels of which Bābur speaks may refer to a sacred cave near by, where the bones of Khwaja Isaac repose. Mr. Rickmers' description of the Iskandar lake deserves quotation for its picturesqueness—

"Iskandar-kul lies in a caldron of barren mountain flanks. Along the shore stand a few juniper trees of great size; their gaunt and tangled boughs, covered with spare, moss-like leafage, stood out against the water like the silhouettes of Japanese fancy. The delta of the inlet at the western end, however, proved an idyllic grove of poplars, willows, and buckthorn, with meadows of various grasses, eyebright, orchids, sedge, horsetail, cinquefoil, clover, geranium, lousewort. Here gleamed a gorgeous tent (put up by the Pristav for his friends) on a plot of greensward, at the foot of a rockery of boulders, overgrown with lichen. From under this bubbled a powerful spring of limpid water. Behind us was a screen of trees, leaving an open prospect upon the lake (Fig. 122)."

Chapter xiv describes the ascent of the great Achik, one of the companions of Mount Severtsov. I do not find its height stated, but apparently it was over 18,000 feet.

Other chapters contain accounts of travels and mountains, accompanied as usual by admirable photographs, but my space is exhausted, and, moreover, I am incompetent to deal with geological questions. I shall therefore only refer to the interesting accounts of gold-washing and gold-digging at pp. 425-8.

There is also an elaborate appendix on geological subjects and on climate, and the problem of desiccation which is so important in Central Asia. There is also a list of native words, and what appears to be a very full bibliography.

We congratulate Mr. Rickmers on the completion of what must have been a very arduous task, and we also congratulate Mrs. Rickmers (whom we are glad to recognize as a fellow-countrywoman) on her having been able to take part in her husband's adventures and perils, and to assist him by giving him information about the women of the country, which he could not have attained by himself.

H. B.

BABYLONIAN RECORDS IN THE LIBRARY OF J. PIERPONT MORGAN. Edited by ALBERT T. CLAY. Part I : Babylonian Business Transactions of the first millennium B.C. 12 x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. New York : privately printed, 1912.

This work, which contains 102 excellently-copied texts, is a very representative collection of its kind. Nebuchadnezzar I (1155 B.C.), Nabû-šum-iškun (1020 B.C.), Nabonassar (747 B.C.), Nabû-mukin-zēr (? 732 B.C.), Bêl-ibni (son of Sennacherib, 702 B.C.), Esarhaddon, Saosduchinos, Chineladanos, Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar the Great, Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspis, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Seleucus (Antiochus III) are the names of the kings to be found therein; and the various classes of documents make up a fairly long list, including, as they do, temple-accounts, loans, receipts, various contracts, a mortgage, sales of land, etc.

The following is described as the record of a loan of grain to two men (No. 2) :—

30 (*gur*) of barley (in) the hands of Êrišu and Zabinu for seed. Month Chisleu, day 20th, year 10th, Nabû-šuma-iškun, king. (About 1010 B.C.)

Another text is a "Payment of barley instead of silver" (No. 20)—

Barley which has been given for silver—its date.

108 *gur* for 3 mana of silver, Hailanu, the tailor (?); 50 (*gur*) 56 (*qa*) for 1 mana 23½ shekels of silver, Danna-ilûa, the (royal) attendant—Total 158 (*gur*) 56 (*qa*) of barley for 4 mana 3½ [*sic*] shekels of silver at the rate of 180¹ *qa*, within the storehouse which is in the plantation.

Month Tebet, day 17th, year 14th, Nabonassar, king of Babylon.

No. 33 may be a building contract. The beginning is incomplete, but a third of a (mana by the) shekel had been advanced. From line 8 onwards it reads as follows:—

He shall not go to another place, and if he lay not the bricks it shall increase unto him by 1 shekel of silver a month.


Witnesses: Muranu son of the smith; Ubaru son of the *kur-garra*.

Writer of the contract: Nabû-našir son of Anušatu-ikiša. Borsippa, month Chisleu, day 14th, year 1st [Šamaš-šum]-ukîn (Saosduchinos), [King of Babylon].

Nos. 88 and 98, dated in the 125th and 122nd years of the Seleucian era respectively, are very fine specimens, the former, dated at Cuthah, with impressions of twenty-four, and the latter, dated at Erech, with impressions of nine oval or point-ended seals. Among the other late inscriptions is one (No. 99) which, from a comparison with the British Museum tablet 78-7-30, 3, is dated in

¹ Probably meaning that the *gur* was the late one of 180 *qa* instead of 300 *qa*.

the 218th year of the Arsacidean period. It is entitled "Temple Payments". Noteworthy are lines 25-30: "5½ shekels for the glowing fires (?) (*péntum*^{pl.}) of the great gate, the gate of the entry of my lady (*Zēr-panítum*, Merodach's spouse), and the gate of the entry of Sakut¹ (or *Dikut*, Sem. *Dayanu*, 'the Judge'), Ê-tur-kalama, the cypress-plantation (*kiri buraši*), the . . . of the temple Ê-Gula of Ê-hursag-ella, Ê-Gula of Ê-hursag-azaga, the regulation-food of Ê-Gula, the rations (?) of the inspector (or director) of the gates of Ê-saggil (the temple of Belus) until the same (i.e. the 13th day of the 2nd Adar), by the hand of Raḥimesu has been given." Among the deities worshipped on the site of Babylon this inscription mentions Zagaga (god of battle) and Ninlila (the older Beltis), whilst the personal names contain those of Bêl or Merodach, Nebo, and Nergal. The chief temple of Gula, Ê-sabat, is also referred to, as well as Ê-saggil (= Ê-sagila, the temple of Belus) itself.

To the list of places on p. 42 may be added *Dûru ša Amme-ia-ušur* (No. 3, l. 12), which is possibly the full form of the modern *Dreheim* (? *D're-Hem* for *Dûre-Ham*, the remainder being omitted), and *Bit-Dakuru* (No. 93, l. 4), the home of a noted Chaldean tribe, whilst . . . *al-la-nu* probably has to be struck out. To the names of gates may be added *Bābu ša elli dli ša ita Ukīnaya*, "the gate which is above the village of the boundary of Ukīnaya" (56 : 2); *Bābu ša Ištar* (98 : 8); *bābāni ša Ê-saggil*, "the gates of the Temple of Belus" (99 : 30); and probably some others. From Professor Clay's copy, I am inclined to read, in No. 71, ll. 7, 10, 11,  rather as *duēlu Kar-sa-a-a*, "the Karsite," than *Kar-dak-a*, "the Kardakite." The names of the

¹ Possibly the *Succoth* of *Succoth Benoth*, 2 Kings xvii, 30, who, mentioned here after "my lady", was probably Merodach. The true form of *Succoth Benoth* was in that case סְכוּת בִּן נֹת *Sukoth ban wāth* = *Sakut ban māti* (*wāti*), "Sakut, creator of the land."

persons so designated are *Lukšu*, *Inahud*, and *Hanana*.¹ The text is dated in the 7th year of Darius.

It will be recognized that the copies seem to be in every way excellent, and the index of names is most useful. The author's notes on the name of Saosduchinos, identified as the native *Šamaš-šumu-kīn* (pronounced *Šawaš-šuw-ukīn*), are very suggestive, but it is difficult to fit the Greek in with any other than the generally received form.

T. G. PINCHES.

INDIAN DRAWINGS. First Series, 1910; Second Series, 1912. Edited by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. Published by the India Society.

Concluding a recent article in the second number of the new *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Mr. Coomaraswamy wrote: "I venture to suggest that the time has come when Western Orientalists, if they would retain the respect which their invaluable linguistic and historical researches have gained for them in the minds of Eastern scholars, should initiate that serious study of the history and significance of Indian art which they have so long neglected . . . The study of Indian culture in all æsthetic aspects, save literary, remains an almost unworked field."

How far English Orientalists are inclined to act on this suggestion remains to be seen, but that last statement is undeniable, and we may add that this "almost unworked field" promises fascinating disclosures. Those of us whose opportunities for study have been limited to European collections have known practically nothing of Indian drawings and paintings but the productions of the Mughal school; for to this school the examples brought from India may be said to have been confined. And

¹ If my reading be correct, these may have been natives of Kars in Armenia.

Mughal art has necessarily had to bear a comparison with the miniature painting of Persia. It was natural enough to regard this Indian school as, on the whole, an inferior and imitative continuation of the Persian tradition. True, when regarded less negligently, the finer Mughal work revealed a distinctive character and a superior "inwardness" of conception. But the Indian artists never had that unsurpassed sense of material beauty which makes Persian painting in its prime so wonderful and infuses a feeling so exquisitely decorative into the designs of Persian craftsmen. European artists and connoisseurs, coming to an unknown art, where subjects and conventions are strange, are inevitably attracted first by beauty of decoration. So it was with Japan; the colour-prints found enthusiastic appreciators years before the grander qualities of Japanese painting were discovered. There is the same obvious appeal in the Persian paintings, with their dazzling sensuous romance and marvellous colouring. But there is no sting of thought behind this art, no mental activity; its limits are soon reached. And before long the connoisseurs of Europe will be wanting to go deeper. Will they be able to turn to nothing in India but the art of the Mughal school, in which Persian tradition counts for so much? Happily, they will. One may hope indeed that the two volumes of Indian drawings before us are but the foretaste of a world of art till now unguessed at. At any rate, here are the proofs that a whole body of Indian painting exists, or has existed, which is quite independent of any Persian derivation, and possesses qualities of a very different kind, qualities to surprise and enchant us.

It is to Mr. Coomaraswamy, the editor of these volumes and the owner of the majority of the drawings reproduced, that we owe the pioneer work of sifting and defining the various types of Indian art that do not belong to the Mughal school. On such questions I am wholly

incompetent to pronounce or criticize, being merely concerned with æsthetic considerations; but it is evident that the task of classification is still in a more or less tentative stage. The first of these volumes was published in 1910, the second in 1912; and even in this brief interval the editor has been able to add to his knowledge and become more sure of his definitions. Thus the large profile "Head of a Girl", reproduced in the first series, plate xv, is now recognized as "a typical Rājput work, from Jaipur".

What is Rājput art, and what are its characteristics? Mr. Coomaraswamy contends that "the old Indian life continued almost uninterrupted in two large areas of Northern India, viz. Rājputāna and the Panjab Himālayas". There "ancient Hindu India has lived on almost to the present day, and these areas were the home of the corresponding art of Rājput painting". Far from being inspired by the culture of the Mughal empire, this art derives—at a long remove, one must say—from the ancient frescoes of Ajantā. Such at least is Mr. Coomaraswamy's contention. And though the gap of a thousand years is bewildering, it is incontestable that the same fundamental character reappears, though, as we should expect, the Buddhist themes of Ajantā are exchanged for Hindu myth and story, and the style has become formalized in its conventions. We are not here concerned with Rājput painting, of which Mr. Coomaraswamy gives some account in the article in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, referred to at the beginning of these notes. The two volumes published by the India Society are confined to drawings. But the special character of Rājput art is seen more intimately in the drawings than in the paintings; for the art is essentially one of outline. The same is true of the Ajantā frescoes; and it is remarkable how closely these later draughtsmen follow on paper the traditional technique of Asiatic

wall-painting. Of the technical processes a minute account is given in the introduction to *Indian Drawings*, second series.

The large cartoons from Jaipur, examples of which are reproduced in the first few plates of the second series, are a recent discovery, and are very interesting. They prove the existence of a tradition of design on a large scale existing down to the eighteenth century at least. These designs are pricked for pouncing, and must have existed in many repeated versions. They lack the freedom and vigour of the Ajantā style, but they retain a largeness of aspect with all their refinement of line. But the most delightful revelation is the beauty of the smaller drawings in the Pahārī style. The illustrations to the story of Nala and Damayanti, especially, are of astonishing beauty. One of these is reproduced in the first series, and a number more in the second. There is a kind of sweet impulsiveness in the movements and gestures, a sense of joyous and abundant life, serious and playful at once, which both invigorates and receives a charm from the great simplicity of the contours and the controlling curves of a traditional method of design. Drawn with a brush, the outlines are exquisite in their powerful delicacy. The lovers in their pavilion, hailing the moonrise; a group of Yogis sitting in a cluster together; girl musicians on a balcony; Damayanti at her toilet; a thronging cavalcade in a courtyard, watched by shy women peeping over a wall: what a sensation of actual life these give, and what a sense of the poetry of life! This is an art which in its own kind need be afraid of no comparisons. It is pleasant to emerge from an ignorance; and those of us who had not suspected that Indian art had such fascinating secrets will be grateful to the editor of these volumes for disclosing them, and at the same time crave for more. The work of the Mughal school, after such things as these, has less power to interest. Its strength is in its portraiture; and

at their best the Mughal portraits are very fine ; delicate, incisive, dignified. The portrait of a man in a garden (first series, plate vi) is a beautiful and (I imagine) unusual example. The tracing of a group of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān (second series, plate xxv) is of special interest, as it exactly reproduces part of the central group in the damaged but large and magnificent painting on fabric, acquired, since this book was published, by the British Museum.

A word must be given to the drawings of animals, a good number of which — mostly admirable — are reproduced in the two volumes. They are in various styles and of various dates. The fine drawing of a rhinoceros attacked by elephants (second series, plate xxii) is of the nineteenth century ; and Mr. Coomaraswamy attributes many of the figure drawings to the same date. To realize that such art, alive so recently, has withered before the advance of Western civilization, is a thought of horror.

LAURENCE BINYON.

HISTOIRE DES MONGOLS. Editée par E. BLOCHET. Gibb Memorial Fund, Vol. XVIII, 2.

Note on the Illustrations

These are reproductions from a Persian MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It dates from the early years of the fifteenth century. The interest of these miniatures, not themselves of particularly remarkable quality as works of art, lies in the evidence they show of the connexion between Persian and Chinese painting. M. Blochet has elsewhere argued that the miniature painters of Persia were powerfully influenced by Chinese art, and has instanced the types of face, costume, conventions of drawing clouds, flames, etc., as derived from

Chinese example. No doubt China, with her many centuries of a splendid tradition in painting, could not fail to attract the eyes of artists among the more western nations of Asia, and perhaps enjoyed the same sort of prestige as Italy in Europe after the Renaissance. But though we cannot help being conscious of a Chinese element in the pages of this Persian MS., it would be easy to exaggerate it. Place one of these miniatures beside a typical figure painting of the Yüan or early Ming period, and we should, I think, be more struck by the difference than the likeness. The Persian painter is far more naïf, and far more primitive, than any contemporary master of China. What differentiates Chinese from all other Asian painting, except the Japanese, is the peculiar principle of design, the *spacing*. Just from their *naïveté*, however, these Persian miniatures derive a charm. Could the masses of painting be recovered which have perished with the lost civilizations of Turkestan, we should doubtless have before our eyes the links of affiliation between the art of China and the art of Persia. At present we can only trace threads here and there, as in some of the paintings found by Dr. von Le Coq and now at Berlin. Meanwhile the publication of early Persian miniatures like the illustrations to this MS. is a welcome help to study.

LAURENCE BINYON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-March, 1913)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

January 14, 1913.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Basant Kumar Chatterjea.

Mr. Kolatheray Sankara Menon.

Three nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E., read a paper entitled "Tom Coryat in Asia".

A discussion followed, in which Sir George Birdwood and Mr. Cotton took part.

February 11, 1913.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. P. S. Ramulu Chetty.

Pandit Shyam Behari Misra.

Mr. Jotindra M. Mitra.

Eight nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell gave a lecture entitled "Fortress and Palace in Western Asia".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Pinches, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hagopian, and Mr. Creswell took part.

March 11, 1913.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Chairman referred to the loss the Society had sustained in the deaths of Count Angelo de Gubernatis, an Honorary Member, and of Dr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., an Honorary Vice-President; and a resolution, conveying the sympathy of the Society with the relatives, was passed.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Dr. William Cohn.
 Babu J. N. Datta.
 Mr. Krishna Lal Govindram Dewashrayee.
 Mr. Saurindra Kumar Gupta.
 Mr. S. C. Hill, B.A., B.Sc.
 Mr. Nawal Kishore.
 Mr. C. P. Govinda Pillai.
 Mr. Hakim Syed Shamsullah Qaderi.

Three nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Dr. Pinches read a paper entitled "Sargon of Assyria's Eighth Campaign".

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Hagopian, Sir George Grierson, and Dr. Daiches took part.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. LXVI, Heft iv.

Sukthankar (V.). Notes on Mammata's Kavyaprakāsa.
 Suali (L.). On an intended Prakrit Dictionary.
 Németh (J.). Die türkisch-mongolische Hypothese.
 Schoenfeld (D.). Die Mongolen und ihre Paläste und Gärten im mittleren Gangestale.
 Nielson (D.). Die äthiopischen Götter.
 Labberton (D. van H.). Über die Bedeutung der Spinne in der indischen Literatur.

- Lehmann-Haupt (F.). Vergleichende Metrologie und keilinschriftliche Gewichtskunde.
 Franke (R. O.). Die Suttanipāta - Gāthās mit ihren Parallelen.
 Hultzsch (E.). Neue Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Sauraseni.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. XXVI.

- Karabacek (J. v.). Suleimān der Grosse als Kunstfreund.
 Schuchardt (H.). Bari und Dinka.
 Junker (H.). Der Bericht Strabos über den heiligen Falken von Philae im Lichte der ägyptischen Quellen.
 Rescher (O.). Über arabische HSS. der Aja Sofia.
 Ruzicka (R.). Zur Frage der Existenz des *g* im Ursemitischen.
 Caland (W.). Kritisch-exegetische Bemerkungen zu den Brāhmaṇas.
 Landsberger (B.). Babylonisches.
 Modelski (T. E.). Die Berge Job und Schebtamo des Josippen.
 Hrozny (F.). Die ältesten Dynastien Babyloniens.
 Schuchardt (H.). Zu den berberischen Substantiven auf *im*.
 Franke (R. O.). Konkordanz der Gāthās des Majjhima-nikāya.
 Grünert (M.). Al-'Ismām.
 Winternitz (M.). Beiträge zur buddhistischen Sanskrit-literatur.
 Czermak (W.). Ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Beduinengesie.
 Bittner (M.). Die onomatopoetischen Verba des Türkischen.
 Wessely (K.). Ein saijumisch-griechischer Evangelienfragment.
 Samuel (P. P.). Die Abhandlung "Gegen die Bilderstürmer" von Vrthanes Kherthol aus dem Armenischen übersetzt.
 Geiger (B.). Anmerkungen zum Frahang-i-Pahlavik.

Kraelitz-Greifenhorst (F.v.). Sprachprobe einer armenisch-tatarischen Dialektes in Polen.

Schmidt (W.). Zur Phonetik der australischen Sprachen.

Reich (N.). Koptische Manuskripte aus der kgl. bayr. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

Hestermann (F.). Der Anlautwechsel in der Serërsprache in Senegambien, Westafrika.

Haffner (A.). Eine äthiopische HS. zu den pseudo-epiphanischen Werken.

III. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. XXXII, Pt. iv.

Barret (L. C.). The Kashmirian Atharva Veda: Book iii.

Fay (E. W.). The Vedic hapax *suśíśvi-s*.

Oliphant (S. G.). Sanskrit *dhénā* = Avestan *daēnā* = Lithuanian *dainà*.

Petersen (W.). Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit.

Müller (W. Max). Remarks on the Carthaginian Deity.

Montgomery (J. A.). A Magical Bowl-Text and the Original Scripts of the Manichæans.

IV. JOURNAL OF THE NORTH CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XLIII, 1912.

Moule (Rev. A. C.). T'ai Shan.

Bois Reymond (Professor du). Notes on Chinese Archery.

Warren (Rev. J. G.). Three Sites in Hunan connected with the Classical Legendary History of China.

Stanley (A.). Chinese Art Metal Work.

Hodous (L.). The Great Summer Festival of China as observed in Foochow.

M'Cormick (F.). China's Monuments.

V. THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLI, Pt. DXXIV.

Bhattanatha Svamin. The Cholas and Chalukyas in the Eleventh Century.

Govindacharya Svamin (A.). Brahman Immigration into Southern India.

Pathak (K. B.). Dandin the Nyasakara and Bhamaha.
 Varde-Valavlikar (W. R.). The Expedition to the Temples
 of Southern India undertaken by Martin Afonso
 de Souza.

Rose (H. A.). Contributions to Panjabi Lexicography.

Vol. XLI, Pt. DXXV.

Ranganathasvami Aryavaragu (S. P.). The Seshas of
 Benares.

Bhandarkar (S. P. R.). Contribution to the Study of
 Ancient Hindu Music.

Pathak (K. B.). Kalidasa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley.

Rose (H. A.). Contributions to Panjabi Lexicography.

VI. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL
 ARCHEOLOGY. Vol. XXXIV, Pt. vii.

Sayce (A. H.). The Solution of the Hittite Problem.

King (L. W.). The Origin of Animal Symbolism in
 Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia.

Newberry (P. E.). The Wooden and Ivory Labels of the
 First Dynasty.

Hall (H. R.). King Demd âb tauî Uatjkara.

Pinches (T. G.). The Babylonian Month-Names of the
 Fifth Series.

Thompson (Sir H.). Note on a Coptic Marriage Contract.

Wiedemann (A.). Notes on some Egyptian Monuments.

Naville (E.). Hebræo-Ægyptica.

VII. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome XX, No. ii.

Lévi (S.). L'Apramada-varga. Étude sur les recensions
 des Dharmapadas.

Jeannin (Dom J.). Le chant liturgique syrien.

Tome XX, No. iii.

Rossini (M. Conti). Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens
 de la collection d'Abbadie.

Lévi (S.). Observations sur une langue précanonique du
 bouddhisme.

VIII. BULLETIN DE LA COMMISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE
L'INDOCHINE. 1912. Liv. i.

Lajonquière (L. de). Essai d'Inventaire Archéologique
du Siam.

IX. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.
Tome XII, Nos. ii-vi.

Finot (L.). L'Inscription de Ban That.

Parmentier (H.). Catalogue du Musée Khmer de Phnom
Peñ.

Durand (E. M.). Le Conte de Cendrillon. (Notes sur les
Chams.)

Peri (N.). Le Nô d'Atsumori. (Études sur le drame
lyrique Japonais.)

Deloustal (R.). Traduction et Commentaire du Code
des Lè.

X. JOURNAL OF THE SIAM SOCIETY. Vol. VIII, Pt. ii.
Intercourse between Burma and Siam as recorded in
Hmannan Yazawindawgyi.

Vol. VIII, Pt. iii.

Petithuguenin (P.). L'Imprimerie au Siam.

Giblin (R. W.). The Abbé de Choisy.

Frankfurter (O.). The Mission of Sir James Brooke
to Siam.

XI. MITTHEILUNGEN DES SEMINARS FÜR ORIENTALISCHE
SPRACHEN ZU BERLIN. Jahrgang XV.

Ostasiatische Studien.

Weiss (F.). Die Provinz Yunnan.

Bernhardi (Anna). Tan Jüan-ming. Leben und Dich-
tungen.

Chang Shên. Ta Chien Lu nach Tibet. Übersetzt von
T. Sperlein.

Kolshorn. Aus dem japanischen Generalstabswerk über den Japanisch-Chinesischen Krieg.

Lange (R.). Die Lehnsfürsten nach der Schlacht von Sekigahara.

Westasiatische Studien.

Rescher (O.). Weitere arabische HSS. der Koprülli-Bibliothek nebst anderen der Jeni gami und Nür-i-otmänije.

Dimitroff (I.). Bulgariens politische und wissenschaftliche Literatur.

Fuchs (S.). Talmudische Rechtsurkunden.

Raquette (G.). Eastern Turki Grammar.

XII. EPIGRAPHIA INDICA. Vol. XI, Pt. iii.

Mazumdar (B. C.). Three Copper-plate Records of Sonpur.

Konow (Sten.). Five Valabhi Plates.

Taw Sein Ko. Burmese Inscription at Bodh-Gaya.

Jacobi (H.). Dates of Chola Kings.

— Dates of Pandya Kings.

Hultzsch (E.). Geharwa Plates of Karnadeva.

XIII. THE QUEST. Vol. IV, No. i.

Giles (L.). The Meaning of Taoism.

Johnston (R. F.). Buddhist and Christian Origins.

XIV. BIJDRAGEN TOT DE TAAL-LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE VAN NEDERLANDSCH INDIË. Deel LXVII, Afl. iii.

Kemp (P. H. van der). De Zilveren Java-ropijen van de jaren 1816-17.

Kern (H.). Zang XXXIII tot XXXVI en XXXVIII-IX, L, LI, van den Nāgarakṛtāgama.

— Inscriptie van Kota Kapoer.

— Grafsteenopschrift van Koeboer Radja.

Krom (N. J.). Een Javaansch brons van Hayagriva.

OBITUARY NOTICES

JULIUS EUTING

SEMITIC learning, especially in the department of epigraphy, has suffered a severe loss in the death, at Strassburg, on the night of January 1-2, 1913, of Professor Julius Euting.

Professor Euting, who was born at Stuttgart on July 17, 1839, was educated at the Gymnasium in that city, and at the Seminar at Blaubeuren. In 1857 he joined the training institution of the Evangelical Church at Tübingen with a view to a clerical career; but Oriental studies diverted him from theology, and in 1863-4 he undertook a course of research in these subjects in Paris, London, and Oxford. In 1866 he became Keeper of the Library of the Tübingen Theological Institute, and later of the University Library, and throughout his life his official duties were connected with libraries. In 1871 he accepted a call to the post of First Librarian at the newly-organized University and Provincial Library at Strassburg, later on becoming Chief Librarian, and, in 1900, Director, which office he held until his retirement, on attaining the age of 70, in 1909. Since 1880 he had also been Honorary Professor in the University.

But though these official appointments seemed to indicate a career of peaceful stay-at-home activity among books, this was by no means the real tenor of his life. He was a constant and unwearied traveller, and his physical energy and active interest in research demanded the widest sphere for their satisfaction. In 1869 he visited Sicily, and then Tunis, with the object of studying in situ

the Phœnician inscriptions of Carthage, and in the following year he again repaired to Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. The fruit of these journeys was recorded in the publication, first, in the *Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy*, of "Punic Stone Inscriptions" (1871), then "A second Dedicatory Inscription from Carthage" (1874), and "Six Phœnician Inscriptions from Idalion" (1875). In 1877 he published a catalogue of the Arabic literature in the Strassburg Library. In 1883, with the assistance of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin, he brought out a stately volume entitled *Collection of the Inscriptions of Carthage*, vol. i, containing not only those gathered by himself but also those collected by others. This volume remains without a sequel, because Euting was, immediately on its completion, absorbed by other interests, and also, no doubt, because the ground was occupied by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, of which the issue was begun by the French Academy.

In the autumn of 1883 he undertook, with the support of the then *Statthalter* of Elsass-Lothringen, Baron Manteuffel, an important journey into Inner Arabia, in the greater part of which he was accompanied by Charles Huber, a French Alsatian, who had already travelled in the same region. The journey began with a visit to Egypt, where he obtained from the Khedive letters of commendation to the Amirs of Central Arabia. He then proceeded to Syria, where, among other finds, he discovered an important bilingual inscription in Palmyrene and Greek. On August 31 he left Damascus, and travelled, via the Leja', the western skirts of the Jebel Drûz, 'Ormân, Kâf, and the Wâdi Sirhân, to the Jauf, and thence via the Great Nefûd to Hâ'il, the seat of the dynasty of Ibn Rashid. After a considerable stay there, he proceeded via the mountains of Tayyi' to Taimâ, where he took a squeeze of the celebrated ancient

Aramaic inscription, the stone bearing which is now in the Louvre. From Taimā he visited Tebūk on the Pilgrimage Road, and then, returning to Taimā, set out for el-Ḥegr, where in three days' time (March 26-28, 1884) he took squeezes of twenty-nine stately Aramaic inscriptions, contained in tablets over the entrances of the rock-cut tombs of the ancient trading population of the Nabataean kingdom at that place. At el-ʿUlā, ten miles south of el-Ḥegr, he similarly obtained squeezes of the Sabæan inscriptions which mark the terminus of the South-Arabian trading caravans northwards from Aden. Soon afterwards he was attacked by Bedouins of the Juhainah tribe, and was compelled in self-defence to take the lives of two of the brigands. This obliged him to make his way as speedily as possible to the seaport of el-Wejh, whence he crossed the Red Sea to Kosseir. From there he went via Egypt to Jerusalem. The fruit of this adventurous journey was the volume *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, published with the aid of the Berlin Academy in 1885, and the *Tagebuch*, the first volume of which appeared in 1896. Both these works are of the greatest value to Semitic study: the inscriptions (in the interpretation of which Professor Nöldeke collaborated) in establishing the character and real significance of the Nabataean kingdom, overthrown by Trajan in A.D. 106; and the *Tagebuch* as a record of Arabian travel full of precise and accurate observation by a most sympathetic and highly-qualified specialist in Arabic studies. The *Tagebuch* contains a number of short Aramaic *graffiti* collected during the journey. The Taima inscription was published by Nöldeke in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy in 1884.

In the spring of 1889 Euting was again in Arabia, this time in the company of his friend Dr. Karl Vollers, Director of the Khedivial Library at Bulaq, who joined him in the Sinai Peninsula. There he copied nearly seven

hundred of the celebrated inscriptions on the rock-faces of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Monastery of St. Catherine and those on the return journey to Egypt, afterwards going on to the country east of the Jordan. These were published, with an interpretation (in which Nöldeke again co-operated), in a volume, also aided by the Berlin Academy, in 1891. Several of these inscriptions, which proceed from the same Nabatæan folk as the inscriptions of el-Hegr, are dated, and are of the highest importance as evidence of the origin, religion, and circumstances of the people—Arabic-speaking, but using Aramaic as a medium for writing—who for centuries carried on the trade between the emporia of Southern Arabia and the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea.

In January, 1890, Euting, in conjunction with Professor Koldewey (now Director of the German expedition at Babylon), took part in the excavations carried on by Professor von Luschan at Zinjirli in Northern Syria, which, besides the important finds connected with the Hittite Empire, yielded results of the greatest interest in the well-known early Aramaic inscriptions of King Panammu.

In 1898 Professor Euting accompanied Dr. R. Brünnow on his journey along the Roman road in the East-Jordan country from Mädebā via Petra and 'Odhruh to el-'Aqabah, dealing everywhere with the Aramaic inscriptions found there. The results of this journey are recorded in the first volume of Brünnow and Domaszewski's magnificent work, *Die Provincia Arabia*, published in 1904.

In the autumn of 1903 Euting was again in the lands east of the Jordan, this time busy with the commission of superintending the removal of the great façade of the celebrated palace of el-Meshettā (now generally referred to Umayyad times), which had been presented by Sultan Abdul-Hamid to the Emperor William of Germany. The task was successfully accomplished, and the façade is now

one of the chief glories of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin.

Although Phœnician and Aramaic epigraphy was his special field, in which he stood at the head of European scholars, his interests were by no means restricted to these. Among other tasks, he undertook the study of the language and literature of the almost extinct Šabians or Mandæans, the remnant of Semitic Gnosticism long known by the misleading title of "Christians of St. John". In 1867 he published a beautiful transcript of the *Qolasta* (Arabic *Khulāṣah*), containing hymns and doctrinal discourses, prayers to be offered by priests at sacrifices, and other liturgical matter. In 1904 he edited, under the title *Mandäische Diwan*, a photolithographic reproduction, made by Dr. B. Poertner, of a Mandaic MS. in the College of the Propaganda in Rome.

His handwriting was beautiful and of the clearest, and his ἀκρίβεια in rendering the forms of ancient alphabets almost without parallel. In a succession of works by various scholars dealing with Semitic studies tables by him have been incorporated, showing the forms taken by the letters from age to age, and from one country to another. A well-known table of this kind is that contained in Professor G. Bickell's *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar* (Englished by Dr. S. I. Curtiss in 1877). A less known but not less valuable conspectus is his *Three Tables of the Pehlevi and Zend Alphabets*, drawn and published at Strassburg in 1878. He possessed also great artistic skill with brush and pen, and his books are illustrated by many beautiful sketches from his hand.

Of his personality as known to his friends this is not the place to speak at length. They will ever remember the delightful and kindly humour which made him one of the most charming of companions, the ready sympathy and interest which he carried everywhere both in East

and West, and which gained for him the affection and confidence of all men with whom he was brought in contact. He was never happier than when wandering among the forest-clad hills of the Vosges or his native Swabia, which he knew with a most intimate knowledge, and he delighted to speak the dialect of the country and to talk to the peasants as one of themselves.

C. J. LYALL.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

ENLARGED PHOTOGRAVURE PORTRAIT OF THE LAST QUEEN OF KANDY. From the Engraving in the Oriental Annual, 1834, by B. Woodman from original drawing of W. Daniell.

From Andreas Fell, Esq.

BENARES, SANSKRIT COLLEGE. List of Sanskrit and Hindi MSS. purchased 1910-11. 8vo. Allahabad, 1912.

From the Government of India.

Biswanath Deb Burman, Rajah Bahadur, of Athagurh. Rukmini-Parinaya-Kabya. New edition. 8vo. Calcutta, 1912.

From the Author.

Bjerregaard, C. H. A. Inner Life and the Tao-Teh-King. 8vo.

New York, 1912.

From the Publishers.

Brandstetter, R. Der Artikel des Indonesischen. 8vo. Luzern, 1913.

From the Author.

BRITISH MUSEUM. Catalogue of Telugu Books by L. D. Barnett.

4to. London, 1912.

From the Trustees of the British Museum.

— Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelæ, etc. Part ii.

Fol. London, 1912.

From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Brunetti, E. Diptera Nematocera (Fauna of British India).

8vo. London, 1912.

From the India Office.

Budge, E. A. Wallis (ed.). Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect

of Upper Egypt. 8vo. London, 1912.

From the Trustees of the British Museum.

— The Greenfield Papyrus. 4to. London, 1912.

From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Burgess, Dr. James. Chronology of Modern India, 1494-1894.
8vo. *Edinburgh*, 1913. *From the India Office.*

CALCUTTA, SANSKRIT COLLEGE. Descriptive Catalogue of
Sanskrit MSS. No. 29. By H. Sastri & N. Cakravartti.
From the Government of Bengal.

Chatterji, J. C. Hindu Realism. 8vo. *Allahabad*, 1912.
From the Publishers.

CHAU JU-KUA. Chinese and Arab Trade, entitled Chu-fan-chi.
Translated by Fr. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill. 4to.
St. Petersburg, 1911.
From the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

Cohen, M. Le Parler Arabe des Juifs d'Alger. 8vo. *Paris*,
1912. *From the Publisher.*

Coomaraswamy, A. K. Indian Drawings, ii. 4to. *London*,
1912. *From the Author.*

— Sati: A Vindication of Hindu Woman. 8vo. [*London*,
1912.] *From the Author.*

— Volume of Pamphlets on Indian Art. *From the Author.*

DHAMMAPADA, Commentary on. Edited by H. C. Norman.
Vol. iii. (Pali Text Society.) 8vo. *London*, 1912.
Purchased.

DINKARD. Original Pahlavi Text, etc., by Darab Dastur
Peshotan Sanjana. Vol. xiii. 8vo. *London*, [1913].
From H. C. Dinshah Adenwala, Esq., M.V.O.

EL KINDĪ. The Governors and Judges of Egypt. Edited by
Rhuvon Guest. ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," vol. xix.)
8vo. *Leyden and London*, 1912.
From the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial.

FIRDAUSI. Shahnama. Vols. iii-vi. Done into English by
A. G. and E. Warner. 8vo. *London*, 1908-12.
From the Publishers.

- Fryer, John.** New Account of East India and Persia. Edited by Wm. Crooke. Vol. ii. (Hakluyt Society, ser. II, vol. xx.) 8vo. *London*, 1912. *From the India Office.*
- GAZETTEERS.** Burma. B vols. Nos. 1-4, 8. 2nd ed. 8vo. *Rangoon*, 1912.
Eastern Bengal. Vol. v, Dacca; vol. x, Dinajpur. 8vo. *Allahabad*, 1912. *From the Government of India.*
- Gerini, Colonel G. E.** Siam and its Productions. International Exhibition, Turin, 1911. English edition. 8vo. [*Hertford*], 1912. *From the Publishers.*
- Greenup, A. W. (ed.).** The Yaklut of R. Machir Bar Abba Mari on Joel, etc. 8vo. *London*, 1913. *From the Editor.*
- Hilditch, John.** The Graphic Arts of China and Japan. 8vo. *London*, 1911. *From the Author.*
- Illustrated Catalogue of a Collection of Chinese Paintings, etc., lent to the City Art Gallery, Manchester, 1910-11. 4to. *Manchester*, 1910. *From the Author.*
- Hoernle, Dr. A. F. R.** Bower MS., English Index. Fol. *From the Government of India.*
- Horowitz, E. P.** The Indian Theatre. 8vo. *London*, 1912. *From the Publisher.*
- Horten, M.** Hauptlehren des Averroes. 8vo. *Bonn*, 1913. *From the Publishers.*
- IBN AL-BALKHĪ.** Description of the Province of Fārs. Translated by G. Le Strange. (Asiatic Society Monographs, XIV.) 8vo. *London*, 1912.
- INDIA. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.** Annual Report, 1908-9. 4to. *Calcutta*, 1912. *From the Director-General of Archæology.*

INDIA. CENSUS, 1911. Baroda, Bombay, Burma, Cochin, Coorg, Madras, and Mysore (Reports and Tables), Panjāb (Tables). 15 vols. Fol. 1912.

From the Government of India.

INDIA OFFICE. Catalogue of the Library, vol. i. Accessions. 2, 1911 (2). 8vo. London, 1912. *From the India Office.*

Iyengar, P. T. Srinivas. Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras. 12mo. Madras, 1912. *From the Author.*

Jean, F. Charles. Lettres de Hammurapi à Sin-idinnam. Transcription, etc. 8vo. Paris, 1913.

From the Publisher.

Johns, C. H. W. Ancient Babylonia. 8vo. Cambridge, 1913. *From the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.*

Jones, Daniel, and Kwing Tong Woo. Cantonese Phonetic Reader. (London Phonetic Readers.) 8vo. London, [1913]. *From the University of London Press.*

JUWAYNĪ. The Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-Gushā. Part i. Edited by Mirzā Muḥammad. ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," vol. xvi (1).) 8vo. Leyden and London, 1912.

From the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial.

Kulandaiswami, R. P. King-Emperor George V. Durbar Souvenir. 8vo. Trichinopoly, 1912. *From the Author.*

Laddu, Tukaram. Prolegomena zu Trivikramas Prākṛit-Grammatik. 8vo. Halle, 1912. *From the Author.*

Laufer, B. Chinese Sarcophagi. Pamphlet. 4to. Berlin, 1912. *From the Author.*

Le Coq, A. von. Chotscho. Fol. Berlin, 1913.

From the Author.

— Kyzylbasch und Yaschilbasch. Pamphlet. 4to. Leipzig, 1912. *From the Author.*

- Liebich, B.** Das Datum des Kalidasa. Pamphlet. 8vo.
Strassburg, 1912. From the Author.
- MADRAS. GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MSS. LIBRARY.** Descriptive
Catalogue of the Tamil MSS. By M. Rangacharya. Vol. i.
8vo. *Madras, 1912. From the Madras Government.*
- Madrolle.** Northern China, etc., Guide Book. 8vo. *Paris*
and London, 1912. From the Publishers.
- Narasu, P. L.** Essence of Buddhism. 2nd edition. 8vo.
Madras, 1912. From the Author.
- Nariman, G. K.** The Religion of the Iranian Peoples. By
C. P. Tiele. Part i. Translated from the German. 8vo.
Bombay, 1912. From the Translator.
- Penny, Rev. Frank.** The Church in Madras. Vol. ii. 8vo.
London, 1912. From the Author.
- RAGHUNATHPANDITA.** Naladamayanti. Edited by L. J.
Sedgwick. 8vo. *Cambridge, 1912. From the Editor.*
- Rickmers, W. R.** Duab of Turkestan. 8vo. *Cambridge, 1913.*
From the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.
- AL-SAM'ĀNĪ.** Kitāb al-Ansāb. Reproduced in facsimile with
Introduction by D. S. Margoliouth. 8vo. *Leyden, 1912.*
From the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial.
- SĀRATTA SAMUCCAYA.** Part ii. Edited, with preface, by
Prince Damrong Rājānubhāp. 8vo. *Bangkok, 1912.*
From the Vajirañāna National Library.
- Sarkar, J. N.** Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays.
8vo. *Calcutta, 1912. From the Publishers.*
- History of Aurangzib. 2 vols. 8vo. *Calcutta, 1912.*
From the Publishers.
- Sastri, Pt. G. Krishna (ed.).** Vedic Lore. Part i. 8vo.
Mylapore, 1912. From the Vedic Mission, Mylapore.

Schleifer, Dr. J. Bruchstücke der Sahidischen Bibelübersetzung.
(Sitz. K. Akad. d. Wiss., Wien.) 8vo. *Wien*, 1912.

From the Author.

Singh, S. Udham. Muallim-i-Tarikh. 8vo. [1912.]

From the Author.

SIVAGANACHARYA, SWAMI. Life and Work of an Indian Saint,
Autobiography of. Vol. i. Edited by Pt. G. K. Sastri.
8vo. *Mylapore* [1912]. *From the Vedic Mission, Mylapore.*

Spiro Bey, S. New Practical Grammar of the Modern Arabic
of Egypt. 8vo. *London*, 1912. *From the Publishers.*

Tate, G. P. Seistan. Part iv. 4to. *Calcutta*, 1912.

From the Author.

UPANISHADS. Īśāvāsyōpanishad and Kēnōpanishad, with com-
mentaries of Sankaracharya. Translated into English by
M. Hiriyanna. *Srivangam*, 1912. *From the Translator.*

Vályi, Felix. The Turk's Last Stand. Translated from the
French. 8vo. *London*, 1913. *From the Author.*

Waddell, Lieut.-Colonel L. A. The "Dharani" Cult in
Buddhism. Evolution of the Buddhist Cult. Tibetan
MSS. and Books, etc., collected during the Younghusband
Mission to Lhasa. 3 pamphlets. *From the Author.*

Warren, H. Jainism. 8vo. *Madras*, 1912.

From the Publishers.

Weil, Gotthold. Abu'l-Barakāt ibn al-Anbāri. Die Gramma-
tischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer. 8vo. *Leiden*,
1913. *From Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje.*

JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1913

XV

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SINGHALESE CHRONOLOGY

By E. HULTZSCH

THIS article is an attempt to establish critically the synchronisms which appear to exist between the mediaeval portion of the Ceylon chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and the results of South Indian epigraphical research. The definite dates to which a number of Chōla and Pāṇḍya kings can now be assigned are due to the laborious and difficult calculations of my late friend Kielhorn, while several of the synchronisms were discovered by another old friend and fellow-worker, Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, the melancholy news of whose sudden death at Madras on November 21, 1912, reached me while I was collecting materials for this article from his learned Reports.

The following abbreviations are used in the sequel :—

AIC. = Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, by E. Müller. London, 1888.

ARE. = Annual Reports on Epigraphy. Madras.

EI. = Epigraphia Indica.

EZ. = Epigraphia Zeylanica.

IA. = Indian Antiquary.

Mah. = *Mahāvamsa*, from the thirty-seventh chapter. Colombo, 1877.

SII. = South-Indian Inscriptions.

Wijesinha = *Mahāvamsa*, translated by L. C. Wijesinha. Colombo, 1889.

I

The earliest absolutely certain date in the history of Ceylon is that of the coronation of Sāhasamalla in A.B. 1743, as given in a Poḷonnaruva inscription which has been published by Professor Rhys Davids (JRAS. vii, 356 ff.) and by Professor E. Müller (AIC., No. 156). Dr. Fleet has examined the details of this date, and found that it corresponds quite regularly to Wednesday, 23 August, A.D. 1200 (this Journal, 1909, pp. 327, 331).

The Mah. dismisses Sāhasamalla's reign with a single verse (80, 32), which states that he reigned for two years and belonged to the race of Ikshvāku:—

tato Sāhasamallo ti rājā vikkamakesari
rajjaṃ kāsī duve vasse Okkākakulasambhavo ||

The Poḷonnaruva inscription adds the information that Sāhasamalla was the son of the Kālinga king Gōparāja of Siṃhapura by queen Bahidālōka, and was a younger brother of Niśsaṅkamalla. These details are corroborated by the Galpota inscription of Niśsaṅkamalla (AIC., No. 148), who describes himself as the son of the Kālinga king Jayagōparāja of Siṃhapura by queen Pārvatī. Apparently Niśsaṅkamalla¹ was a half-brother of Sāhasamalla by a different mother. According to the Mah. the sum of the reigns of Parakkamabāhu I to Lilāvati, the predecessor of Sāhasamalla, amounted to forty-seven years. Consequently Parakkamabāhu I ascended the throne in A.D. 1200 - 47 = 1153. This date is confirmed by the Singhalese chronicle *Nikāyasaṅgraha* (EZ. i, 123), and, approximately, by an Arppākkam inscription of the 5th year of the Chōla king Parakēsari-varman *alias* Rājādhirājadēva. Rai Bahadur Venkayya showed that this inscription (No. 20 of 1899) refers to the expedition which the Singhalese general Lankāpura undertook against Kulaśēkhara of Madhurā, and suggested

¹ The Mah. (80, 18) calls him Kitti-Nissaṅka.

the identity of the Chōla king with Rājādhirāja II, whose usual epithet is not Parakēsarivarman, but Rājakēsarivarman.¹ Later on Mr. Venkayya actually found an inscription of the 12th year of Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājādhirājadēva (No. 465 of 1905) which refers to Lankāpura's expedition.² As Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne in A.D. 1163 (EI. ix, 219), his 5th year began in A.D. 1167, and his 12th year in A.D. 1174. According to the Mah. (76, 7) Lankāpura's expedition would have taken place after the 16th year of Parakkamabāhu I, i.e. after A.D. 1168-9. The Ārppākkam inscription of Rājādhirāja II suggests that there must be a slight chronological error here, and that Lankāpura had invaded South India already before A.D. 1167.

II

A Maṇimaṅgalam inscription of his 4th year, the date of which falls in A.D. 1055 (EI. vi, 24, No. 38), tells us that the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndradēva dispatched an army to Ceylon, where the Kalinga king Vira-Śālāmēgha was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Mānābharāṇa were taken prisoners (SII. iii, 59). His conquest of Ceylon is confirmed by the existence of an inscription of his at Sangili-Kanadarāva in Ceylon (id. 39). But his two opponents, Vira-Śālāmēgha and Mānābharāṇa, cannot be traced in the Mah., although other individuals of the same name are mentioned in it. Silāmēgha was the surname of five early kings,³ and the earliest Mānābharāṇa who appears in the Mah. was a nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I and became the father of Parakkamabāhu I. Another nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I had the name Kitti-Sirimegha. Vijayabāhu I is reported to have reigned from A.D. 1054

¹ ARE. for 1898-9, p. 13.

² ARE. for 1905-6, p. 70, par. 23.

³ Nos. 80, 94, 96, 98, and 102 of Wijesinha's Chronological Table of Sovereigns.

to 1109. As Tilokasundari, one of his queens, was a princess of Kalinga,¹ the "Kalinga king Vira-Śālāmēgha" who was killed by Rājēndradēva may have been a relative of hers, and her nephew Kittī-Sirimegha may have been named after the latter.

To make confusion still worse, an inscription of Rājēndradēva's predecessor Rājādhirāja I, which is dated in A.D. 1046, records that this king decapitated the Pāṇḍya king Mānābharāṇa, and deprived of their crowns the two Ceylon kings Vira-Śālāmēgha and Śrīvallabha Madanarāja (SIL. iii, 52 f.). Here we appear to have a still earlier Mānābharāṇa and Vira-Śālāmēgha, the former of whom was a Pāṇḍya king. He may have been an ancestor of that Mānābharāṇa who was the nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I, since the Mah. (59, 41 f.) informs us that this Mānābharāṇa was the son of a Pāṇḍya prince. Likewise, Śrīvallabha Madanarāja may be supposed to have been an ancestor of his namesake Sirivallabha, who was a third nephew and son-in-law of Vijayabāhu I.²

III

A Maṇimaṅgalam inscription of the 29th year of Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājādhirājadeva (I), the date of which falls in A.D. 1046, and which has been already noticed at the end of the last note, records that the king deprived of their crowns four kings of Ceylon, viz., Vikramabāhu, Vikrama - Pāṇḍya, Vira - Śālāmēgha, and Śrīvallabha Madanarāja (SIL. iii, 52). The first two of

¹ According to the Mah. (59, 46) three relatives of hers, one of whom was named Madhukaṇṇava, came to Ceylon from Sihapura. The name Madhukaṇṇava reminds us of the Eastern Gāṅga king Madhu-Kāmārṇava (see EI. iv, 186 and the table facing it). Sihapura is identical with Simhapura in the inscriptions of Niśśaṅkamalla and Sāhasamalla (cf. p. 518 above), in the Kōmarti plates of Chaṇḍavarman (EI. iv, 143), and in the Brihatprōshthā grant of Umavarman which will be published shortly in EI. xi.

² A Pāṇḍya king named Māravarman *alias* Śrīvallabhadēva is known to have ruled in A.D. 1160-1; see Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri's ARE. for 1908-9, p. 79, par. 22.

these opponents of Rājādhirāja I may be identified with the two Singhalese kings Vikkamabāhu and Vikkama-Paṇḍu (Nos. 116 and 119 of Wijesinha's Chron. Table). According to the Mah. the former died 115 years and the second 111 years before the coronation of Parakkama-bāhu I, i.e. in A.D. 1038 and 1042 respectively, or eight and four years before the 29th year of Rājādhirāja I. The identity of the third and fourth opponent of the latter is doubtful. Vira-Śālāmēgha is stated to have ruled originally over Kanyakubja and to have died in battle, the Chōla king having seized his elder sister and his daughter (or wife) and having cut off the nose of his mother (SII. iii, 52 f.). On the strength of these details I formerly proposed to identify him with the Singhalese king Jagatipāla, who, according to the Mah. (56, 13-15), came from Ayōdhyā and was slain in battle by the Chōlas, who carried his queen and his daughter to their country. But the difference of names makes this identification uncertain. The same holds good with the Chōla king's fourth opponent, Śrīvallabha Madanarāja, whom I thought of identifying with the Paṇḍu prince Parakkama of the Mah. (56, 16). I now withdraw this proposal, which I regret to find has been adopted by Mr. Wickremasinghe (EZ. i, 80) and by Professor Geiger.¹ In the preceding note I have suggested that Vira-Śālāmēgha and Śrīvallabha Madanarāja may have been two (otherwise unknown) ancestors of Kitti-Sirimegha and Sirivallabha, two of the three nephews and sons-in-law of Vijayabāhu I of Ceylon.

IV

In his translation of chapter 54 (verse 12) Wijesinha mentions "Vallabha, the king of Chola". This is a gratuitous mistake. The words "the king of Chola" are non-existent in the Pāli original, and no Chōla king of the name of Vallabha is known to epigraphical records.

¹ Translation of the Mah., introduction, p. xxix.

The second half of the next chapter (55) contains some interesting historical information. No. 115 of Wijesinha's Chron. Table, Mahinda V, was, in the 36th year of his reign, captured, together with his queen, by the Chōla army and sent to the Chōla king. Among the booty was "the crown that was overcome by inheritance" and "the priceless diamond bracelet that was a gift of the gods"; see verses 16-20:—

chhattimse rājino vasse mahesim ratanāni cha |
 makutaṃ cha kamāyātaṃ sabbam ābharāṇaṃ tathā ||
 amūlikaṃ cha vajiravalayaṃ devadattiyāṃ |
 achchhijjachchhurikaṃ chhinnaṇaṭṭikādhātukaṃ cha te ||
 pavitṭhaṃ vanaduggamhi bhayā taṃ cha mahipatiṃ |
 jivagāhaṃ agaṇhimsu sandhilesaṃ ¹ padassiya ||
 mahipālaṃ dhanāṃ taṃ cha sabbam hatthagataṃ tato |
 pesayimsu lahuṃ Chōlamahipālassa santikaṃ ||

This description strongly reminds us of the panegyric introduction of the inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I, who seized "the crown of the king of Īlam (on) the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (king); the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra which the king of the South (i.e. the Pāṇḍya) had previously deposited with that (king of Īlam); the whole Īla-maṇḍala (on) the transparent sea" (EI. ix, 233).

Here Rājendra-Chōla I is stated to have obtained not only the crowns of the king of Ceylon and of his queens, but two other things; a crown and a necklace which the Pāṇḍya king had formerly deposited in Ceylon. The fact that the Pāṇḍya had deposited his crown, etc., with the king of Ceylon is mentioned in the 53rd chapter of the Mah. (verse 9), and, as stated by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, the "necklace of Indra" is alluded to as an heirloom in two Pāṇḍya inscriptions.²

¹ Read *sandhilekham*?

² ARE. for 1906-7, p. 63 f.

The Mah. reports that the captive king Mahinda V lived for twelve years in the Chōla country and died there in the 48th year after his coronation; see chapter 55, verse 33 :—

rājā dvādasa vassāni vasitvā Chōlamanḍale |
atthataḷisavassamhi Mahindo so divaṃ gato ||

Turnour's and Wijesinha's Chronological Tables assign to this king only thirty-six years; but the Mah. expressly mentions forty-eight years of the reign, of which the twelve last ones were spent in captivity. It will appear from subsequent notes below that the synchronisms discussed in them work out with approximate accuracy if we allot forty-eight years to Mahinda V, while otherwise an error of about twelve years would result. I do not conclude from this that the duration of every single reign is correctly given in the Mah., but I consider it very likely that its author knew a number of traditional dates, on the basis of which he fixed the length of the intervening reigns. If the sum of the reigns of Nos. 116 to 126 of Wijesinha's Chron. Table is deducted from the date of the coronation of Parakkamabāhu I, the result is $1153 - 127 = 1026$, and Mahinda V would have reigned nominally from A.D. 978 to 1026. Of this period the last twelve years (A.D. 1014 to 1026) would be those of his captivity in the Chōla country.

The inscriptions of Rājendra - Chōla I show that Mahinda V was taken prisoner three years after 1014 : Rājendra-Chōla's conquest of Ceylon is not yet mentioned in inscriptions of his 5th year,¹ but is first recorded in inscriptions of his 6th year (SII. ii, 92), i.e. A.D. 1017-8, and consequently it must have taken place in A.D. 1017.

As the reign of Mahinda V commenced in A.D. 978, he was a contemporary not only of Rājendra-Chōla I, but also of Rājarāja I, who claims to have conquered

¹ ARE. for 1907-8, p. 40, No. 439, and p. 76, par. 55.

Īla-maṇḍalam in an inscription of his 20th year (SII. iii, No. 52), while this conquest is not yet mentioned in an inscription of his 17th year (id. No. 6). As Rājārāja I ascended the throne in A.D. 985 (EI. ix, 217), his invasion of Ceylon would fall between A.D. 1001 and 1004.

V

The 53rd chapter of the Mah. describes the reigns of five kings, among whom No. 108, Dappuḷa V, ruled from A.D. 917 to 929, and No. 111, Udaya III, from 941 to 949. In the time of No. 108 the Pāṇḍya king was expelled from his country by the Chōḷa and crossed over to Ceylon in order to enlist the assistance of Dappuḷa V against his enemy. As this was not forthcoming owing to internal disturbances, he went on to the king of Malabar, depositing his crown, etc., in Ceylon (verse 9)—

Paṇḍurājettha vāsenā kammaṁ natthi chintiya |
ṭhapetvā makuṭādini gato Keraḷasantikaṁ ||

As stated on p. 522 above, the fact that the Pāṇḍya king deposited his crown, etc., in Ceylon is confirmed by the inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōḷa I.

During the reign of No. 111, Udaya III, who was addicted to sleep and drink (*niddālu majjapo*, verse 40), the Chōḷa king sent an embassy to him in order to obtain the crown, etc., which the Pāṇḍya had deposited in Ceylon (verse 41)—

Paṇḍudesābhisekaṁ so pattukāmettha pesaya |
makuṭādinam atthāya ṭhapitānaṁ va Paṇḍunā ||

When this request was refused, the Chōḷa dispatched an army, which slew the commander of the Singhalese forces. Thereon the king (of Ceylon) fled to Rohaṇa, taking the crown, etc., with him (verse 44)—

makuṭādini ādāya rājā so Rohaṇaṁ agā ||

The Chōla troops were unable to enter that district, and returned home unsuccessful (verse 45)—

gantvā Cholaḥalaṁ tattha alabhitvā pavesanaṁ |
nivatitvā sakaṁ raṭṭhaṁ agamāsi ito bhayā ||

In translating verse 44 Wijesinha committed the mistake of supplying after *rājā so*, "this king," the words "(of Chola)" instead of "(of Ceylon)". This misled Mr. Wickremasinghe into believing that the Mah. records the seizure of the Pāṇḍya crown jewels by Rājendra-Chōla I (EZ. i, 80). In reality the wording of the chronicle implies that the army of the Chōla king had to return without accomplishing its object. Besides, Rājendra-Chōla I ascended the throne in A.D. 1012 (EI. ix, 217), while the traditional reign of Udaya III is A.D. 941-9. Therefore the unsuccessful attempt of the Chōla king to obtain the Pāṇḍya regalia may be presumed to fall into the later portion of the reign of Parāntaka I. As stated by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, this Chōla king bears the epithet "conqueror of Ceylon" only in his latest inscriptions, viz. those of the 37th to 41st years,¹ i.e. A.D. 943-4 to 947-8. Accordingly the invasion of Ceylon by Parāntaka I seems to have taken place in about A.D. 943, and the traditional figures of the reign of Udaya III (941-9) may be approximately correct.

VI

According to the 52nd chapter of the Mah. (verses 70-8), the Ceylon king Kassapa V (No. 106 of Wijesinha's Chron. Table) supported the Pāṇḍya king against the Chōla king by an army, which returned unsuccessful. If we deduct the sum of the traditional reigns of Nos. 107-26 from the date of the accession of Parakkamabāhu I, Kassapa V would have reigned from A.D. 906 to 916. The

¹ ARE. for 1906-7, p. 73, par. 34.

only powerful Chōla king whom we know to have reigned about this period is Parāntaka I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 907 (EI. ix, 217). He boasts actually of having defeated the Pāṇḍya king and of having routed an army of the king of Ceylon; see his Udayēndiram plates (SII. ii, 387, verses 9-11):—

“His army, having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king, together with an army of elephants, horses, and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants, together with (the city of) Madhurā. Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army dispatched by the lord of Laṅkā, which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in the world the title Saṃgrāma-Rāghava (i.e. ‘Rāma in battle’), which is full of meaning. When he had defeated the Pāṇḍya (king) Rājasimha, two persons experienced the same fear at the same time: (Kuvēra), the lord of wealth, on account of the death of his own friend, (and) Vibhishana on account of the proximity (of the Chōla dominions to Ceylon).”

The Udayēndiram plates are dated in the 15th year of Parāntaka I, i.e. A.D. 921-2. Rai Bahadur Venkayya noticed an inscription of his 12th year, i.e. A.D. 918-9, which “refers incidentally to an invasion of the Pāṇḍya and the king of Īlam, i.e. Ceylon”.¹ It is evident that this combined expedition of Pāṇḍya and Singhalese troops against the Chōla is identical with the one which the Mah. places in the time of Kassapa V. As Parāntaka I first bears the epithet “conqueror of Madhurā” in an inscription of his 3rd year,² i.e. A.D. 909-10, his encounter with the Pāṇḍya and Singhalese armies may have happened shortly before this year. At any rate, the traditional figures of the reign of Kassapa V seem to be approximately correct.

¹ ARE. for 1906-7, p. 72, par. 33.

² Ibid., par. 32.

VII

No. 90 of Wijesinha's Chron. Table bears the name of Mānavamma (Mānavarman in Sanskrit). The 47th chapter of the Mah. gives an almost romantic account of his accession to the throne of Ceylon. According to verse 2 he was a son of "that Kassapa who destroyed the Thūpārāma" (cf. 44, 138), i.e. of No. 84, Kassapa II:—

putto Kassapanāmassa Thūpārāmassa bhedino ||

The same fact is stated in chapter 45 (verse 6), where he is designated by the hypocoristic name Mānaka:—

tassāsuṃ bahavo puttā jeṭṭho tesam cha Mānako |

During the reign of No. 86, Hatthadāṭha I (*alias* Dāṭhopatissa II), he fled to Jambudīpa (i.e. India) and entered the service of king Narasiha (Mah. 47, 4). This king receives the epithet Kaṇḍuvethi in verse 7:—

so pi ārādhito tena Kaṇḍuvethī naruttamo |

sabbaṃ nento va taṃ rajjaṃ mahābhogam adāpayi ||

In translating this verse Wijesinha committed the mistake of treating Kaṇḍuvethi as a different person from Rājasīha. From EI. vii, p. 25, n. 7, it will be evident that Kaṇḍuvethi (and Kaṇḍuchetṭi¹ in Mah. 77, 79) is a clerical mistake for Kāḍuvetṭi, which is a synonym of Kāḍavaṇ, one of the designations of the Pallava kings. Thus Narasiha, whose army is called "Tamiḷian" (*Dāmiḷi senā*) in verse 38, must have belonged to the Pallava family. With his support, Mānavamma invaded Ceylon twice. The first expedition was undertaken during the reign of No. 86, Dāṭhopatissa II (Mah. 47, 36 and 39), and was unsuccessful. Mānavamma then continued to reside with Narasiha during the reigns of four kings of Ceylon (verse 43):—

yāvarājachatukkaṃ so Mānavammo tahiṃ vasi

¹ This is probably a misprint for Kaṇḍuvetṭi, as Wijesinha's translation reads.

As stated by Wijesinha (p. 44, note), these four kings were Nos. 86-9 of his Chron. Table. The second expedition which Māṇavamma undertook with the help of Narasiha resulted in the defeat and death of No. 89, Hatthadāṭha II, whose head was exhibited to the victor (Mah. 47, 58):—

sīsam assa gahetvāna Māṇavammassa dassayumh !

According to the *Pūjāvali*,¹ Māṇavamma then ruled over Ceylon for thirty-five years. If we assign forty-eight years to Mahinda V² and deduct the sum of the traditional years (450) of the reigns of Nos. 91-126 from the established date of the accession of Parakkamabāhu I (A.D. 1153), Māṇavamma's reign would fall in A.D. 668-703.³

In verse 15 the 47th chapter of the Mah. tells us that Narasiha was attacked by a king named Vallabha:—

evam tesu vasantesu yuddhatthāyam upakkami !
Vallabho Narasihena

Narasiha started to fight Vallabharāja (verse 18) and defeated him with Māṇavamma's assistance (verse 24):—

tato Māṇassa senā cha senā chevassa rājino !
senam Vallabharājassa viddhamsesi samāgatā ||

Rai Bahadur Venkayya was the first to identify Narasiha and his opponent Vallabharāja with the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I and the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II respectively (EI. iii, 277). There can be no reasonable doubt as to the correctness of this identification. In the Pallava inscriptions Narasimhavarman I is stated not only to have defeated Vallabharāja or Pulakēśin and to have taken his capital Vātāpi, but to have occupied Ceylon as well (SII. ii, 343).

¹ Wijesinha's Chron. Table, p. xx.

² See the remarks on p. 523 above.

³ These figures would have to be lessened by four if the date quoted from the *Śāsanāvātāra* in Wijesinha's Chron. Table under No. 102 is correct.

Dr. Fleet has shown that the defeat of Pulakēśin II probably happened in A.D. 642.¹ The war between Rājasīha and Vallabharāja took place during the reign of No. 86, Dāthopatissa II, who (according to the Mah. and the *Pūjāvali*) reigned from A.D. 641 to 650. These figures seem to be approximately correct, as they might well include Mānavamma's first flight from Ceylon, his encounter with Vallabharāja in A.D. 642, and his first, unsuccessful, expedition to Ceylon.

VIII

Mānavamma is the earliest among the mediaeval kings of Ceylon whose contemporaries can be traced in South Indian records. But the oldest portion of the Mah. contains at least one legend which finds its counterpart in Tamiḷ literature. The thirteenth of the list of Singhalese kings is reported to have been a Damiḷa named Eḷāra who came from the Chōḷa country. An anecdote which is told in connexion with him (Mah. 21, 15-18) occurs in Śēkkiḷār's *Periṇṇavāṇam*.² This work relates that Vithiviṭaṅka, the son of the Chōḷa king Manu, who was an ancestor of Anapāya and resided at Tiruvārūr, accidentally killed a calf by driving his car over it. The mother cow complained to the king by pulling with her horn the bell of justice at the gate of the palace. The king forthwith ordered his minister to drive the car over his own son. The minister felt unable to carry out this order and gave up the ghost. Then the king himself killed his son by driving the car over him; but Śiva and Pārvaṭi appeared, riding on their bull, and restored life to the precious calf, the prince, and the minister.

The same legend forms the subject of a Tamiḷ work entitled *Tērūrndavāsagam* and of a drama named

¹ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 359.

² Madras edition of 1888, pp. 10-12.

Tērūrndanādagam,¹ and it is alluded to in the Tamil poems *Śilappadigāram*,² *Kalīngattupparanī* (IA. xix, 330), and *Vikkirama-Śōḷaṇ-Ulā* (id. xxii, 147 f.). The authors of the two last poems considered the Chōḷa king Manu identical with Manu Vaivasvata, the progenitor of men and first king; for they represent him as the son of the Sun and the father of Ikshvāku.

Although the Chōḷa king Manu of the *Periyapurāṇam* is a purely mythical person, the place where the legend locates him is well known. Tiruvārūr is now a station on the railway line from Tanjore to Negapatam: the Post Office, the Railway, and the Imperial Gazetteer call the place "Tiruvalur", but the inhabitants know it only by the name of Tiruvārūr. It contains a Śiva temple, named Tyāgarājasvāmin, which is picturesquely situated on the eastern bank of a large square tank, with fine *ghāṭs* and a small island temple in its centre.³ The north wall of the second enclosure of the temple bears an inscription of the fifth year of Vikrama-Chōḷa (No. 164 of 1894), the date of which falls in A.D. 1123 (EI. vii, 3, No. 57). This inscription refers to the legend of the calf which was accidentally run over by the chariot of the son of king Manu-Chōḷa.⁴ Besides, the temple contains sculptured representations of the legend: "a stone car on the north-east with a representation of a figure crushed under one of the stone wheels, and a small *maṇḍapa* with sculptured stone cow and calf"; see Mr. Rea's *Annual Report for 1911-12* (Madras, 1912),

¹ See Rao Bahadur M. Rangacharya's *Catalogue of Tamil MSS.*, vol. i (Madras, 1912), p. 372 ff. and p. 462 ff.

² Cf. the Madras monthly *Siddhānta Dīpikā*, vol. xiii, p. 434. For another mention of the "bell of justice" in the *Śilappadigāram* see IA. xxxvii, 232.

³ ARE. for 1890-1, p. 3, par. 5.

⁴ On a Tiruvārūr inscription of Anapāya, in whose time Śēkṣilār is said to have composed the *Periyapurāṇam*, see SII. ii, 153 f., and IA. xxxvi, 288.

p. 16 and pls. x and xi, where photographs of the sculptures are given.

For other parallels of the story of the bell see Professor Geiger's *Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa* (Colombo, 1908), p. 25, note. Professor Zachariae kindly adds the following references: Weber's *Indische Studien*, iii, 363, note, and 368, note; Longfellow, *the Bell of Atri*; Langbein, *das blinde Ross*; Rückert, *die Leidglocke*; Joh. Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, c. 648; K. Simrock, *das Pferd als Kläger*; Lidzbarski, *Neuaramäische Handschriften*, ii, 153.

IX

In conclusion, a comparatively modern synchronism deserves a short notice. The 90th chapter of the Mah. mentions an expedition to Ceylon which was undertaken by a general of the Pāṇḍya king Kulasekhara (verse 47) after the death of No. 145, Bhuvanekabāhu I. If the traditional figures of the intervening reigns (87 years and 4½ months) are added to the date of the coronation of Sāhasamalla (23 August, A.D. 1200),¹ Bhuvanekabāhu I would have died shortly after the commencement of A.D. 1288. If the date given in the *Attanagaluvaṃsa* is correct,² the same event would have to be placed four years earlier, in A.D. 1284. In either case the Pāṇḍya king Kulasekhara has to be identified with Māravarman Kulaśekhara I, who, according to Kielhorn's calculations, reigned from A.D. 1268 to at least 1308 (EI. ix, 227), and who was murdered by his son, Sundara-Pāṇḍya, in A.D. 1310 according to the Musalmān historian Waṣṣāf.³

¹ Cf. p. 518 above.

² Wijesinha's Chron. Table, p. xxv, No. 143.

³ Elliot & Dowson's *History of India*, iii, 53. In this Journal for 1909, p. 669, I have wrongly proposed to identify the Kulasekhara of Mah. 90, 47 with Māravarman Kulaśekhara II.

XVI

MR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S NOTES ON BENGALI GRAMMAR

By J. D. ANDERSON

SINCE everyone interested in Indian studies has probably read Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's *Gitanjali*, and has learned from Mr. Yeats's Introduction to that work that its author is an expert in many other matters than poetry, it may be interesting to readers of our Journal to know that Mr. Tagore has written a very suggestive and original study under the title of *Śabda-tattwa* of the grammar and phonetics of his native language. It would take too much space to give an account of the whole book, which, after all, contains many technicalities which are only useful to professed students of Bengali. But I may be allowed to give a brief description of the chapter which criticizes Mr. Beames, well-known *Bengali Grammar*. This chapter relates almost entirely to questions of pronunciation, and these are notoriously difficult to discuss in writing. The differences between Mr. Beames and his critic are sometimes, I think, partly due to this difficulty.

The first statement to which Mr. Tagore takes exception is the following: "*a* is pronounced in Sanskrit and in nearly all the modern Indian languages as a short dull sound similar to the *u* in English *sun*, *but*, or to the *a* in *woman*. In Bengali, however, it has a sound very nearly the same as the short *o* in English *not*, *rock*, *top*. Thus *anal* = *ōñol*, *kathan* = *kōthōn*. In some words the sound is softer and longer than the *o* of *not*, thus in *van*, 'wood,' the *o* is pronounced so that the word sounds almost like English *bone*. The exact pronunciation of such words is very difficult to learn, and can only be

acquired by listening to native speakers.' Mr. Tagore thinks that this softer pronunciation (which is, perhaps, limited to Western Bengal) can be reduced to a definite phonetic rule. He thinks that this softer pronunciation is invariable in syllables preceding a syllable containing the letters *i*, *u*, *kṣ*, *ṇ*, or *n*. Thus the words *van*, *man*, *kṣan* would be pronounced as *bōn*, *mōn*, and *khōṇ*.¹ But when *ṇ* or *n* is followed by another syllable in the same word, as in *tanay*, *janam*, *kṣaṇek*, we get the pronunciation *tōnoy*, *jōṇōṇ*, *khōṇek*.

[I may here say that, both in Bengali and English, we are here hindered by the defects of existing alphabets. To my ear the sound of the *o* in "hōt" is not merely the abbreviation of the *o* in "rōve". I think we get the short sound of *ō* in "impōsition", and the long *ō* in "impōse". I think the *o* in "hot" is the abbreviation of the *aw* in "brandy-pawnee". The words written above as *bōn*, *mōn*, and *khōṇ* should really have the short *o* of "imposition" and not the long *ō* of "impōse". The vowels in *tōṇōy* and *bon* are both short; but they represent, I think, different sounds.]²

Mr. Beames writes that "[sometimes] *a* is silent at the end of an [internal] syllable, as in *kalśī* [written *kalasī*] and *ghaṭkī* [written *ghataṭkī*]". Mr. Tagore remarks that,

¹ [There is no way of writing the true short *o*, the *o* heard in "imposition", in Bengali. I think Mr. Tagore means that the *o* in "van", "man", etc., is short but has not the sound of *ō* in "hot". He can hardly mean that the vowel in these words has the sound of *ō* in such words as *ōsadhi*, or *ghōr*, or *Gōpāl*. On the other hand, *garu*, "cattle," is pronounced with an *o* which (perhaps owing to the fall of the accent) it is difficult to distinguish from the *ō* of, say, *bhōg*. *Parī*, *garu*, are good examples of Mr. Tagore's rule. I confess I am a little puzzled by his reference to *kṣ*, of which he gives no example. In *vakṣa*, *lakṣa*, *yakṣa*, *pakṣa*, *dakṣa*, etc., the first *a* seems to be pronounced as *oi* rather than *o*. There is a reason for this, as Mr. Tagore himself has noted later on; *kṣa* in Bengali has the sound of *khyā*, and the *y* by epenthesis affects *a* in a previous syllable.]

² At all events, in what follows I write *ō* to represent the vowel in "hot", *o* for the *o* in "imposition", and *ō* for the *o* in "rove".

even with regard to these words, the rule does not apply when a Bengali is reading aloud (and especially, I might add, when scanning verse). In both literary and colloquial Bengali the internal *a* is not muted in such words as *jana-rav*, *vana-vās*, *bala-vān*, *para-carccā*, etc., although the first members of these compounds, *jan*, *van*, *bal*, and *par*, are monosyllables when used separately. Again, the two words quoted by Mr. Beames become dissyllabic, *kalaś* and *ghaṭak*, when deprived of the termination *ī*.

From this Mr. Tagore deduces a (provisional) rule that when words exist in both a trisyllabic and dissyllabic form, the tendency is for both to become dissyllabic. In this connexion he cites *ācal* and *āc'lā* (corruptions of *añcal*, "the hem of a garment"), *āpan* and *āp'ni*, "yourself," *cāmac* and *cām'ce*, "a spoon," *ḍholak* and *ḍhal'ko*, "a drum," *paraś* and *par'su*, "the day after to-morrow." But Mr. Tagore goes on to say there are internal omissions of *a* in words that are not affected by allomorphs. Thus we get words such as *par'kalā*, "transparent," *āl'panā*, "conversation," *av'sar*, "leisure" [*avasara* in literary Bengal], *pāṭhśālā*, "school," etc. How are we to distinguish between these and such words as *jana-rav*, etc., cited above?

Mr. Tagore finally comes to the conclusion that in words recently borrowed from Sanskrit the internal *a* is not muted. In words which are in common and vernacular use the change does occur. It comes to this, that Mr. Beames says that there is no recognizable rule. Mr. Tagore says that the rule that internal *a* is muted only applies to common words which have become naturalized and vernacular. The beginner must, of course, learn from natives which words are sufficiently naturalized to suffer this homely abbreviation.

Again, Mr. Beames writes that the final *a* in a word "is pronounced in adjectives, as *bhālō*, *choṭō*, *bōṛō*.¹ The

¹ The final vowel in these words is certainly long, as *bhālō*.

final vowel in these cases is all that is left of the Prākṛit termination in long *ō*". Mr. Beames undoubtedly meant to say "in *some* adjectives, such as *bhālō*", etc.

Mr. Tagore compares with this statement a passage which he quotes from Ram Mohan Roy's Grammar of the Gaur dialect written in 1833. This passage may be translated as follows: "In this dialect adjectives are pronounced with a final *a*, as *choṭa*, 'small,' *khāṭa*, 'little.' But the final *a* is mute in all other words, as *ghaṭ*, 'a jar,' *paṭ*, 'cloth,' *Rām*, *Rāmdās*, *uttam*, *sundar*, etc." Here, again, if the statement had been made of "*some* adjectives" it would agree better with the examples cited the last two of which are dissyllabic adjectives.

[My own criticism of both the above statements is that such adjectives as are first quoted become *bhālō*, *chōṭō*, *bōrō*. But that is a minor point. The real question at issue is when is the final *a* pronounced and when is it not? What answer does Mr. Tagore give to this question?]

Mr. Tagore, of course, notes that only *some* adjectives take the final *a*. He suggests that these [dissyllabic] adjectives may simply retain the form of their Sanskrit originals when they too are dissyllabic and end in *a*. But he admits many Sanskrit dissyllables ending in *a* become monosyllabic in Bengali. For instance, *nrtya* = *nāc*; *pañka* = *pāṅk*; *aṅka* = *āṅk*; *raṅga* = *rāṅ*; *bhaṭṭa* = *bhāṭ*; *hasta* = *hāt*; *pañca* = *pāc*, etc. Moreover, many dissyllabic adjectives of this type end, not in *a*, but in *ā*. Thus [I do not quote all the examples cited, since Mr. Tagore has by this time probably reconsidered the etymology of some] *bhagna* = *bhāṅgā*; *khañja* = *khōṇā*; *kāṇa* = *kāṇā*; *lamba* = *lambā*; *vakra* = *bāṅkā*; *miṣṭa* = *mīṭhā*, etc.

[It is worth noting, in passing, that many of these adjectives are shared with, and perhaps borrowed from, Hindi.]

Mr. Tagore points out that the majority of dissyllabic adjectives in Bengali end in *ā*. Thus *ek(a)*, when used adjectivally to mean "alone", becomes *ekā*. Even those which end in *ō* in Bengali, are *choṭā*, *baṛā*, *bhālā* in Hindi. Moreover (Mr. Tagore proceeds to point out), Sanskrit participles ending in *-a*, when not taken over unaltered, usually take *-ā* as their termination in Bengali. Thus *chinna-vastra* = *chēṛā bastra*; *dhūli-lipta* = *dhūlo-lepā*; *karna-kartita* = *kāṇ-kātā*.

Mr. Tagore then proceeds to show, with examples, that this *-ā* termination is derived from the common Prākṛit termination in *-(k)a*. I need not reproduce this part of his argument, since it must be familiar to students of the Secondary Prākṛits of India. He points out that, in one case, the Prākṛit termination survives almost unaltered. Thus *laghu-ka* becomes *lahu-ka*, *haluka*, *halukā*, and, finally, *hālkā*.

Mr. Tagore then proceeds to show that the derivatives of longer Prākṛit adjectives in *-ka* have a tendency to end in *-ō*. Thus—

pāthaka-ka = *paṛu(y)ā* = *poṛō*.

patita-ka = *paṛu(y)ā* = *poṛō*.

So *madhyama-ka* = *mejhu(y)ā* = *mejhō*.

jālīya-ka = *jalu(y)ā* = *jōlō*.

kāṣṭhīya-ka = *kāṭhuyā* = *kethō*.

Mr. Tagore also cites some nouns of a similar type. Thus—

kiñcili-ka = *kēcu(y)ā* = *kēcō*.

dīp-rakṣaka = *derkhuyā* = *dera'khō*.

[There is one point which both Mr. Beames and his critic have omitted; this is that long Sanskrit participles sometimes drop the final *-a*, e.g. *upasthit*.]

Mr. Beames writes: "*ā* is *ā* in 'father'. When followed by *i* it is in some very common words softened to *e* in ordinary colloquial usage. Thus for *khāṛite*, 'to

eat,' *pāite*, 'to find,' are heard *khete*, *pete*. In less common words this contraction does not take place. Thus for *gāite*, 'to sing,' one could not say *gete*. The words in which this contraction occurs can only be learnt by practice."

Mr. Tagore thinks that this particular contraction can be reduced to rule. He says that there are only nine infinitives of this type, namely, (1) *khāite*, "to eat"; (2) *pāite*, "to find"; (3) *yāite*, "to go"; (4) *gāite*, "to sing"; (5) *cāite*, "to wish"; (6) *nāite*, "to bathe"; (7) *vāite*, "to bear"; (8) *chāite*, "to thatch"; (9) *dhāite*, "to run."

Only the first three undergo the contraction of which Mr. Beames speaks. Mr. Tagore thinks that the next four were once *gāhite*, *cāhite*, *nāhite*, and *vāhite*. [One may be permitted to doubt if this is true of *gāite* = *gāvite*.] Of the incontractability of (8) and (9) he attempts no explanation. He suggests that *laite*, "to take," becomes *nite*; thus: *labhite* = *lahite* = *laite* = *naite* = *nite*. But, Mr. Tagore adds, many infinitives are contracted (though not in this particular way) and lose their internal *i*. Thus *karite*, "to do," becomes *kar'te*; *calite*, "to move," becomes *cal'te*; *haite* "to become," is pronounced *hōte*, etc.

Mr. Tagore points out that words which in a dissyllabic form are uncontracted undergo contraction when a syllable is added to them. Thus *hāti* is fully pronounced, but *hātiyār* becomes *heter*. Thus: cf. *āsi*, "I come," with *āsiyā* = *āsyā* = *ese*, "having come"; cf. *khāi*, "I eat," with *khāiyā* = *khāyā* = *khēye*, "having eaten"; cf. *hāri*, "a pot," with *hāri-sāl* = *hē-sel*, "a room for pots."

[On the whole it must be said that the interesting examples cited by Mr. Tagore do not afford materials for a rule, unless it be that, after a consonant, the *-ite* of the infinitive seems to be *always* contracted; thus *āsīte* = *āstē*, *phelīte* = *phel'te*, *mārīte* = *mār'te*, etc. *Hāite* becomes *ha'te*, but *laite*, instead of *la'te* becomes *nite*.

When preceded by *ā*, *-ite* becomes *-ete* in three cases, but remains unaltered in six cases, in at least three of which *h* is sometimes written, sometimes *subauditur*.]

Mr. Beames writes that “*e* is properly the long *a* in English ‘lane’, ‘mate’, or the *ey* in ‘they’”. In a few words of very frequent occurrence it has a short harsh sound like the *a* in English ‘back’, thus *ek*, *dekha*, sound something like *ack*, *dackho*. So *gela* sounds like *gallo* when it means ‘he went’, but like *gaylo* when it means ‘to swallow’. This harsh pronunciation is only noticeable in a few words, which must be learnt by practice”.

[I would here say in passing that this hard *e* is often represented by *-yā*. Thus *beṭā*, “a son,” “a lad,” is often written *byāṭā*. It is also used to represent the sound of the English *a* in words like “hat”, “flat”, “begat”, which would be written *hyāt*, *phlyāt*, *bigyāt*. *Gallo* above would be phonetically written in Bengali *gyālo*.]

Mr. Tagore says there is a definite rule for the pronunciation of the forms in *-ela*, etc. If the infinitive contains the letter *e* in its first (root) syllable, derivative forms in *-ela*, etc., have the “harsh” pronunciation mentioned above. Thus—

<i>khelite</i> , “to play,”	makes	<i>khela</i> [or <i>khyālō</i>], “play!”
<i>ṭhelite</i> , “to push,”	„	<i>ṭhela</i> [or <i>ṭhyālō</i>], “push!”
<i>dekhite</i> , “to see,”	„	<i>dekha</i> [or <i>dyākhō</i>], “see!”
<i>ṭhekite</i> , “to stick,”	„	<i>ṭhekha</i> [or <i>ṭhyākō</i>], “stick!”
<i>bēkite</i> , “to bend,”	„	<i>bēkā</i> [or <i>byākā</i>], “bent.”
<i>melite</i> , “to open,”	„	<i>mela</i> [or <i>myālō</i>], “open!”
<i>helite</i> , “to shake,”	„	<i>hela</i> [or <i>hyālō</i>], “shake!”

But *gilitē*, “to swallow,” *mīlite*, “to mingle,” *likhite*, “to write,” *śikhite*, “to learn,” *māṭite*, “to subside,” *piṭite*, “to hammer,” etc., make the 2nd person imperative *gēla*, *mēla*, *lekha*, *śēkha*, etc.

Mr. Beames writes that “when *o* is followed in the same word by *ā*, a *y* is inserted, which, though not

pronounced, has the effect of giving to the *o* a sound nearly the same as the English *w*. Thus *khāoyā* sounds *khāwā*; *hāoyā*, *hāwā*. This compound character *oy* is also used to express the *و* (*v*, *w*) of Persian and Arabic words, as *oyāsīl* = *واصل* *taloyār* = *تلوار*; and the *w* in English words, as *oyārd* = 'ward'; *oyil* = 'will'; *reloye* = 'railway'."

[There is no character for *w*, but *oy* is used instead. Thus *yāoyā* = *jāwā*; *laoyā* = *lōwā*; *khāoyāila* = *khāwāila*.] Mr. Tagore points out that there is one slip of the pen above. *Oy* is not used for *w* before *i*. Thus "will" is transliterated as *uil*.¹

Mr. Beames writes that "when *y* is compounded with *v* in the Sanskrit preposition *vi-*, which before a vowel becomes *vy-*, it sounds in ordinary conversation like *bě-* or *bī-* with a very short or obscure *ě* or *ī* sound; thus *vyavahār* sounds *beb'hār*; *vyakti* = *bikti*; *vyatita* = *bītita*".

[We have here a very difficult question, namely the exact effect of a consonant + consonantal *y* on the pronunciation of the following vowel. When the following vowel is *ā*, the *y* is not pronounced, but merely serves to flatten the sound of *a*, to make it like *a* in the English words "mat", "hat", etc. Thus *śyāmā* is pronounced *shammā*; *vyāpār* is pronounced *bappār*. So also *dhyān*, *tyāg*, etc. But a consonant + *y* followed by *a* has a different sound, and one that is not easy for English ears to catch. Thus *vyay*, "outlay," is pronounced something

¹ Sir George Grierson reminds me of a case (it may be found in the specimens of Bengali appended to Mr. Beames' Grammar) in which the clash of *-o* in one word with *y-* in another actually produces *-w-*. Thus in the word *bārwārī*, "a *pūja* or other entertainment paid for by public subscription." The etymology usually given is that *bārwārī* = *bāro*, "twelve" + *yāri*, "friends." In Bengali the word is written *bāroyārī*, but is pronounced *bārwārī*. A Frenchman would have the same difficulty as a Bengali in writing this word. He would have to fall back on *barouari*. Haughton seems to think this word to be *bārobārī* = *bāro*, "twelve" + *bār*, "times."

like *bē-ē* ; *tyakta* is not far from *tekta*, etc. These, it will be noticed, are in initial syllables. But in the second and subsequent syllables the effect is quite other. Here a consonant + *y* does not alter the sound of the subsequent vowel ; the consonant itself is doubled. Thus *tyājya* is pronounced *tajjō* ; *satya* is pronounced *sōttō* ; *bhāryyā* is pronounced *bhārjjā* ; *kāryya* is pronounced *kārjjō* (it is to be noted here that the first *y* in these two words is *antaḥstha j* ; the second is *antaḥstha y*, and doubles the sound of its precedent sister. We need some symbol to distinguish these two *y*'s from one another. In Bengali the second has a dot under it). It is to be noticed that this reduplication is also produced by *v* following a consonant. Thus *satvar* is pronounced *sōttōr* ; *śvaśur* is pronounced *shshōshur*. The most remarkable effect of -*y* thus used is in the words *vāhya* (which becomes *badge-o*) and *grāhya* (which is pronounced *grājjō*.)

Mr. Tagore's note on this point is very difficult to reproduce in English owing to difficulties of transliteration. He does not agree with Mr. Beames in saying that *vyavāhar* = *bēb'hār*, that *vyakti* = *bīkti*, that *vyatīto* = *bitīt*. [In the last word I think the final *a* is pronounced.]

But Mr. Tagore goes on to say (I translate as literally as I can): "Besides this, we must not say that it is only after *v* that *y* changes the sound of the following vowel. It is equally true of all consonants. As in *vyavahār*, so in *tyakta*, the *vy*- and *ty*- substitute for *y*- the ordinary sound of *a* as modified by a preceding consonant + *y*. If *i* be the following vowel [i.e. in the following syllable], then -*ya* becomes *e*. *Vyakti* and *vyatīta* are examples of this. If -*navya*, -*tavya*, etc., occur in the middle or at the end of a word, *y* doubles the sound of the consonant it follows. The conversion of consonant + *ya* into consonant + *e* which occurs when *i* comes in the following syllable is also effected by [initial] *kṣ*. Thus *kṣati* is pronounced as *kheti* in common talk. The reason

of this is that in the pronunciation of *kṣ* we commonly introduce a *y*. Thus the vulgar pronunciation of *kṣamā* is *khyāmā*” [i.e. *khāmmā*].

It might be worth while (though it would not be easy) to translate the whole of Mr. Tagore's little *Śabda-tattwa* as a companion to existing grammars for the use of Englishmen. It contains many most suggestive and interesting remarks, which, coming from the acknowledged chief of Bengali letters, must be read with respect and deference by all, and especially by foreign students of his language. He says himself that Bengalis are deplorably careless of the phonetics of their native speech; “*e kathā niścita, ye vāñlār uccāraṇ-tattva o varṇa-vikār niyām Vāñālār dvārā yathocit ālocita hay nā.*” Mr. Tagore brings to the task enormous experience in the practice of literature, and the trained and sensitive ear of a poet. His criticisms of Mr. Beames' account of the pronunciation of Bengali sufficiently show that the analysis of spoken Bengali will still repay the efforts of inquirers who are trained to the task by comparative studies. Mr. Beames' example shows that foreigners can render good service by calling attention to matters which escape the notice of natives from sheer familiarity.

Mr. Beames' Grammar was based upon the Bengali Grammar (now out of print) of that once famous teacher, the late Śyāmā Caraṇ Sarkār. Mr. Beames had the help of Babu Priyānāth Bhaṭṭāchāryya. On Mr. Tagore's own showing, Mr. Beames has emerged not unsuccessfully from the close, if kindly, trial to which his critic has submitted him.

There are many matters connected with the Bengali alphabet which require careful examination. Although Bengali pronunciation has strayed very far from its Sanskrit original, the alphabet is still far more nearly phonetic than European alphabets. But Mr. Tagore will

be the first to admit that, like all attempts to record the sound of growing and vigorous languages, it requires overhauling. The actual sound and present need of the nasals *ṇ*, *ṇ̄*, *ṇ̇*, *ṇ̈*, *ṇ̉*, and *ṇ̊* require examination. Mr. Tagore himself writes *ṇ* where some write *ṇg*. He writes *Vāṇlā* where some write *Vāṇgālā*. There is the interesting fact that accentuation converts *i* into *ī* in some cases, as when *Śiva* becomes *Śīb*, and *pītā* is pronounced *pītā*. So also the *i* of emphasis becomes *ī* in sound, as in *satya-i*, which is pronounced *sōttō-ī*. Is there any audible difference between *satya*, *satva*, and *satta*? What is the exact sound of the *a* in *balite*, and may not this word have been affected by Hindi *bolnā*? Is *āhlād* pronounced *ālḥād*, as some say? The list might be easily extended—and especially by Bengalis, if they would turn their attention to the matter. Mr. Tagore good-naturedly admits that he never dreamed that Bengali spelling had any taint of the lawlessness of English spelling till, during a visit to England, he tried to teach Bengali to an Englishman from the written character. It is comfortable to find that, where Mr. Beames despairingly told his readers that certain sounds “can only be learnt by practice”, Mr. Tagore sturdily believes that definite rules for evading difficulties of spelling can be devised on etymological or other grounds. It is delightful to find the chief of Bengali poets and novelists working as seriously at Bengali phonetics as the poets and novelists of the Académie française work at their famous Dictionary at their weekly meetings. It is not only foreigners but natives as well who must be grateful for the results of such disinterested and skilful labour. Perhaps Mr. Tagore has not done full justice to the learning and linguistic instinct of the distinguished Indianist whose unassuming little Grammar he criticizes. That does not much matter. The important point is that Mr. Tagore recognizes that in

the phonetics, grammar, and etymology of Indian languages is a field of inquiry in which Indians and Europeans can be of use to one another. The European brings to the study some experience of comparative methods, some knowledge of the new means of recording phonetic facts now in use in Europe. The Indian can investigate and state the elusive realities of his own speech with an authority which no foreigner can claim.

I am tempted to add a few words on the accentuation of Bengali. But, since Mr. Tagore has not discussed that subject, I had better make my suggestions separately. That is a matter on which the testimony of a poet and a composer would be especially valuable, were it not that it is the privilege of genius to make an intuitive use of the music of language. I suppose it is only very prosy people who analyse stresses and metres, or dissect the beauty of flowers. But Mr. Tagore has done so many things, and done them so well, that he may perhaps not despise an invitation to consider the working of the singularly interesting accentual system of Bengali, on which his charming verses are based. Stress (*gor*) and pitch (*surer ūthān ō nāmān*) are very audible in Bengali, and are used with admirable emotional effect by Bengali speakers. But an analysis of their incidence is much needed for the use of foreign students.

XVII

DRAGON AND ALLIGATOR: BEING NOTES ON SOME ANCIENT INSCRIBED BONE CARVINGS

By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

THE objects illustrated in the accompanying Plates are published with the aim of bringing to the knowledge of Orientalists and others a type of Chinese relic believed to be of unique design, and presenting an interest of more than one kind. Despite their excellent preservation, they must, for reasons given below, date back at least to the later half of the third century B.C., but how much earlier than that remains at present uncertain.

Their recent history, however, is as follows. At the time of the great find of inscribed bones and carved bone relics in Honan Province in 1899, it is known that portions of the treasure were sold by the possessors travelling through Honan and Shantung to local collectors. And what is remarkable is that none of the carved objects (amulets, miniatures, souvenirs, or whatever we ought to call them), appear to have reached Peking, nor even the report of them. At least, hitherto neither the late Liu T'ieh-yün nor Lo Chên-yü so much as mention having even heard of them. Doubly lucky, then, must those of us deem ourselves in whose cabinets now repose these singularly interesting antiques.

Among the provincial connoisseurs in Shantung was a native merchant who had thus acquired a small but valuable collection of these carvings. But when the Revolution of October, 1910, broke out, Shantung politics became so turbid that this gentleman was moved to realize his collection for immediate cash, and so through the good offices of my friend the Rev. F. H. Chalfant most of it passed into my hands. Among the specimens, and ranking highest in interest as in size, are five animal

forms, of which four are reproduced in Plates I-III. It has seemed the more incumbent to publish accurate illustrations of these carvings, inasmuch as forming part of a private collection, they cannot be accessible to the general body of students or connoisseurs.

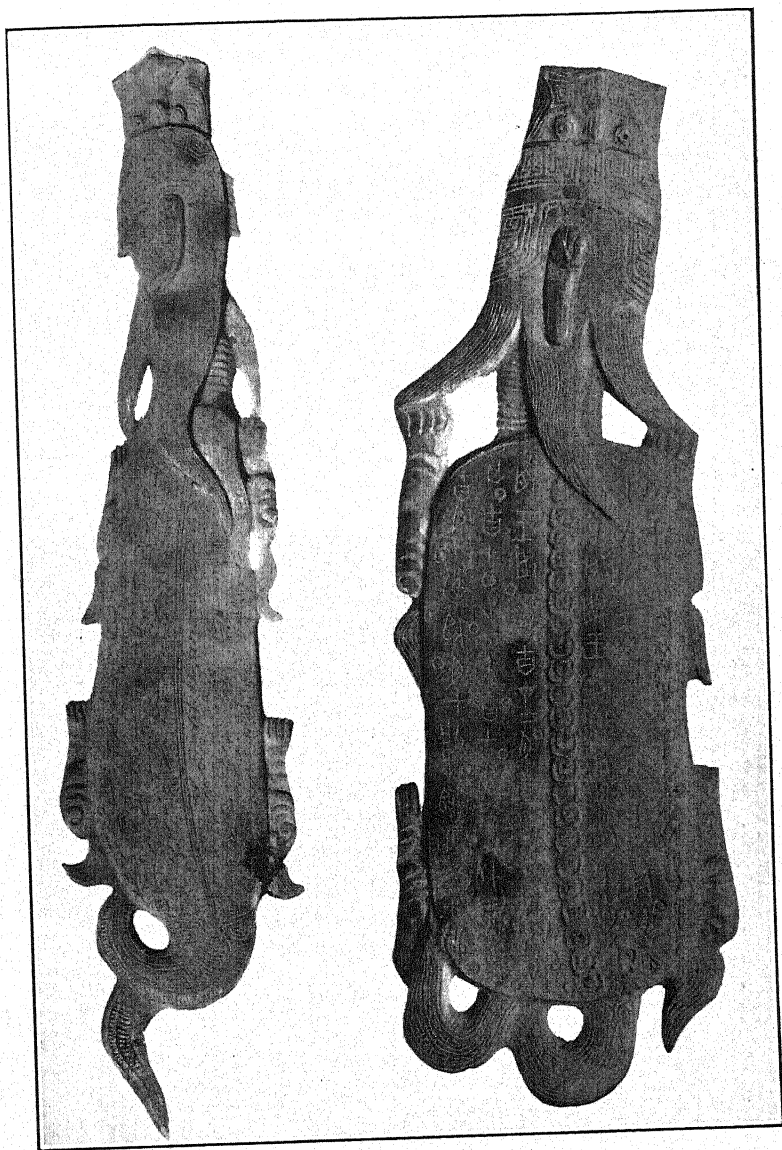
On examination it will be seen that these figures, while conforming to a single type, offer various differences of detail. This is due, in some degree, to the exigencies of the shape and proportions of the bones selected. But, apart from that, there are other variations arising from the artistic impulses of the carver, who was far from executing his orders according to a "sealed pattern" design. Thus, the bodies in H. 757 (Plate I, and Plate III, left hand) and in H. 780 (Plate III, right hand) are of a regular ovoid-oblong form, not merging above into the neck, nor below into the tail, and rather suggesting a carapace. In H. 759 (Plate I), the most realistic of these specimens, the outline of the body is less regular, tapering in front to the breadth of the neck, and behind, to that of the tail, while in H. 758 (Plate II), the exaggerated length of the trunk is enhanced by the absence of neck, and by the nearly uniform breadth throughout. The design recalls one of those paper knives that are better to look at than to cut with.

The tail in all five of my specimens is coiled upon itself, but not always in quite the same manner. The fine and elaborate work on this organ, and on the head, should be noticed. The insignificant four-toed legs are always held close alongside the body. From their posterior angles project backwards, flame-like, striated tufts.

In the three specimens in which the body is ovoid-oblong, a kind of spinal column is indicated by a series of small, overlapping, cash-like, disks. In H. 759 (Plate I), however, their place is taken by a narrow band of three fine parallel lines, while in H. 758 (Plate II) there is no marking at all along the spine.

Fig. I.

Fig. II.



H. 759 Original 8" long

H. 757. Original 5½" long

But if our beast, as to his trunk and tail, is of the earth, earthy, reptilian, alligatorian, he becomes, as to his head, a being of the mists and storm-clouds, dragonic, monstrous, allegorical. Here, too, the artist maintains a single type, but allows himself some latitude of treatment. The long head ends behind in a kind of trifid mane, the three backward-streaming tufts of which are covered with fine, parallel, sinuous lines most skilfully carried out. In two cases, H. 757 and H. 759 (Plate I), in front of the median tuft there lies a curious horn-like shape, flat upon the surface of the head. In the three other specimens this is absent, but its place is taken by a pair of round, eye-like protuberances, two of which we find decorated with several concentric circles, while in H. 758 (Plate II) spirals are substituted. In front of these ambiguous organs (possibly representing a single and double horns respectively), comes the ridge of the brow, and in front of this again are the eyes, raised in most of the heads, but in H. 780 (Plate III) and in H. 779 (not illustrated) only indicated by incised lines. The head terminates in a broad snout, a row of even teeth being clearly shown in the originals, and I hope just visible in the right-hand figure of Plate III.

It remains to add that the upper and under surfaces of all these are covered with inscriptions in the same script as on the several thousand other bone fragments and carved objects excavated at the same time and place.

It will be gathered from the foregoing that in common with some others who have seen these relics I regard them as Chou Dynasty representations of the Chinese Dragon or *Lung*, based upon the physical structure of the alligator, except as to the head, upon which the artist has let loose a fairly full jet of symbolistic steam.

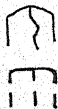
The existence of the alligator in China, its determination as a new species, *Alligator sinensis*, its identification with the original of the Chinese word *T'ö* (written 鼉), and

perhaps with certain other words, all this was discussed and demonstrated in a valuable article in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1879 by the late M. A. A. Fauvel. A few years later I was able to judge of the correctness of much that he had written, when an actual individual of the new species was purchased from its Chinese captors, and kept for some weeks in dignified but arid seclusion in the Consulate at Shanghai.

Mention has already been made of inscriptions covering both upper and under sides of these relics, and it remains to show what can be discovered, from the very partial decipherment as yet possible, of their meaning and intention.

Now considering that all these inscribed bones, whether plain or carved, may be safely regarded as professional diviners' memoranda, remembering also that the Dragon was believed to preside over clouds and rain, we ought, on the assumption that these carvings are really those of a dragon, to find upon them the character for "rain", and we might also expect to come on that for "dragon". And, indeed, we do. In three out of the five large dragon carvings¹ (including H. 779, not figured here), and on three out of six miniature dragon forms acquired at an earlier date, the rain character occurs, mostly in the

combination

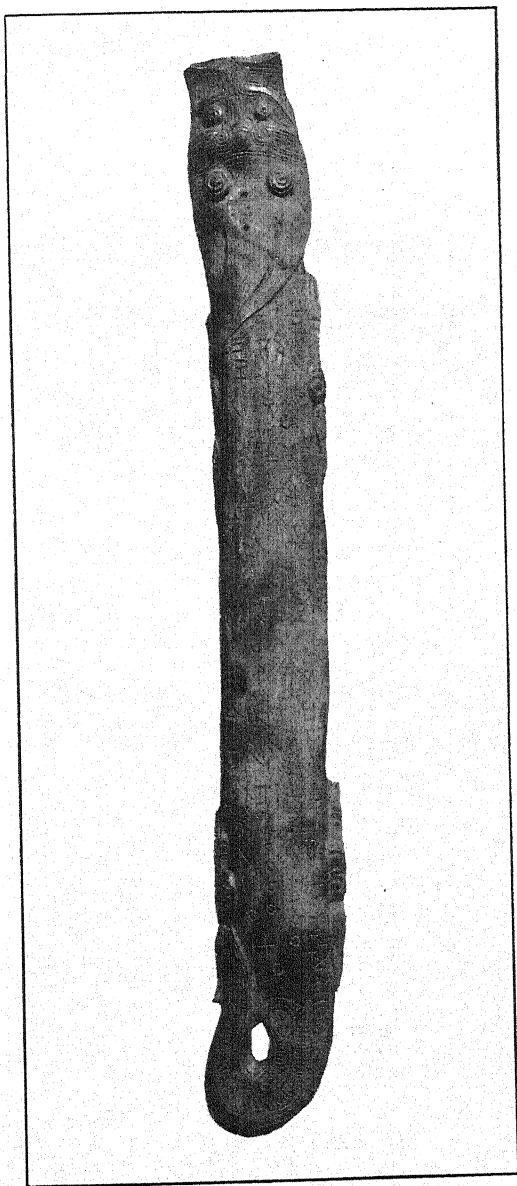


The lower of these two characters

is free from doubt. It is 雨 *yü*, rain. The upper one I believe to be 示 *shih*, to indicate. The combination would therefore be the appropriate phrase "indicates rain".

The Dragon character 龍 *lung*, however, appears only once on the group of the five larger carvings—on H. 779 (not illustrated); and once on a miniature dragon form,

¹ H. 757 has about a third of the inscribed part of its lower surface defaced, and may perhaps have included the rain character therein.



H. 758 Original $8\frac{1}{2}$ " long.

H. 433. The phase of development of this character exhibited is so interesting in this and the three other instances known to me from the bones, that I cannot refrain from reproducing and commenting upon it. The standard analysis of 龍, as stated by the Shuo Wên dictionary, is unconvincing, but I know of no other native writer who proposes any more satisfactory explanation. The Shuo Wên classes it as a "phonetic compound", and describes the right-hand half as a "figure of flying", and the left-hand as a combination of the character 肉 *jou*, flesh, with a contraction of the character 童 *t'ung*, a youth, as the phonetic. On this analysis I will only make one remark, and that is that a wilderness of Chinese lexicographers will not induce me to believe that phonetic compounds were, either in this or the numerous other examples alleged by the Shuo Wên, formed with "phonetic" elements that are non-phonetic, and give, not a homophone, but a mere rhyme.

But the form  and  appearing on the Honan

bones,¹ with small variations of detail in some instances, is of illuminating significance, although itself, I suspect, simplified from an even more elaborate and older exemplar now lost to us. On the left side of this newly discovered type we have a curving outline where the Lesser Seal and modern forms are vertical. In the right-hand obscure and branching strokes we see the predecessor of the remaining element of the modern character, an element unknown, be it noted, in any other. It seems reasonably clear that the whole complex depicts a dragon soaring in the air, the head and main trunk

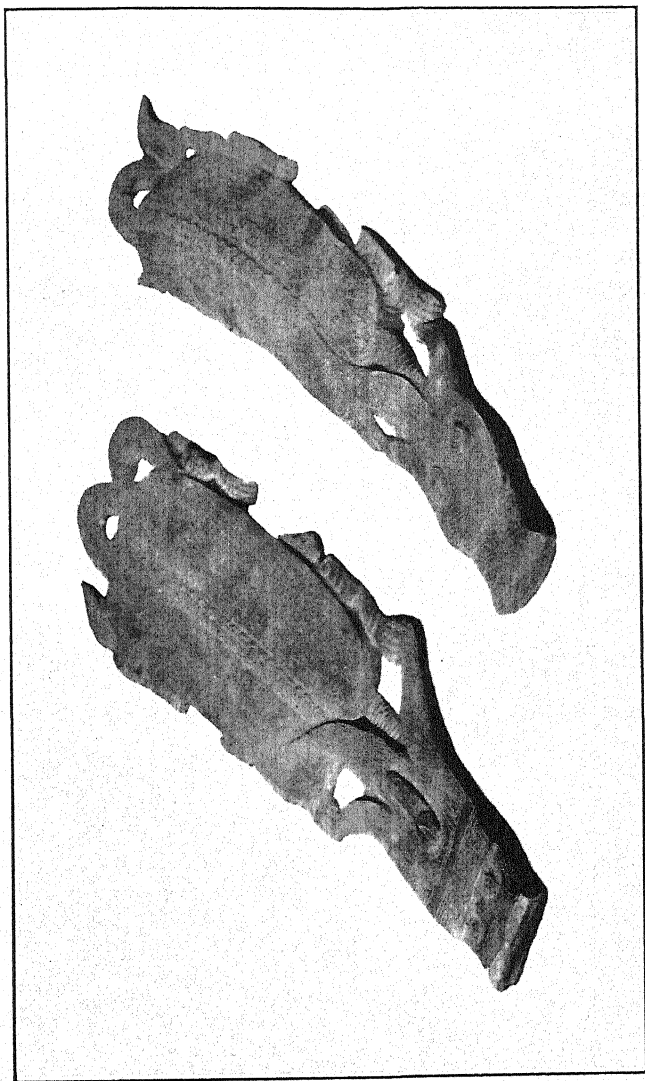
¹ The first variant is from H. 779, the second from H. 338, a shoulder-blade. In this last specimen, certain cracks and pittings in the surface make a more precise definition of the right-hand side of the character impossible.

facing to the left, while on the right we have its tail and hind-quarters. If I am correct, it is no true analogue in writing of the shapes of the carved objects under discussion, but represents the, to us, more familiar monster of the storm and rain.

I conclude these inadequate notes with a few remarks on two points of some general interest that present themselves in the inscribed legends. It is mortifying to realize how small is the progress made in the reading of a script that has now been studied, or open to study, for some twelve years; and how rapidly we might advance if some good fairy would reveal the identity of any ten of the commoner symbols now shrouded in Sphynxian inscrutability.

The initial characters of the first or right-hand column of the upper side of each specimen consist of a cycle-couplet recording a day date. In two of the five large dragon forms in my collection, this couplet is followed by the words 王卜貞 *wang pu chêng*, "the king inquired as to the omens." In one case (H. 758, Plate II) no mention is made of the inquirer, but we have 卜邑貞 *pu i chêng* (if I rightly interpret the fourth member of the formula), "inquired as to the omen regarding the city." In one case 卜 *pu* is absent, and *chêng*, omen (or to divine), is followed by unknown signs. Lastly, in H. 780 (Plate III), the cycle-couplet is succeeded by a character believed to be 及 *chi*, "to reach," then an unknown sign followed by 曰 *yüeh*, "to say." These suffice to show that we have to do here, no less than in the plain bone fragments, with records of a professional diviner's archives.

If H. 758 (Plate II) is examined, it will be seen that the third column contains the characters, in their ancient guise, 于高祖四月 *yü Kao tsu ssü yueh*, followed by three small circles of unknown significance. This passage would appear to mean "in the 4th month of



H. 780. Original of right-hand specimen $5\frac{1}{8}$ " long.
H. 757. on left.

Kao Tsu". Now Kao Tsu was the founder of the Han Dynasty, who is reckoned to have reigned from B.C. 206. And if this is the true interpretation of the passage, we should have indisputable evidence that at any rate this particular relic must be of a date not anterior to B.C. 206.

Such a conclusion would be very disturbing to the theory that the newly-discovered script cannot be later than the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, which is as far as I venture to go, and I believe I may say is approximately also Mr. Chalfant's opinion. But how disastrous to the view of Lo Chên-yü and Liu T'ieh-yün, who attribute the inscribed bones to the Shang Dynasty, some thousand years earlier. Accepting a Han Dynasty date, we should have to suppose that after the modern or *li* writing had established itself in official and general use from about B.C. 220 onwards, there survived among the diviners' class, possibly in this one centre and for esoteric purposes only, the archaic and widely differing script officially abolished by Ts'in Shih Huang Ti. Such a supposition would not be in itself unreasonable. But there is a formidable difficulty in its way in the constant occurrence both on these carvings and on the more numerous bone fragments, of the character 王 *wang*, king. This term for the sovereign disappeared with the feudal system of which the First Emperor was at once the outcome and the catastrophe. From his reign onward the rulers of successive dynasties all assumed the title of Ti or emperor. And Kao Tsu himself is alternatively known as Kao Ti. It is true that the character 王 *wang* does not actually occur on H. 758, but it appears in H. 757, 779, and 780 (Plates I and III), which are obviously of the same period.

If, then, there are difficulties in regarding the expression Kao Tsu, here used, as referring to the Han emperor of that title, is there any alternative solution? It must be admitted that there is, and that it is provided by the fact that the same words, which, literally rendered, mean High

Ancestor, constitute the proper term for "great-great-grandfather". Such a rendering, however, seems, it must be confessed, not very convincing, nor too happily suited to the context. And there, for the time, I am fain to leave these oracular relics of an amphibious and ambiguous past, based as they are upon the dual characters of a true reptilian form observed in water, and its supposed transformation into a seasonal and symbolic denizen of the air.

XVIII

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE DATIVE AND GENITIVE POSTPOSITIONS IN GUJARATI AND MARWARI

By L. P. TESSITORI

IT is mainly with the two principal sets *nē*, *nō* of Gujarātī and *rai*, *rō* of Mārwarī, and with their older forms, that I propose to deal in these pages. Since the right clue to the explanation of them—with the exception of *rō*, which presents no difficulty—has been missed by scholars as yet, I trust that the present investigation into their origin will be of use even to such as might hesitate to accept all my views unreservedly.

I shall first trace out the origin of the Gujarātī postposition for the dative, and next proceed to the cognate postposition for the genitive. But before entering on the subject it will be necessary briefly to describe two phonetic laws which were in force during the stage of development of the modern vernaculars from the Apabhramśa.

1. In some very usual words beginning with *k* the entire initial syllable was often dropped.¹ This seems to have been the case, not only with postpositions, but even with other words which, being of frequent occurrence, naturally tended to assume the shortest possible form.

¹ I confine myself to mentioning the case of *k*, on which my derivations are based and which seems to have been the most frequent. Of other consonants being dropped at the beginning of a word I may quote the three instances following: Old Western Rājasthānī *taū* from *hātai* (< Ap. *hontai* < Skt. **bhavantakāḥ*), *māṭai* from Ap. **nimattai*? (< Skt. **nimittakēna*), Modern Mārwarī *rō* from *parō*, *varō*, an adjective used to form verbal intensives. It will be observed that all the three words given above are of very frequent occurrence, a fact which partly accounts for their curtailment. Traces of apheresis of initial consonants are already found in Prakrit. I know the following: *ḍhilla* (< Skt. *sīthila*), *ṇam* (< Skt. *nānam*), and *āharana* (< Skt. *udāharana*), which occurs in the Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī of the *Uvaśamālā* (227).

The fact has been hitherto unrecognized by the students of Neo-Indian vernaculars, who hold that, after the analogy of the laws existing in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, it was only the *k* that could be elided, and that only when it fell between two vowels in the middle of a word. According to the latter view, the derivation of postpositions like *rō* in the Mārṇwārī and *jō* in the Sindhi from *kēraū* and **kajjaū* respectively cannot be explained except by assuming that prior to the time of the *k* being elided the postposition had been incorporated with the noun into one single word. As this point is a very important one, owing to the conclusions which are to be drawn from it, I shall return to it later on. For the present I shall confine myself to producing a single instance, which is the strongest proof in favour of my theory.

There is in the Apabhraṃśa a pronominal adjective *kaśa* (Hc. iv, 403) which is used in the same meaning as the Skt. *kīdrśa*. From it are derived the *kisau*, *kisiu*, *kisyu*, *kisyaū* of the Old Western Rājasthānī,¹ the *kaisau* of the Braja, the *kaisā* of the High Hindi, the *kasa* of the Old Baiswārī, etc. In the Old Western Rājasthānī we find *kisiu* commonly substituted for both the interrogative and the indefinite pronouns, as in the examples *kisiū karasi ēkī māsi?* ("what shall I be able to do in one single month?" F 758, 11) and *kisiū asādhya na hōi* ("nothing is impossible," *Pañcākhyaṇa*,²

¹ I understand under this name the common parent of Modern Gujarātī and Modern Mārṇwārī. I have been fortunate enough to discover some MSS. written in that language amongst the Indian collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence. From them I have collected much new material, which I hope to publish soon. All the Old Western Rājasthānī quotations in the present article, which are termed by F followed by a number, refer to MSS. that will be found registered in Professor P. E. Pavolini's "I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze": GSAI., vol. xx, pp. 63-157, 1907.

² This MS. will be found recorded in Theodor Aufrecht's *Florentine Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Leipzig, 1892.

401). Again, in the Old Western Rājasthānī we meet with a pronoun *saū*, *siu*, *syu*, *syāū*, which is also used adjectively in both the interrogative and the indefinite meaning, as in *e siū kāma kīdhaū?* ("what is this thing you have done?" *Pañcākhyāna*, 350) and *māhari tujha-siū siū nā'ntaraū* ("there is in me no difference from thee," *Pañcākhyāna*, 606), and pronominally in the interrogative meaning, as in *syū jāṇai?* ("what does he know?" F 579, 48). From the form *syāū* the interrogative pronoun *sō* of the Modern Gujarātī has originated. Now, it is obvious that the forms *saū*, *siu*, which are used in Old Western Rājasthānī by the side of and in much the same meaning as *kisaū*, *kisiu*, are derived from the latter by dropping the initial syllable, and thence it follows that the mere elision of a *k* at the beginning of a word is not a sign that that word had been incorporated into a compound. The example can be extended to Braja and to High Hindī, both of which possess the curtailed forms *sau* and *sā* by the side of *kaisau* and *kaisā*, which are the older forms. They are used adjectively in the indefinite meaning and are apparently identical with the forms of the so-called "affix of likeness",¹ which is a pure adjective derived from the Skt. *sama*. Their identity with the corresponding curtailed forms of the Old Western Rājasthānī can be best shown by the two quotations following, of which the former is in High Hindī and the latter in Old Western Rājasthānī: *thōḍī sī rōṭī* ("a very little bread"),² *tē dukha thōḍī sī vēḷā sahīyā-pachī vilāi jāi* ("these sufferings, after they have been endured for a very short time, pass away"), F 638, 155.

2. The double cerebral *ṇṇ* of the Apabhraṃśa was simplified into *n* or, very rarely, *ṇ*.³ In the latter case

¹ Kellogg, *Hindī Grammar*, §§ 201-2. ² From Kellogg, op. cit., § 203.

³ The simplification of *ṇṇ* into *n* had already begun in Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa. Cf. *paṇa-* (from *paṇṇa-*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*

the antecedent vowel remained generally short, in the former it was generally, though not always, lengthened. The passing of the cerebral conjunct *nn* into the single dental *n* seems, in some cases at least, to have been effected through the following steps: *nn* > *nn* > *nh* > *n*. This may be gathered from examples like *dīnharu*, *līnharu*, *kīnharu*, which are optionally used in Braja beside *dīnaru*, *kīnaru*, as well as from the analogy of the conjunct *ll*, which, judging from the comparison of the forms *ulhasaī*, *melhaī* of the Old Western Rājasthānī with their equivalents *ulasē*, *mēlē* of the Modern Gujarātī, likewise appears to have gone through the process *ll* > *lh* > *l*.

We are now prepared to understand the entire process of derivation of the Modern Gujarātī postposition for the dative. In the Old Western Rājasthānī there is a locative postposition which generally appears under the form *kanhaī*, but sometimes also under the forms *kanhaī*, *kanhi*, *kanhali*, *kaṇi*. It is also found under the ablative form *kanhā*. Students of Neo-Indian vernaculars will not be slow in noticing that these forms are undoubtedly cognate to the Sindhī *kanē* (*kane*), *kanā* (*kanō*), the Pañjābī *kannī*, and the Kāśmīrī *kani*, and that *kanhaī* is the prototype of the Mārwarī *kanai*. Mr. Trumpp was the first to point out the Sanskrit noun *kaṇa* as the stem from which all these forms have originated.¹ In fact, it can be easily shown by Law 2 that all the locative forms of this postposition are derived from the Apabhramśa *kannahī*, and analogously that the ablative form *kanhā* may reasonably be explained, with Dr. Hoernle,² as derived from the Apabhramśa plural ablative in *-hā*, *-hā*.

d. Prakrit-Sprachen, § 273, and *am* (from *amū* < *anyud*?) in Pischel's *Materialien z. Kenntniss d. Apabhramśa*, 415. In the Old Western Rājasthānī I may cite the case of the cardinal "three", which occurs under the forms *triṇṇi*, *tranṇi*, *trani*. In the MS. F 700 both the Gujarātī forms *triṇhi*, *triṇha* and the Rājasthānī form *tīna* are used side by side.

¹ *Sindhī Grammar*, p. 401.

² *Gaudian Grammar*, § 376.

Before we proceed to deal with the different meanings in which *kanhai* is found to be employed, a reference to Vedic Sanskrit will not prove unprofitable. There occurs in the *Rg-vēda* the word *apikarnam* (n.), which is used in the sense of "the region of the ears", and thence in that of "near", and which is also found under the locative form *apikarnē* in the sense of "behind the ear > back > from behind". The change in the meaning from the locative to the ablative appears here to be quite identical with the case of the adverbial locative *abhikē*, which likewise occurs in the *Rg-vēda* in both the locative and ablative sense.

Quite analogously *kanhai* can be shown to have practically passed from the original meaning of "near" to that of "from". Only it is here somewhat more complicated, for the original locative besides developing into the ablative has also developed into the dative, as in the case of most vernacular postpositions of the dative,¹ and the ablative has further developed into the agentive. The entire process may therefore be represented :

Locative { > Ablative > Agentive.
 { > Dative (including Accusative).

In Old Western Rājasthānī it is still possible to find instances of all the above cases, with the exception of the agentive, which has probably originated in a later period. The pure locative meaning occurs very rarely, as it is mostly blended with that of the ablative or of the dative. It is pure in the two instances following: *na jāṇū kihā-kanī achai* ("I do not know where he is," F 758, 192) *mithyādr̥ṣṭi-lōka-kanhai śrāvaki vasivāṇ nahī* ("a śrāvaka should not live near to heretics," F 638, 49). It is mixed with the ablative meaning in all the following instances,

¹ As shown by Sir George Grierson in his article "On certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars": *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1903, pp. 473 ff.

where it is used in connexion with verbs implying the general idea of asking, begging, hearing, or obtaining: *Caturaka-kanhai pūchaī vana-dhañī* ("the king of the forest asks Caturaka," *Pañcākhyāna*, 585), *Indra māgaī Jina-kanhai dakṣiṇā ē* ("Indra begs this gift from the Jina," F 758, 131), *maī śrī-Mahāvīra-kanhai sābhaliū* ("I heard from the reverend Mahāvira," F 557, iv), *Vajrasēna-tīrthaṅkara-kanhai sagalē dīkṣā līdhī* ("all received the dīkṣā at the hands of the tīrthaṅkara Vajrasēna," F 700). And lastly, it is confused with the meaning of the dative in the following instances, where it is used in connection with verbs indicating motion towards: *āvaī tihā-kañi* ("[he] goes there," F 758, 158), *Bhagavanta-kanhai āvī kahaī* ("having gone to the Venerable one, [he] says . . .," F 700), *striputrādika-kanhai jaī* ("having resorted to wife, sons, etc.," F 638, 22). It will be thus seen that the Old Western Rājasthānī postposition *kanhai* in many of its constructions perfectly coincides with the dative postposition *nē*, *nai* of Modern Gujarātī and Modern Mārwarī. The older form of the latter is *naī*, *naī*, and in Old Western Rājasthānī texts it is commonly used by the side of *kanhai*, though much more freely. Law 1, which I have discussed above, explains how *naī* may be derived from *kanhai*, so that there can be no possible doubt as to the identity of one form with the other. The coexistence of both the forms is still preserved in Modern Mārwarī and Jaipuri, where *kanai* is used beside *naī*.

In Old Western Rājasthānī there are no instances of the agentive meaning of the postposition (*ka*)*n(h)ai*. Such a meaning seems to have developed only in later times.¹

¹ After the present article had gone to press, I discovered in the MS. F 700 (p. 10, a) a real instance of *naī* used in the agentive function, which had escaped my attention before. It is the following: *Ādiśvara-naī dīkṣā līdhī jāñī* ("having learned that Ādiśvara had taken the dīkṣā").

Mr. Beames¹ was the first to recognize the identity of the postpositions of the agentive case with those of the dative, and his theory was strongly endorsed by Dr. Hoernle² and by Sir George Grierson.³ But what has not yet been satisfactorily explained is how a dative postposition came to be used as an agentive one. The explanation propounded by Dr. Hoernle is not very convincing to my mind. The difficulty may be removed, I think, by assuming the agentive meaning to have been a filiation of the ablative instead of the dative. I have shown that *kanhaĩ* was practically employed as a postposition of the ablative in many a construction in Old Western Rājasthānī; now the ablative is never so repugnant to the agentive as is the dative. If we think of a phrase such as *maĩ bāpa-(ka)nhaĩ sābhaliā* or *maĩ guru-(ka)nhaĩ dīkṣā līdhī* we shall see how easily it can be turned into *bāpa-*naĩ kahiā* or *guru-*naĩ dīkṣā dīdhī*. The fact is that in a phrase like *maĩ guru-(ka)nhaĩ dīkṣā līdhī* there are practically two agentives, of which the grammatical one, *maĩ*, is only apparent, while the other, *guru-(ka)nhaĩ*, is the real performer of the action.⁴

Lastly, as conclusive and summing-up evidence in favour of my derivation, let me quote the following *pāda* of a *caūpaĩ* from the *Pañcākhyaṇa*: *vātaĩ-naĩ eka nīramala nīra* ("close by the road [there was a lake of] limpid water," 286), which at one and the same time proves (1) that *naĩ* is a substantive in the locative like *kanhaĩ*, for if it were the locative of the genitive postposition *nō* (< *naū*) it could not be used in that case

¹ *Comparative Grammar*, ii, 270.

² *Gauḍian Grammar*, § 371.

³ "On certain Suffixes . . .," loc. cit., p. 484.

⁴ Cf. the Modern Gujarātī construction *mārā-thī vāta kahēvāya*, which is equivalent with *mē vāta kahī* (Taylor, *Gujarātī bhāṣā-nū Vyākaraṇa*, 177, 430, 437 (i)). Cf. also Kellogg, *Hindī Grammar*, § 691 (6). In the following passage from the MS. F 700 *kanhaĩ* has become an ablative grammatically also: *bhagavanta-kanhā dīkṣā dīvarāvī* ("he caused the Venerable one to give him the *dīkṣā*").

separately; (2) that it is a real postposition, for if it were compounded with the noun it governs, the latter could not have been inflected into the locative case; (3) that it is capable of being used "pleonastically", that is after a word inflected into the same case, just like the agentive *nē* in High Hindī after the instrumental (apparent nominative) of the personal pronouns.

Turning now to the consideration of the genitive postposition *nō* of the Gujarātī, it will not take many words, I think, to show that it is a congener of that used for the dative.¹ That it cannot be from *taṇaū* is borne out (1) by the fact that there is no possible reason to account for the cerebral passing into the dental, and (2) by the fact that the *nō* postposition is peculiar to the Gujarātī and is not found in those dialects of Rājasthānī which possess both *taṇō* and *(ka)naī*. The conclusion, then, to be drawn is that *nō* (<*naū*) is not from *taṇaū*, and that it is posterior to *(ka)n(h)aī*, which certainly already existed in the language from which both Gujarātī and Rājasthānī originated. If *naī* and *naū* are congeners, it is the latter that has sprung from the former and not otherwise, as it has been maintained hitherto.² I shall show later on that the case here is somewhat analogous with that of the Mārwarī postposition for the dative, which has nothing to do with the locative of the postposition for the genitive.

The correctness of my derivation of the *naū* of the genitive from the same stem of the *naī* of the dative is

¹ Sir George Grierson suggests to me that *nō* might be from the Apabhraṃśa *kinṇaū*. Such a derivation would be supported by the analogy of the cognate vernaculars, most of which have genitive postpositions that are connected with the Sanskrit root *kr*. But against it would be, perhaps, the fact that Old Western Rājasthānī has no traces of **kinṇaū*, but substitutes the form *kīḍhaū* for it.

² In the MS. F 700 a few instances occur of *naī* used in quite the same genitive meaning as *naū*. One is the following: *ē Bhagavanta-naī tēramaū bhava* ("this is the thirteenth existence of the Venerable one").

corroborated, I think, by the following remark. In Old Western Rājasthānī poetry both *taṇāū* and *naū* are used, and in some cases, no doubt, they are used indiscriminately. But more frequently the employment of the one instead of the other seems to depend upon a difference in their respective meanings. I have noticed that, wherever the genitive involves the general idea of place or source, *naū* is more commonly preferred, whilst in most other cases, and especially where the genitive means possession, *taṇāū* is of more general use. Take only the following illustrations: *āgaī caritra sunyā tasu-taṇā* ("his deeds had previously been heard of," *Pañcākhyāna*, 364); *tasa-taṇā paya paṇamīya* ("after having bowed to his feet," F 732, 2); *ghari tumha-taṇā* ("in your house," F 732, 83); *Jamunā-naū tīri* ("on the bank of the Jamna," *Pañcākhyāna*, 263); *tiḥā-nā lōka* ("the inhabitants of that place," F 700); *Sulatāna-nī vāṇī sunī* ("having heard the Sultan's speech," *Kānhaḍa-dē-prabandha*¹). It will be seen that in the former examples *taṇāū* is used in the very same meaning as in the Apabhraṃśa quotations in Hemacandra's Grammar, viz. as an *ādēśa* of *sambandhin* (Hc. iv, 422, 20) in the sense of "belonging or related to". This was quite probably its current meaning in the Apabhraṃśa. On the contrary, in the latter examples, *naū* is successively used in connexion with the idea of place, origin, and agency, viz. in the very same cases in which the postposition *kanhaī* is commonly employed. In the last example *kanhaī* might as well be substituted for *nī*.²

¹ Lately printed by K. H. Dhruva. I owe this quotation to the kindness of Sir George Grierson, who lent to me his own copy of the little work.

² In the following passage from the MS. F 557 both postpositions occur, and the difference in their meaning is very evident. It is a paraphrase of the Sanskrit adjectival compound *nānāpīṇḍaratāḥ* (nom. plur. m.): *nānā-prakāra gṛhasṭha-taṇāṭ gharē pīṇḍa āhāra-naī viṣāṭ rata āśakṭa chaī* (F 557, i, 4).

Let us now turn to the investigation into the origin of the dative postposition *rai* of Mārwarī. Here also, before entering into discussion, I must mention a phonetic law in the early stage of the vernaculars.

Medial *h* is often thrown back before the foregoing consonant. This process had already begun in the Prakrits (cf. Pischel, § 354), and is found widely spread in all the vernaculars, though perhaps in none so much as in the Old Western Rājasthānī. I confine myself to the following examples:—

Sanskrit.	Apabhraṃśa.	Old Western Rājasthānī.	Modern Gujarātī.
*sammukhakaḥ	sammuhaṭi	sāmaḥaṭi sāhamatī	sāmō
*vallabhakaḥ	vallahaṭi	vālhaṭi vāhalaṭi	vāhalō vahālō
*divasatakaḥ	diahāḍaṭi	*dihāaḍaṭi dihāḍaṭi	dahāḍō
*paridhāpayati	parihāvei parihāvaṭi	pahirāvaṭi	pahērāvē
*durlabhakaḥ	dullahaṭi	*dūlahaṭi dōhilaṭi	dōhēlō
—	mellaṭi	melhaṭi mēhalai	mēlē

In Old Western Rājasthānī we come across a dative postposition which in the oldest texts occurs under the forms *arahaṭi*, *rahaṭi*, *rahaṭi*, *rahiṭi*, and appears to be capable of quite a number of constructions. I will quote only a few examples, mostly from the MS. F 671, where it has a wider application than in any other text I ever saw: *teha Kamatṭha-rahaṭi dukkha-rahaṭi kāraṇa hūu* ("to that Kamatṭha [he] became a fount of distress," F 671, 33); *maṅgalika-rahaṭi ghara* ("kalyāṇa-mandira," F 671, 1); *jīva-rahaṭi tāraḥa* ("saver of the individuals," F 671, 10); *majha-rahaṭi rākhī!* ("save me!" F 671, 41); *kaha-rahi?* ("wherefore?" F 643); *teha-rahaṭi anumati na diu* ("I will

not give assent to them," F 557, iv). From the above it will be seen that in many cases *rahaĩ* is employed just like an uninflected postposition for the genitive. This remark will prove of use presently. Here it will be sufficient to notice that its being used for the genitive is by no means an obstacle to conceiving it as a dative postposition. The genitive and dative meanings could well go together, as is shown by later Sanskrit and Prakrit. In a phrase like the following, *jēha jīva-rahaĩ dharma-naĩ viṣaĩ sadā mana hui* ("yasya jīvasya dharmē sadā manō bhavati," F 557, 1), one would be quite at a loss to decide whether *jēha jīva-rahaĩ* and *yasya jīvasya* should be ascribed to the genitive or to the dative case.

In later Old Western Rājasthānī texts, *hraĩ* and *raĩ* appear to have taken the place of *rahaĩ*. The law I have explained above shows that the former are derived from the latter through the *h* being first interchanged with the *r* and then dropped altogether. The same has quite probably been the case with the *nh* of *(ka)nhaĩ*, i.e. it was first turned into **knaĩ* and then into *naĩ*. The spelling *hraĩ* has been preserved in the three MSS. F 580, F 638, F 643. So not a single step in the derivation is wanting.

Now, it is clear that the dative postposition *rai* of the Mārwarī, which as far as I know has been for the first time noticed by Sir George Grierson,¹ is nothing but the successor of the dative postposition *rahaĩ* > *raĩ* of Old Western Rājasthānī. Its having long remained unrecognized by scholars and mistaken for the locative of the genitive postposition is explained by the fact of its apparent identity with the latter. We have seen that the same has been the case with the Gujarātī postposition for the dative. In Mārwarī, however, the confusion has gone some degrees further, and in many cases it is not possible

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ix, pt. ii, p. 22, 1908.

to-day definitely to discriminate one form from another. Anyhow, it seems to be certain that the genitive meaning, which *rahaĩ* frequently has in Old Western Rājasthānī, has been preserved in the *rai* of the Mārwaṛī. This certainly accounts for some of the cases in which *rai* is employed instead of the regular oblique *rā*—though very often it might be explained as a locative of the genitive postposition as well—and it is noteworthy that when the former is used instead of the latter it almost invariably denotes possession or relationship. In the phrase *khētā-rai pālī* ("the boundary of the fields"¹), *rai* is neither used before a masculine noun nor before a noun in the locative, and therefore is decidedly from *rahaĩ*, not from *kērai*.

It remains to deal with the question on the origin of *rai*. Two possible explanations had occurred to my mind, and it is only after many waverings that I have decided in favour of the second as the more probable. The oldest form under which the postposition is met is *arahaĩ*. Now, *arahaĩ* might be from **arthakē* or **arthakēna*. But it might as well be the locative form of *arahaũ*, an adjective which means "near, lying on this side" and is found in Old Western Rājasthānī texts. I shall not attempt to go into details concerning its derivation, for space would not allow me, so I limit myself to pointing out that it comes, in my opinion, from the Sanskrit stem *apārā-*, through the Apabhraṃśa **avāra*² > **ōra-*, and that it is cognate to the Gujarātī *ōrō*, *aḍō* and to the Sindhī *ōrāhō*, *ōḍō*. In Old Western Rājasthānī its initial vowel was first turned into *u-*, next into *a-*, and afterwards dropped. The form *urahaũ* still occurs in the *Mugdhāvabōdhamauktika*.³ In favour of the former

¹ Quoted by Sir George Grierson, *Ling. Surv.*, loc. cit.

² For the shortening of the pretonic long vowel, see Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 81.

³ Grierson, *Ling. Surv.*, vol. ix, pt. ii, p. 363, 1908.

derivation is the fact that the employment of *arthē* and *arthēna* in the function of a postposition is as old as the Sanskrit. In favour of the latter is the fact that *araha-* for *attha-* or *attha-* is never met in the Prakrits, and that the meaning of "near to or towards" seems to be the original one in the case of *rahañ*. So I would hold to the second of the two derivations, and all the more so as there is in Sindhī the postposition *ōrē*, meaning "on this side, near",¹ which is a form quite identical with the locative of the adjective *arahaū* in Old Western Rājasthānī.

On the genitive postposition *rō* of the Mārwarī there is very little to say in addition to what has been written by the eminent scholars who have already discussed the subject. I would only add the remark that, once it is recognized that syllables beginning with *k* can be dropped even when they are initial, there is no longer need to postulate—for the Mārwarī, at least—an intermediate form **karaū*. In Old Western Rājasthānī we find only *kēraū* and *raū*, and they are often used in the same text promiscuously, just like *kanhañ* and *nañ*. Had there been a form like **karaū*, its having died out before *kēraū* would be almost absurd.

Lastly, let us return to the question as to whether the *nē*, *nō* of the Gujarātī and the *rai*, *rō* of the Mārwarī are to be considered as postpositions or as terminations. If I have succeeded in proving my derivations sufficiently, I need hardly demonstrate that they are postpositions. In the whole process of their derivation there is nothing to show that at a certain moment they ceased to be employed as postpositions and became terminations. The dropping of the *ka-*, *kē-* is not a sign that they are suffixed to the

¹ Trumpp, *Sindhī Grammar*, p. 391.

word they govern. There is no change whatever in the way they are construed; *nē* governs the oblique (original genitive) in the same way as *kanhai*. Weak nouns remain unchanged before them—a fact which would be impossible if they had been turned into terminations, for in such a case a long vowel (the result of the contraction) ought to intervene before the first consonant of the termination, anyhow. The Bengali genitive of the weak noun *putra* is *putrēra*, of *sampad*, *sampadēra*. So in Mārwarī we ought to have **gharārai*, if from *ghara*-*(k)*araī*, just as much as *dikarārai*, if from *dikara*-*(k)*araī*, or, to give a real example of the postposition having been suffixed, just as much as we have *amārē*, from Old Western Rājasthānī *amhārai* > Apabhraṃśa *amhārahi* contracted from **amha*-(k)*ārahī*, in Gujarātī.

But I have one more argument, the strongest perhaps of all. In Old Western Rājasthānī the emphatic particles *i*, *ji* are always inserted between the postposition and the noun, never after the postposition. Take the following examples: *gurūā-i-naī* (dat., S. 1561 c,¹ 48), *saghalā-i-naī* (dat., F 615, 76), *tiyā-i-naī* (dat., F 638, 63), *dāhā-i-naī viṣai* (gen., F 638, 48), *dharmavanta-i-naī mani* (gen., F 638, 28), *karaṇahāra-ji-naī* (dat., F 638, 83), *jeha-ji-naū* (gen., F 638, 82), *tujha-i-ji-raī* (dat., F 671, 29). Now, considering that even in the Apabhraṃśa no words are allowed to intervene between the postposition and the noun, the exceptions in the examples given above are a positive sign that nouns and postpositions are still not only separate, but also so distinct from one another that emphatic particles cannot be added to the latter, for, if they were, they would emphasize the postposition instead of the noun.

¹ This refers to a MS. in the India Office Library, which I have been able to collate at the Biblioteca Comunale at Udine (Italy) through the kindness of the Librarian, Dr. F. W. Thomas.

The practical result of all this is that, to be correct, we ought to put a hyphen between the nouns and the postpositions *nē*, *nō*, *rai*, *rō* of Gujarātī and Mār-wārī, just as much as before the postposition *kā* of the High Hindī. The same remark applies to the cognate genitive postpositions of Sindhī, Pañjābī, and Marāṭhī.¹

¹ I believe that the Marāṭhī postposition for the genitive is from **kiccaū*, as already pointed out by Dr. Konow and Sir George Grierson ("On certain Suffixes . . .," loc. cit., p. 490).

XIX


DOCUMENTS SANSKRITS DE LA SECONDE COLLECTION M. A. STEIN


PAR LOUIS DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN

FRAGMENTS DU SAMYUKTAKAGAMA

[The fragments transliterated below by Professor de la Vallée Poussin, together with a number of smaller morsels, formed part of a large birch-bark *pothi*, of which each page contained ten or eleven lines and measured about 39 × 7 cm., and were found at Khadalik. The characters are of the upright Gupta type.]

1. KHA. ii, 1b, 10b; viii, 11a, b, d

(1) athānyataro bhikṣur yena bhagavāms te[n]o[pa]-
saṃkrānta upasaṃkramya bhaga[vataḥ pādaḥ śīrasā
vanditvaikānte nyaṣīda e]kāntaniṣaṇṇa sa bhikṣur
bhagava[m]tam idam avocat[ī] kiyatā bhadanta rūpaṃ
prahiṇaṃ bhavaty ucchiṇṇamūlaṃ tālamastakavad
anābhāsagatam āyatyā[m anutpā] (2) dadharmi kiyatā
vedanā kiyatā saṃjñā kiyatā saṃskārāḥ kiyatā vi[jñānaṃ
prahiṇaṃ] bhavaty [ucchiṇṇamūlaṃ tālamastakava]d
anābhāsagatam āyatyām a[nutpādadharmi rūpe] evaṃ
vedanāyām saṃjñāyām saṃskāreṣu vijñāne bhikṣo yaś
chaṃdo yo rāgo yā nandī yā tṛṣṇā [tatkṣa] (3) yād
virāgān nirodhāt tyāgāt prahāṇāt pratinihsargād iyatā
tad vijñānaṃ pra[hiṇaṃ bhavaty ucchiṇṇamūlaṃ tāla-
mastakavad anābhāsa]gatam āyatyām anutpādadha[rmi
.]t 9  śrāvastyām nidānaṃ athānyataro
bhikṣur yena bhagavāms tenopasaṃkrānta upasaṃkramya
[bhagava](4)taḥ pādaḥ śīrasā vanditvaikānte nyaṣīda
ekāntaniṣaṇṇaḥ sa bhikṣur bhagavaṃta[m ida]m avocat
kiyatā [bhadanta rūpaṃ prahiṇaṃ bhavaty ucchiṇṇa]
mūlaṃ tālamastakavad anābhā[sagatam ā]yatyām anut-
pādadharmi kiyatā vedanā kiyatā saṃjñā kiyatā

saṃskārāḥ kiyatā vijñānaṃ [prahī] (5) naṃ bhavaty
 ucchiṃnamūla[m] tālamastakavad [anābhāsagatam āyat-
 yām anu]tp[ā]ddadharmi rūpe bhikṣo yaś [cha]m[do yo
 rāgo yā nandī yā tṛṣṇā] ye upadhyupādānacetaso
 dhiṣṭhānābhiniveśānuśa[yās teṣāṃ kṣa]yād virāgān niro-
 dhāt tyāgāt prahānāt pratinihsargād iyatāvadrū . . .
 (6) . . . yo rāgo yā nandī yā tṛṣṇā ye upadhyupādāna-
 cetaso dhiṣṭhānābhiniveśānu[sayās t]eṣāṃ kṣayād virāgān
 nirodhā . . . (7) manāḥ sa bhikṣur bhagavato
 bhāṣita[m abhyana]ndat 10  uddānam na prajā
 (8) . . . trayati sma sādhu bhik[s]a[v]o [v]i[.]
 udayavyayānudarśi vihareṭ [sic] (9) . . . saṃjñāyāṃ
 saṃskāreṣu vijñāne udayavyayānudarśi viharan vijñāna
 (10) . . . skārebhyaḥ parimucyate vijñānāt parimucyate
 jātijarāvyādhi.

Voir Sam. iii, 13; 130, 150, 179.

2. KHA. ii, 1c

(1) . . . rmi virāgadadharmi nirodhadharmi tasya
 nirodhān nirodha i[t]y u[cyate] . . . (2) . . . me ānaṃda
 paṃcopādānaskandhā anityāḥ saṃskṛ[tā . . .] (3) . . .
 śmān ānaṃdo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandat . . .
 (4) . . . yati sma ~ yad bhikṣavo na yuṣmākam tat
 praj . . .

Voir, par exemple, Sam. iii, 24.

3. KHA. ii, 10a

Deux sūtras (anyatara bhikṣu). Comparer Sam. iii,
 pp. 35-7 (xxii, 35 et 36).

On remarquera que notre premier sūtra a *anusetē* et
anunīyate (alors que le deuxième sutta a *anuseti* et
anunīyati) et que notre deuxième sūtra a *anusetē*,
anunīyate, *saṃkhyām gacchati* (alors que le premier
 sutta a *anuseti saṃkham gacchati*).

On comparera la formule *saṃkhittena bhāsitassa evaṃ
 vittharena attham ājānāmi* avec la nôtre *saṃkṣiptena
 bhāsitasya vistareṇāvibhaktasya vistareṇārtham . . .*

De même *vūpakattho appamatto ātāpī pahītatto* et *vyavakṛṣṭo 'pramatta ātāpī pravivikto* . . .

Nous avons (recto, l. 9) *yathā nu* pour le Pāli *yathā katham*.

Il semble que la formule résumée *upādāya saṃyuktaḥ anupādāya viśaṃyuktaḥ* . . . manque dans le Pāli.

La comparaison s'impose entre ce sūtra et ceux que l'on trouvera indiqués dans l'Index du Saṃyutta s.voc. *brahmacariya*, iv, pp. 51, 138, 253; v, pp. 6, 27-9, 272. Le même schéma, le même style.


Recto

(1) [ve]danā saṃjñā saṃskārā vijñānaṃ nānuśete tan nānuniyate ~ upādāya bhadaṃta saṃyukta[h] anupādāya viśaṃyuktaḥ evaṃ ahaṃ bhadaṃtāśya bhagavatā saṃkṣiptena bhāṣita[sya] vistareṇāvibhaktasya (2) vistareṇārtham ājānā]mi ~ sādhu sādhu bhikṣoḥ sādhu khalu punas tvam bhikṣoḥ asya mayā saṃkṣiptena bhāṣitasya vistareṇāvibhaktasya vistareṇārtham ājānāsi ~ tat kasmād dhetoḥ rūpaṃ bhikṣo[h] (3) saṃskārā vijñānaṃ anuśete tad anuniyate ~ rūpaṃ tu nānuśete ~ tan nānuniyate ~ vedanā saṃjñā saṃskārā vijñānaṃ nānuśete taṃ nānuniyate ~ upādāya bhikṣoḥ saṃyuktaḥ . . . (4) . . . viśaṃyuktaḥ atha sa bhikṣur anena bhagavatā saṃkṣiptenāpavādenāvavāditāḥ eko vyavakṛṣṭo pramatta ātāpī pravivikto vyahārsid eko vyavakṛṣṭo pramatta ātāpī . . . (5) . . . [yasyārthāya kulaputrāḥ] saṃ[y]ag eva śraddhayā agārād anagārikāṃ pravrajanti ~ tad anuttaraṃ brahmacariyaparyavasānaṃ drṣṭa eva dharma svayam abhijñāya sāksātkr̥tvopasaṃpadya vyahārṣa . . . (6) prajānāmi ~ ājñātavān sa bhikṣur arhan babhūva idam avocat (7) śrāvastyān nidānaṃ athānyataro bhikṣur yena bhagavaṃs tenopasaṃk[r̥ānta] upasaṃkramya (7) . . . bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śirasā vanditvaikānte nyaṣīdad ekānte niṣa]ṇṇaḥ sa bhikṣur bhagavaṃtam idam avocat sādhu me bhadaṃta


bhagavan samkṣiptena dharman deśaya yad ahaṃ bhagavato dharmam śrutvā eko vyava[kṛṣṭo] (8)
 yad anunīyate tenaiva samkhyāṃ gacchati ~ yan nānuśete
 [ya]n nānuniyate tena (sic) tena samkhyāṃ gacchati ~
 upādāya bhikṣoḥ saṃyukta (9)
 [saṃ]kṣiptena bhāṣitasya ~ vistareṇāvibhaktasya vistareṇā[rtha]m ājānāmi ~ yathā nu punas tvam bhikṣo
 asya mayā samkṣiptena bhāṣi[tena] (10)
 yate tena tenaiva samkhyāṃ gacchati vedanā samjñā
 samskārā vijñānam anuśete tad anunīyate tenaiva . . .

Verso

(1) [. . . sam]jñ[āṃ] samskārān vijñānam nānuśete tan
 nānuniyate yan nānuniyate na tena samkhyāṃ gacchati
 ~ upādāya bhadamta saṃyuktaḥ anupādāya viṣaṃ-
 yuktaḥ evaṃ ahaṃ bhadamta (2) [sya bhagavatā
 samkṣiptena bhāṣitasya vistareṇā]vibhaktasya vistareṇār-
 tham ājānāmi ~ sādhu sādhu [bhi]kṣoḥ sādhu khalu
 punas tvam bhikṣoḥ asya mayā samkṣiptena bhāṣitasya
 vistareṇāvibhaktasya vistareṇārtham ājānāsi (3) [. . . ya]d
 anunīyate tenaiva samkhyāṃ gacchati evaṃ yāvad
 vijñānam bhadamta nānuśete tan nānuniyate ~ na tena
 samkhyāṃ gacchati ~ evaṃ yāvad vijñānam upādāya
 saṃyuktaḥ anupā (4) [dāya viṣaṃyuktaḥ atha sa bhikṣur
 anena bhaga]vatā samkṣiptenāpavādenāvavāditaḥ yāvad
 arhan babhūva idam avocat ③ śrāvastyāṃ nidānam
 athāyusmān ānamdo yena bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃkrānta
 upasaṃkramya bhagava (5) [taḥ pādaḥ śīrasā vanditvai-
 kānte nyaśīdad ekānte niṣa]ṇnam āyuṣmaṃtam ānamdaṃ
 bhagavān etad avocat sa cet te ~ ānamdānyatīrthikapari-
 vrājakāḥ upasaṃkramyaivaṃ prccheyuḥ kimartham
 śramaṇasya gautamasyāmtike (6) [brahmacaryam uśyate
] sa cen mā bhadamtānyatīrthikaparivṛājakā
 upasaṃkramyaivaṃ prccheyuḥ kimartham śramaṇasya
 gautamasyāmtike brahmacaryam uśyate ~ evaṃ prṣṭo haṃ
 evaṃ vyākuryāṃ (7) [. . . rūpasya nirvīde virāgāya

ni]rodhāya bhagavato ntike brahmacaryam uṣyate
vedanāyāḥ samjñāyāḥ saṃskārāṇāṃ vijñānasya nirvvide
virāgāya [ni]rodhāya bhagavato ntike brahmacaryam
uṣyate ~ sa cen me bhadamtānyatī (8) [rthikaparivrājakā
upasaṃkramyaivaṃ] prccheyuḥ kimartham śramaṇasya
gautamasyāmtike brahmacaryam uṣyate ~ evaṃ prṣṭo
ham evaṃ vyākuryāḥ (sic) sādhu sādhu ānaṃda rūpasyā-
naṃda nirvvide virāgāya nirodhāya mamāmtike brahma-
caryam uṣyate ~ (9) [evaṃ vedanāyāḥ samjñāyāḥ saṃ]
skārāṇāṃ vijñānasya nirvvide virāgāya nirodhāya
mamāmtike brahmacaryam uṣyate ~ sa cet te ānaṃdān-
yatīrthika[parivrā]jakāḥ upasaṃkramyaivaṃ prccheyuḥ
kimartham śramaṇasya gautamasyāmtike (10) [brahma-
caryam uṣyate ~]evaṃ prṣṭas tvam evaṃ vyākuryā
idam avocat  śrāvastyāṃ nidānam athāyuṣmān
ānaṃdo yena bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃkrāṃta upasaṃkramya
bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śīra[sā vanditvaikā]nte nyaṣīdad
ekāṃ[te].


4. KHA. ii, 12k

(1) . . . ḥ upasaṃkramyaivaṃ prccheyuḥ . . . (2) . . .
paṇḍitāḥ śramaṇapaṇḍitāḥ u . . . (3) . . . ñ[ā]yate sthitya-
nyathātvaṃ praj[ñ]ā . . . (4) . . . [grhapati]paṇḍitāḥ
śramaṇapaṇḍi[tāḥ . . .] (5) . . . jñāyate vyayaḥ prajñā-
yate . . . (6) . . . tāḥ brāhmaṇapaṇḍitāḥ grhapati-
pa[ṇḍitāḥ śramaṇapaṇḍitāḥ] . . . (7) . . .  śrāvastyāṃ
nidānam athāyuṣmān . . . (8) . . . parivrājakā evaṃ
pr[cch]e . . . (9) . . . kāḥ upasaṃkra . . . (10) . . .
ṇaḥ sa . . .

Comparer Sam. iii, p. 37 (xxii, 37) et 38 : remarquer la
variante *thitassa aññathatta* ou *thitānam* et non *sthityo* ;
les *paṇḍitas* de iii, 6.

5. KHA. ii, 8a

(1) . . . naiṣo ham asmi naiṣa me ātmety evaṃ etad
yathābhū . . . (2) virajyate virakto vimucyate vimuk-
tasya vimuktam eva . . . (3) khaṃ vedanā samjñā

saṃskārā vijñānaṃ duḥkham evaṃdarśi bhikṣava . . .
 (4) vasyāṃ nidānaṃ rūpaṃ bhikṣavaḥ anātmā ~ vedanā
 saṃ . . . (5) idam avocat  śrāvastyāṃ
 nidānam . . .

Comparer Sam. iii, 45, etc.

6. KHA. ii, 6a

(1) . . . ni ~ katamāni pañca ~ . . . (2) . . . tāni
 navāni sārāṇi sukhaśayitā . . . (3) . . . pūtini vātāta-
 pānupahatāni na . . . (5) . . . jātāni akhaṇḍāny apūtini
 vātātapā . . . (4) . . . bhikṣavaḥ pañca bijajātāni akha
 . . . (6) . . . tad[ya]thā bhikṣavaḥ . . .

Sam. iii, p. 54 (xxii, 54); cité Abhidh. kośav., MS. Burn.,
 362b.

7. KHA. ii, 6b

(1) . . . tiṣṭhitam namdyu[pase]vanam vṛddhi . . .
 (2) gatim vā sthitim vā cyutim vā upapattim vā vṛddhim
 vir . . . (3) padhātoḥ bhikṣoḥ rāgo vigato bhavati rāgasya
 . . . (5) cchidyata ālambanam ~ pratiṣṭhā vijñānas[ya]
 . . . (4) . . . m eva parinirvātī kṣīṇā me . . .


Voir Sam. iii, p. 53.

8. KHA. ii, 6c

Obv.—(1) . . . na bhikṣ . . . ṇ . . . āmodi . . .
 (2) . . . syāmy anupādāya cāpari . . . (3) . . .
 haikakyo d . . . davigatarāg . . .

Rev.—(1) . . . rūpasya samudayo bhavati . . . (2) . . .
 dati nābhiva . . . i . . . vasi . . . (3) . . . na nirodhaḥ
 upādānaniro[dhāt . . .

9. KHA. ii, 1a

(1) . . . ti ~ sa rūpa para (?) . . . (2) . . . d[au]rmana-
 syopāyāsebhyaḥ parim[ucyate] . . . (3) . . . gārād anagārikam
 pravrajitasya . . . (4) [. . . v]edanāyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ saṃs-
 kāreṣu vijñāne duḥ[khānupaśyī . . . (5) . . . nirvvidyate
 vedanāyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ saṃskārebhyo vijñānād api par[i]-
 mu[c]y . . . (6) . . . idam avocat  śrāvastyāṃ nidānam

tatra bhagavān bhikṣūn āmantrayati sma . . . (7) . . .
 nupaśyī vihareyaṃ ~ vedanāyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ saṃskāreṣu
 vijñāne anā[tmānupaśyī] . . . (8) . . . jñāti ~ vedanā
 saṃjñā saṃskārān vijñānaṃ parijānāti . . . (9) . . .
 maraṇasokaparidevaduhkhadaurmanasyo[p]ā . . . (10) . . .
 tra yo dhyāyī kulaputreṇa dvayaṃ dvaya . . .

Comparer Sam. iii, p. 41.

10. KHA. ii, 1d, 10c, 12a

Feuille de 39 × 7 cm. presque complète ; 11 lignes.
 En combinant les formules de Sam. iii, 82 (*samudaya*, etc.,
 des *skandhas*) avec celles de Sam. ii, 15 (*brāhmaṇasaṃ-
 matāḥ* . . .) on a les trois premiers sūtras de ce folio.
 Le dernier est le Sam. iii, 82-3 (xxii, 76), avec une
 variante intéressante dans la formule de délivrance (. . .
saptānāṃ bodhipakṣyānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ bhāvanānvayāt).

Recto

(1) śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā rūpasya samudayaṃ
 cāstagamaṃ cāsvādaṃ cādinavaṃ ca [ni]hsaraṇaṃ ca
 yathābhūtaṃ prajānaṃti vedanāyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ saṃs-
 kārānāṃ vijñānasya samudayaṃ cāstagamaṃ cāsvādaṃ
 cādinavaṃ ca nihsa[ra](2)ṇaṃ ca yathābhūtaṃ
 prajānaṃti ~ te śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā śramaṇeṣu vā
 śrama[ṇa]saṃmatā brāhmaṇeṣu vā brāhmaṇasaṃmatāḥ
 te ca punar āyusmaṇtaḥ śrāmaṇyārthaṃ vā brāhma-
 ṇyārthaṃ vā svayam abhijñāya sāksātkṛtvopa[sam]-
 (3)padya viharaṃti idam avocat ③ śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ
 tatra bhagavān bhikṣūn āma[m]trayati sma ye bhikṣavaḥ
 śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā rūpaṃ na prajānaṃti rūpa-
 samudayaṃ rūpanirodhaṃ rūpanirodhagāminīṃ prati-
 (4)padaṃ na prajānanti vedanā[m] saṃjñā[m] saṃskārān
 vijñānaṃ na prajānaṃti ~ vijñānasamu[da]yaṃ vijñānani-
 rodhaṃ vijñānanirodhagāminīṃ pratipadaṃ na prajānaṃti
 na te śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā śramaṇeṣu vā śramaṇasaṃ-
 matā(5) brāhmaṇeṣu vā brāhmaṇasaṃmatāḥ na ca punas
 te āyusmaṇtaḥ śrama[ṇyārthaṃ] vā brāhmaṇyārthaṃ vā

svayam abhijñāya sākṣātkṛtvopasampadya viharanti ~ ye
 tu ke cic chramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā rūpaṃ prajānamti
 (6) rūpasamudayaṃ rūpanirodhaṃ rūpanirodha[gāmiṇiṃ
 pratipadaṃ prajānamti] vedanā[m] samjñā[m] saṃskārān
 vijñānaṃ prajānamti vijñā[nasa]mudayaṃ vijñānanirodhaṃ
 vijñānanirodhagāmiṇiṃ pratipadaṃ prajānamti (7) te
 śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā śramaṇeṣu vā śramaṇasaṃmatā
 brāhmaṇe[ṣu vā brāh]maṇasaṃmatāḥ te ca punar
 āyusmaṇtaḥ śrāmaṇyārthaṃ vā yāvad upasampadya
 viharanti idam avocat ॐ śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ ta (8) tra
 bhagavān bhikṣūn āmaṃtrayati sma ye bhikṣavaḥ śramaṇā
 vā brāhmaṇā vā rū[pasya] samudayaṃ cāstagamaṃ
 cāsvādāṃ cādinavaṃ ca niḥsaraṇaṃ ca yathābhūtaṃ na
 prajānamti ~ vedanāyāḥ samjñāyāḥ saṃskā (9) rāṇāṃ
 vijñānasya samudayaṃ cāstagamaṃ cāsvādāṃ cādinavaṃ
 ca niḥsaraṇaṃ [ca ya]thābhūtaṃ na prajānamti na te
 śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā śramaṇeṣu vā śramaṇasaṃmatā
 brāhmaṇeṣu vā brāhmaṇasaṃmatā na ca (10) punas te
 āyusmaṇtaḥ śrāmaṇyārthaṃ vā brāhmaṇyārthaṃ vā
 svayam abhijñāya [sākṣātkṛtv]opasampadya viharanti ~
 ye tu ke cic chramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā rūpasya samudayaṃ
 cāstagamaṃ cāsvādāṃ cādinavaṃ ca niḥ (11) saraṇaṃ ca
 yathābhūtaṃ prajānamti vedanāyāḥ samjñāyāḥ saṃs-
 kā[rāṇāṃ vijñānasya samudayaṃ cāsta]gamam cāsvādāṃ
 cādinavaṃ ca niḥsaraṇaṃ ca yathā[bhūtaṃ prajānamti te
 śra]maṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā

Verso

(1) śramaṇeṣu vā śramaṇasaṃmatā brāhmaṇeṣu vā
 brāhmaṇasaṃmatāḥ te ca pu[nar āyusmaṇtaḥ śrāma-
 ṇyārthaṃ vā yāva]d upasampadya viharanti idam avocat
 ॐ śrāvastyāṃ nidā[naṃ tatra bhagavān bhikṣūn āmaṃ-
 tra]yati sma ~ rūpaṃ bhikṣa[va] (2) anityaṃ yad anityaṃ
 tad duḥkhaṃ yad duḥkhaṃ tad anātmā yad anātmā tan
 naitan mama [naiṣo ham asmi naiṣa me] ātmety evam
 etad yathābhūtaṃ samyakprajñayā draṣṭavyaṃ ~ vedanā

saṃjñā saṃskārā vijñānam anityaṃ yad anityaṃ tad
 duḥkhaṃ ya (3) d duḥkhaṃ tad anātmā yad anātmā tan
 naitan mama naiṣo ham asmi na me ātmety e[vaṃ etad
 ya]tthābhūtaṃ samyakprajñayā draṣṭavyaṃ evaṃ jānato
 bhikṣava evaṃ paśyataḥ śrutavata āryaśrāvakasya
 saptānāṃ bodhipakṣyānān dha (4) rmāṇāṃ bhāvanānvayāt
 kāmāsravāc cittaṃ vimucyate vimuktasya vimukto smṛti
 [jñānaṃ bha]vati ~ kṣiṇā me jātir uṣitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ
 kṛtaṃ karaṇiyaṃ nāparam asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmi ~
 yāvad bhikṣavo bhavāgraṃ yāvāt satvā (5) vāsa [sic] ete
 grā ete śreṣṭhāḥ ete pravarāḥ ete praṇītāḥ yad utārhaṃta
 [idam a]vocat ③ śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ tatra bhagavān
 bhikṣūn āmaṃtrayati sma ~ rūpaṃ bhikṣavo nityaṃ yad
 anityaṃ tad duḥkhaṃ yad duḥkhaṃ tad a (6) nātmā
 yad anātmā tan naitan mama naiṣo ham as[m]i [naiṣa me
 ātmety evaṃ eta]d yathābhūtaṃ samyakprajñayā draṣṭa-
 vyam evaṃ vedanā saṃjñā saṃskārā vijñānam anityaṃ
 yad anityaṃ tad duḥkhaṃ yad duḥkhaṃ tad anā (7) tmā
 yad anātmā tan naitan mama pūrvavat samyakprajñā[yā
 dra]ṣṭavyaṃ evaṃ [jānato bhi]kṣava e[vaṃ pa]śya[ta]ḥ
 śrutavataḥ āryaśrāvakasya saptā[nām] bodhipakṣyānān
 dharmānāṃ bhāvanānvayāt kāmāsravāc cittaṃ vimucyate
 bhavāśra (8) vād avidyāsravāc cittaṃ vimucyate ~
 vimuktasya vimukto smṛti jñānaṃ bhavati ~ kṣ[i]ṇā me
 jātir uṣitaṃ brahmacaryaṃ kṛtaṃ karaṇiyaṃ nāparam
 asmād bhavaṃ prajānāmi idam avocat ④ śrāvastyāṃ
 nidānaṃ tatra bhagavān bhi (9) kṣūn āmaṃtrayati sma ~
 rūpaṃ bhikṣavo nityaṃ yad anityaṃ tad duḥkhaṃ yad
 duḥkhaṃ [ta]d anātmā yad anātmā tan naitan mama
 naiṣo ham asmi naiṣa me ātmety evaṃ etad yathābhūtaṃ
 samyakprajñayā draṣṭavyam evaṃ vedanā saṃjñā saṃ-
 (10) skārā vijñānam anityaṃ pūrvavad yathābhūtaṃ
 samyakprajñayā draṣṭavyam evaṃ [jā]nato bhikṣavaḥ
 evaṃ paśyataḥ śrutavata āryaśrāvakasya saptānāṃ
 bodhipakṣyānān dharmānāṃ bhāvanānvayāt kāmāsravāc

cittam vimucyate (11) bhavāśravād avidyāśravāc cittam vimucyate vimuktasya vimukto s[m]iti jñānam bhavati kṣiṇā me jātir uṣitam brahmacaryam kṛtam karaṇiyam nāparam asmād bhavam prajānāmi ~ yāvad bhikṣavo bhavāgram.

11. KHA. ii, 7, 8b

Obv.—(1) . . . ka akarṣi . ya . janapadacaryām prakrāmaṃtam [d]r (2) . . . buddhaḥ paścād bhaktapiṇḍapāta-pratīkrāntaḥ (3) . . . syedānīm āyusmann ānamda kālām manyase ~ (4) . . . sa . . . sukhasparśam bhagavatā taspī (5) ānamdas tenopasaṃkrā (6) m āyusmann ānanda (7) . . . [bh]ikṣ[u]bhīḥ sārḍham janapa.

Rev.—(1) . . . pi vedanāpi tṛṣṇā (2) . . . api tu rūpa-vaṃtam ā (3) . . . anupaśyati ~ nāpi rūpavam (4) . . . ti ~ punar aparam aśrutavān prthagjano (5) . . . vaṃ jānato bhikṣava evaṃ paśyataḥ ananta (6) . . . paśyati ~ api tu vedanām ātmataḥ.

Comparer Saṃ. iii, 94 (xxii, 82, 2); ib., xxii, 81, 17 init.

12. KHA. ii, 8c; viii, 11n

Obv.—(1) . . . prabhavāḥ avidyāsaṃsparśena vedayitena sprṣṭasyāśrutavataḥ (2) . . . ḥ vedanāprabhavā vedanā kinnidānāḥ kiṃsamudayāḥ kiṃjātiyāḥ kiṃprabhavāḥ (3) . . . ḥ śaḍāyatanani[dāna]ḥ śaḍāyatanaśamudayaḥ śaḍāyatana-jātiyāḥ sa (4) . . . pratityasaṃutpannāḥ evaṃ jānato bhikṣavaḥ evaṃ paśyato (5) . . . rdham ardha-trayodaśabhi [. . .] satham bhagavāms tadahapoṣathe paṃcadaśyām pūrṇāyām pūrṇa (6) . . . lokayati sma ~ tūṣṇīm bhū[. . .] to bhikṣusaṃgham anuvyavalokya tūṣṇīm abhūd athānyataro (7) . . . kaṃ cid eva pradeśaṃ sa cen m[e bhagav]ān avakāśaṃ kuryāt praśnasya vyākaraṇāya ~ tena hi tvaṃ bhikṣoḥ (8) . . . bhadamta upādānaskandhāḥ [paṃ]ca bhikṣoḥ upādānaskandhāḥ katame paṃca rūpam upādānaskandho (9) . . . modya uttaram praśnam apreccad ime bhadamta paṃcopādānaskandhāḥ kiṃmūlakāḥ ime bhikṣoḥ paṃ (10) [. . .

ska]ndhāḥ tāny upādānāni utānyatraiva skandhebhyaḥ
upādānāni na bhi . . . (11) . . . t teṣāṃ upādānaṃ sādhu
bhadaṃteti sa bhikṣur bhagava . . .

Rev.—(1) . . . t ~ yathā katha[m] punar bhadaṃta syād
iti vistaraḥ ~ iha bhikṣoḥ . . . (2) . . . ṣu chaṃdarāga-
vaimātratā sādhu bhadaṃteti sa bhikṣur bhagava . . .
(3) . . . pratyutpannam ādhyātmikaṃ vā bāhyaṃ vā
audārikaṃ vā sūkṣmaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā praṇī . . . (4) . . .
nāgatapratyutpannam ādhyātmikaṃ vā bāhyaṃ vā
audārikaṃ vā sūkṣmaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā praṇitaṃ . . . pa
(5) . . . ndyānumodya uttaraṃ praśnam aprechat ko nu
bhadaṃta hetuḥ kaḥ pratyaya rūpasyopādānaskandhasya
(6) [prajñāpanāya] . . . yat kiṃ cid rūpam atītānāgata-
pratyutpannam ādhyātmikaṃ vā bāhyaṃ vā audārikaṃ
vā sūkṣmaṃ (7) . . . [k]iṃ cid vijñānam atītānāgata-
pratyutpannam ādhyātmikaṃ vā bāhyaṃ vā audārikaṃ
vā sūkṣmaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā pra (8) . . . tad vijñāno-
pādānaskandhasya prajñāpanāya ~ sādhu bhadaṃteti sa
bhikṣur bhagavato bhāṣitam a (9) . . . nītaḥ ārya-
dharmeṣv akovidāḥ satpuruṣāṇāṃ adarśī satpu (10) . . .
mena vedanā saṃjñā saṃskārān vijñānam ātmataḥ
samanupaśyati vijñāna (11) . . . dyottaraṃ praśnam
aprechat ~ katham samanupaśyato bhadaṃta asmīti na
bhavati.

Comparer Sam. iii, 99–102: *avijjāsamphassaajena
vedayitena putṭhassa assutavato . . .*

13. KHA. ii, 3

Recto


(1) uttamapuruṣaparamapuruṣaḥ paramaprāptiprāptaḥ
ta[m] v[ayam . . .] (2) ramapuruṣaḥ paramaprāptiprāptaḥ
taṃ vāyam anyatraiva . . . (3) na ca bhavati tathāgataḥ
paraṃ maraṇān naiva bhavati na na . . . (4) prajñapa-
yamānāḥ prajñāpayāmaḥ atha te anyatīrthi . . . [aci]
(5) raprakrāntānāṃ teṣāṃ anyatīrthikaparivrājakānāṃ
āyusmat . . . (6) mya bhagavata etad artham ā[.]o . . .

Verso

(1) bhikṣur ābādhiko duḥkhito bādhaglānaḥ sa bha
 . . . (2) kampaṃ upādāya ~ paramam iti tāv upasthā . . .
 (3) Vālkaliḥ bhadanta bhikṣur ābādhiko duḥkhito bā[dha-
 glānaḥ sa bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śīrasā vandati evaṃ ca
 punar] . . . (4) liḥ bhikṣus tenopasaṃkrāmatv anukampāṃ
 upād . . .

Histoire d'Anurādha (survie du Tathāgata), Saṃyutta
 iii, p. 116 (xxii, 86); Histoire de Vālkali (Vakkali),
 Saṃyutta iii, p. 119 (xxii, 87, 5).

14. KHA. ii, 10d

(1) . . . m abhiniv[i]śya . . . m ātmani . . . (2) . . .
 t . . .  śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ tatra bhagavān bhikṣ . . .
 (3) . . . h bhagavaṃnetriyāḥ bhagavatpratisaraṇa . . .
 (4) . . . [vista]reṇa yathā prathamam sūtram śāsvato
 loka . . . (5) . . . [a]ṃtavāṃ lokaḥ pañcamam
 sūtram ~ . . .

Sam. iii, 213 f.; iv, 286.

15. KHA. ii, 9a

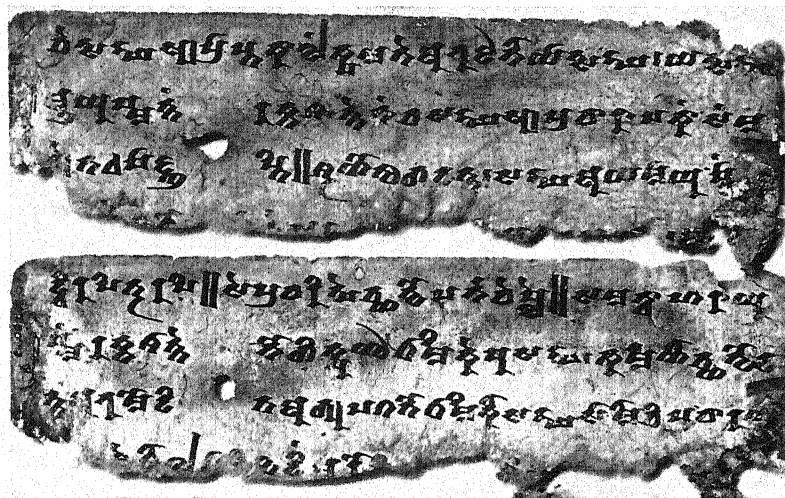
(1) . . . sam[yakprajña]yā draṣṭavyam . . . (2) . . .
 bhavati vistareṇa yāv . . . (3) . . . h śrutavān āryaśrā-
 vakāḥ . . . (4) . . . saṃskārā vijñānam anātm . . .
 (5) . . . yuṣmān ānaṃdo ye[na bhagavāṃs tena] . . .
 (6) . . . bhadanta ucyate ~ katamo bha . . . (7) . . . [t]y
 ucyate ~ vedanā saṃjñā saṃskārāḥ . . . (8) . . . tāḥ
 ceti tā pratītyasam . . .

Sam. iii, 196 ?

[The fragments of the Sanskrit "Kamma-vācā", of
 which a specimen is shown on the accompanying Plate,
 will be edited by Professor de la Vallée Poussin, together
 with other MSS., in the following numbers of this Journal.]



Birch-bark fragment of *Samyuktakāgama*. Scale 1/1



Folios of "*Kamma-Vācā*." Scale 1/2

XX

SARGON'S EIGHTH CAMPAIGN

By T. G. PINCHES

"To Aššur, father of the gods, the great lord dwelling in Ê-hursag-gal-kurkura, his great temple, greatly, greatly, may there be salutation.

"To the deities of the fates, the goddesses who dwell in Ê-hursag-gal-kurkura, their great temple, greatly, greatly, may there be salutation.

"To the gods of the fates (and) the goddesses who dwell in the city of Aššur, their great temple, greatly, greatly, may there be salutation.

"To the city and its people, may there be salutation. To the palace situated within it, may there be salutation.

"With Sargon, the holy priest, the servant fearing thy great divinity, and with his camp, (all is) very, very well."

Such is the beginning of the somewhat remarkable inscription which came to the knowledge of French antiquarians last year, and which has just been edited by M. F. Thureau-Dangin with a very complete critical apparatus. It is inscribed on a tablet of baked clay 37.5 cm. high by 24.5 cm. wide. The text is in two columns on each side, for the most part closely written, but the ends of the columns on the obverse and the beginnings of those on the reverse are unfortunately rendered incomplete by fractures. Including the widely spaced colophon, however, the document contains 430 lines of writing, so that the amount of new material is considerable. Between the columns are the usual little holes which are supposed to be for the escape of steam whilst baking, but which were probably for the insertion of pegs

to enable the heavy clay document to be laid down on its side without damaging the sharpness of the writing.

The text proper, after the salutation, begins with the sixth line, and states that Sargon started from Calah, his royal city, in the month Tammuz, "the month which fixeth the counsels of nations, the month of the powerful one, the first-born son of Enlil, the powerful one of the gods, Anuſat."¹ Nin-igi-azaga (Êa), the lord of knowledge, had caused this month to be inscribed on the tablets of old time for the assembling of the army and the formation of camps.

Crossing the upper Zab at its flood, Sargon halted on the 3rd day to humble himself before Enlil and Ninlil, "in order to muzzle the proud (vainglorious), and to bind the limbs of the unscrupulous," who might have pointed to him the finger of scorn as irreligious and tyrannical. He then caused his army to leap over the difficult ford of the lower Zab as though it were a mere watercourse. They then found themselves in the passes of Kullar,² the steep (pointed) mountains of the land of Lullumû, which was also called Zamua.³ After this, in the land of Sumbu,⁴ described as "a district" (*nagû*), he held a review of his army, and noted the number of the horses and chariots.

All being apparently in order, he sent his army forward for the third time, and entered the region of the mountains, directing "the yoke (chariot-team) of Nergal and Hadad, the emblems going before" him, towards the countries of Zikirtu and Andia.⁵ He then found himself between the Nikippa and the Upâ, lofty mountains all covered with trees, a wild landscape of terrifying pathways, overshadowed everywhere like a cedar-forest, in which

¹ Such, according to Pognon, is the transcription of the divine name Nin-ip.

² Probably the highlands of the basin of the little Zab.

³ The route Altun-keupri to Soleimanieh.

⁴ Probably the fertile plain of Shehrizor, extending south of Soleimanieh.

⁵ See pp. 588, 607, 608.

the wayfarer cannot see the light of the sun. In this valley was a watercourse called the Bûia, which he and his army crossed no less than twenty-six times. When in the open, he saw Simirria, the peak of a great mountain like a lance-head, raising its crest over the wooded heights, which were the abode of Bêlit-ilê, "the lady of the gods." This peak he describes at some length—"on high its head upholds the heavens, below its foundations reach the centre of Hades, and like the spinal joint of a fish, it has no passage from side to side, and before and behind the ascent is difficult. On its flanks are pits, the precipices of the mountain descended so steeply that merely to look upon them inspired fear."

This tract was unsuited for the passage of chariots and horses, and difficult even for infantry, but Ēa and Bêlit-ilê having endowed the king with openness of mind and innate inspiration, he had caused his pioneers to carry with them strong brazen axes, with which they cut away the sides of the lofty mountains like blocks of stone, and thus made good the road. "I took the leadership of my troops, and chariots, cavalry, men of battle going by my side, I caused to fly over it (the mountain) like valiant eagles. I caused the labourers and the sappers to follow; the camels (and) the pack-asses bounded upon its peak like wild goats raised in the mountains."

Sargon then speaks of Sinahulzi and Biruatti, steep mountains whose verdure was *karšu*-herb (? moss) and sweet-smelling *šumlalû*. A total of seven peaks were crossed, of which four are named; also two rivers, the Rappâ and the Arattâ.¹

Entering Surikaš,² a Mannean province, bordering Kar-alli and Allabria, Ullusunu, its king, came out to

¹ All the preceding localities F. Thureau-Dangin regards as being on the route from Soleimanieh to Sakiz, by the pass of Bâneh.

² Probably the region watered by the Jaghatû, extending between Sakiz and Tashtepe.

meet him "with his magnates, elders, counsellors, kinsmen, prefects who administer his land". They came "with gladness of heart and joy of face", because Sargon had not ceased, yearly, to avenge him (upon his enemies). For this purpose Ullusunū had quitted his royal residence, Izirtu, and met the Assyrian king on the frontier of his land, bringing with him his tribute, consisting of draught-horses with their harness, oxen, and small cattle—the most useful things that could be presented to an invading army.

Having received the homage of Ullusunū, Sargon continued his way, and approached Latašē, a stronghold on the river of Lāruete in Allabria,¹ governed by an Allabrian prince bearing the Assyro-Babylonian name of Bêl-âbla-iddina (Belbaladan). The invader was bought off with the same tribute as Ullusunū had given. Departing, Sargon went to the land of Parsuaš,² and the chiefs of Namru, Sangibutu, Bit-Abdadani, and of "the powerful Medes" (*Madâa dannûti*), having heard of his coming, and remembering the devastation which the Assyrian army had wrought in their country when Sargon had invaded it before, sent to him, in Parsuaš, a valuable tribute. The names of the tributaries then follow, to the number of twenty-seven, and though but petty states, they are of considerable historical and geographical interest.

Par. II. Leaving Parsuaš, he went to the Mannean province of Missu,³ and was met by the faithful Ullusunū, at his fortress Sirdakka,⁴ with supplies of flour and wine for his army, and a further tribute of horses and cattle. He delivered also to Sargon his eldest son, who likewise brought gifts. All this was not entirely disinterested service, however, for Ullusunū wished to be assured

¹ Possibly in the upper valley of the Tatava.

² South-west of Lake Urmia (Sayce).

³ Also near the Lake.

⁴ Or *Zirdiakka* (lines 71 and 74).

against the invasions of the Kakmeans, and to secure the defeat of Ursā of Ararat on the field of battle. The Assyrian king does not say what impression the sight of Ullusunū and his ministers crawling before him on all fours made upon him, but he felt pity for them, and answered *Ahulap*, "In the end" (i.e. "All being well, I will do what you desire"). But Sargon did more than this: he promised to overthrow Ararat and restore the boundaries of Mannu, so, raising before Ullusunū a magnificent (sacrificial) table, he gave him a seat thereat higher than that formerly occupied by his dead father Ir-anzu. There, with the men of Assyria, he and his rejoiced, and blessed Sargon's royalty before the god Aššur and the gods of their country.

The next to attract the attention of the Assyrian king were Zizi of Appatar and Zalāya the Kitpatian,¹ city-chiefs of the land of Gizilbundu, a province shut in like a bolt alongside the land of the Manneans and the Medes. These new vassals submitted and paid tribute, which, like that of the former districts, consisted of horses, oxen, and sheep. They brought their tribute to him in the Mannean city of Ziridiakka,² and were placed under the governor of Persuaš.

Par. III. Starting from Ziridiakka, Sargon marched 30 leagues into the country of the Manneans, Bit-Kabsi, and the Medes, and arrived at Panziš, a great fortress strategically situated to restrain the warlike ambitions of those two nationalities. He strengthened the ramparts of this stronghold, provisioned it with grain, oil, and wine, and mounted therein implements of battle.

Par. IV. Quitting Panziš, Sargon crossed the River Ištaraurā,³ and entered Aukanē. His object was to attack

¹ Tiglath-pileser IV (*Annals*, 35) speaks of the city Kitpattia of Bit-Abdadani.

² Apparently the *Sirdakka* mentioned above.

³ F. Thureau-Dangin: probably the Karangū.

Metatti, the Zikirtite, who, trusting to Ursā of Ararat, "a helper who could not guard his life," had thrown off the Assyrian yoke. Metatti, however, was obliged to seek safety in flight, and ascended the Uašdirikka, a difficult mountain. This chieftain succeeded also in getting all his subjects to withdraw from their homes, and retire to the distant mountain-peaks, where the Assyrian king was unable to find them. Metatti, who had abandoned his royal city, Parda,¹ with all his palace-property, then marshalled his horses and warriors, and went forth to the help of Ursā.² Having slain the valiant guards whom Metatti had posted in the passes of the Uašdirikka, Sargon took possession of twelve (in reality, thirteen are enumerated) strong cities of the district, with eighty-four villages around them, and after dismantling the fortifications they were all left mere heaps of blackened ruins.

Par. V. Having conquered Aukanē, Sargon next invaded the Mannean province of Uišdiš,³ which had been captured by Ursā of Ararat. At this point the Assyrian king pours out upon the sturdy Araratian warrior the verbal vials of his wrath, and then describes, in forceful language, the difficulties of the peak-strewn district and the rigours of its climate, where Ursā had taken refuge with his trained warriors and fleet-mounted cavalry. Unfortunately this portion, which comes at the end of the first column, is broken, and therefore imperfect, but one gathers from it the respect which Sargon not only felt for Ursā, but also for Metatti the Zikirtian, who (or was it Ursā to whom it refers?), meditating the irrevocable defeat of the Enlil of Assyria's army, desired to meet him on the field

¹ According to Sargon's *Annals* (line 106), Sargon destroyed this city. The new text, however, has no reference to this.

² By the route between Miané and Tabriz (F. Th.-D.), Sargon taking the southern road.

³ Possibly west of the Sahend, but certainly in the district.

of battle. To this end he had carefully posted his own forces in a ravine, where Sargon to all appearance defeated him, with fatigued troops, and without calling to his aid the battalions deployed at some distance. If this statement, and that to the effect that the soldiers with him fought without either resting in camp, or eating or drinking, or making any defensive works whatever, be true, it shows what confidence Sargon had not only in himself as a leader, and his troops as warriors, but also in the power of Aššur and the gods of his land, to ensure a victory against great odds which had every advantage on their side. Naturally his own merits, and the power of Aššur and Šamaš, are spoken of at full length.

At this point, in line 132, comes a reference to a man with an Assyrian name, Sin-aḫa-ušur, who seems to have been the leader of the forces hostile to the Assyrians. Another explanation is that it was with the force under this man's command that Sargon attacked. In any case, the king claims to have made an immense slaughter, spreading out the corpses of the foe "like malt", and filling therewith the slopes of the mountains; and their blood dyed the plain, the slopes, and the heights like a carpet. Among the captives, some of whom were high-placed officials, were 260 members of the seed royal.

The defeat of Metatti of Zikirtu, and the routing of the troops of Ararat in the defiles of Mount Uauš,¹ follow. Omitting the descriptions of the carnage, it appears that Sargon pursued these armies from the Uauš to Zimur, "the mountain of jasper" (*šaḍ ašpē*), and those who had fled to save their lives were put to flight again by Hadad, "the mighty one, the valiant son of Anu," who "threw down his great voice upon them, and in clouds of downpours and the stone of heaven completed the rest". Ursa fled in fear like a cave-bird (owl) before the eagle, and

¹ F. Thureau-Dangin: Mount Sahend.

quitted Turušpā, his capital, like a shedder of blood—like a huntsman's quarry he gained the mountain-side, like a woman in travail he threw himself down upon his bed, refusing food and drink, inflicting upon himself an incurable malady. Having thus, by the defeat of Ursā of Ararat, covered also the people of Zikirtu and Andia with the damp of death, hostile access to the Mannean's land was cut off. This brought to his vassal Ullusunū, their lord, considerable gratification, as it secured his country from the depredations of the Araratians and their allies at least for a time.

"Over all the mountains in their totality I poured out consternation; cries and lamentation I imposed upon the foe.

"In joy of heart and gladness, with singers, harps, and tambourines, I entered into the midst of my camp."

Sacrifices to Nergal, Hadad, and Ištar followed, with services of praise, and then he altered the course of his expedition, and instead of proceeding to Andia and Zikirtu, he marched towards Urartu or Ararat. His object was to capture the province of Uišdiš, belonging to Mannu, which Ursā of Ararat had appropriated, and this he claims to have done, with its many cities, numberless as the stars of heaven. He does not state why he demolished the walls of these places, but it may be conjectured that it was lest they should fall into the hands of the Araratians again; also, he may not have had perfect confidence in his humble vassal Ullusunū. Immense stores of barley were taken, but this was as food for his troops.

Par. VI. Quitting Uišdiš, Sargon proceeded to Ušqaiā,¹ a great fortress, "head of the boundary" of Ararat, at the entry into Zaranda,² a province which was as a bolted door, and kept back his messengers. Here also was the land of Mallau, a mountain of cypress, which shone forth

¹ F. Th.-D., probably in the Tabriz region.

² Probably east of Ušqaiā (ibid.).

like a boundary-mark, and over the territory of Sûbu¹ was brilliantly clad.

"The people dwelling in this region have not their equal in all Ararat in their power (to train) riding-horses.

"The foals of the young stallions produced in his (Ursā's) vast country, which they rear for his royal army, he takes every year—

"as long as they have not been transferred to the province Sûbu (which the people of Ararat call the land of the Manneans), and their capability is not seen,

"they are not mounted, and advancing, retreating, and turning, the requirements of battle-array, are not shown. Harness is dispensed with."

Evidently the Assyrians were greatly impressed with the warlike qualities of the Araratians and the training of their wonderful mounts. References to horses from this district occur in the Assyrian letters of a somewhat later date.

In despair at the defeat of Ursā, their master, these people reduced Ušqaia, the trust of their country, with the cities which were around it, practically to ruins, and abandoned it, never to return. Entering into the fortress, Sargon spoiled the place and carried the plunder into his camp, razing its great walls, which were 8 cubits thick and rested on the mass of rock, level with the soil. The houses remaining within were then burned to the ground, and 115 villages around Ušqaia met with the same fate.

"I made its territory as though the flood had destroyed it; like ruin-mounds I heaped up its populous cities."

Another important city was Aniaštania, a stock-breeding centre, built on the boundary of Sangibutu, between Ušqaia

¹ This was regarded as part of the Mannean territory by the Araratians, and gives the southern limit of the Mannean race. From Sakiz on the south, this region extended towards Tabriz on the north (Th.-D.).

and Tarmakisa. This, and seventeen towns which were around it, with their harvested crops and forage, were consumed by fire, whilst their stored barley was given as food to the Assyrian troops. The Assyrian camp-cattle were placed in their meadows, and are described as having torn up the herbage (*šamma tuklati-šu issuhu*, the herbage, its resource, they dragged away), and devastated its fields.

Par. VII. Leaving Ušqaia, Sargon came to the land of Baru,¹ a pastoral country, which the natives called Sangibutu. Here were two strong walled cities, Tarui and Tarmakisa, in the neighbourhood of the Daleans, places where a quantity of barley was stored. These seem to have been provided with two solid walls and a moat of some depth. It was in these places that the stables for Ursā's reserve-horses were kept, animals which "they fattened yearly", though why they did so is not stated—it is hardly likely that horses were used for food, and it is expressly said that they were kept for Ursā's army. In all probability the meaning of the word is "they brought them to perfection" merely.

Fearing for their lives, the inhabitants fled into a desert and waterless place, whilst Sargon devastated the province, demolishing the fortifications of the towns, and burning their houses and the harvested crops. The grain in their storehouses was, as usual, taken for the Assyrian soldiers. Thirty villages were destroyed in the same way.

Par. VIII. Unfortunately the beginning of this paragraph is very mutilated. It refers to the operations against the city Ulhu at the foot of Mount Kišpal, in the neighbourhood of which, in his *Annals*, Sargon claims to have taken and burned 21 cities and 140 villages. The new inscription apparently states that he made the inhabitants of the place like fish deprived of water, but Ursā of Ararat, coming to their aid, showed them where there were water-springs, and dug a canal, the result

¹ Possibly Sofian (F. Th.-D.).

being that the district became wonderfully productive. He had also built a palace there, with cypress-beams, sweet of odour, as a covering. Sargon, however, destroyed all these pleasant things, and reduced the district to a worse state than it had been in before. This stage of the Assyrian advance is dealt with at great length, and in all probability referred, when complete, to the devastation of more than one tract. The last place in this paragraph to be mentioned is a great (fortress) of the province Sangibutu, with fifty-seven villages around it, all of which were probably delivered to the flames.¹

Par. IX. This paragraph is also rather mutilated, but is somewhat more comprehensible than the last. Leaving Ulhu, Sargon approached . . . -unnate, the chief fortified city of Sangibutu.² This district contained many cities conquered by (Ursā's?) predecessors, and Sargon gives their names, twenty-one in all, of which eight are mutilated. "They shone on the peaks of Arzabia like wine-stocks, the produce of the mountains," says the Assyrian king, who evidently found the scene attractive, and perhaps enchanting. The excellence of their fortifications and the height of their walls ("120 brick-courses") also drew his attention. The inhabitants, however, either could not or would not profit by their advantageous position, and, abandoning their mighty defences, they took refuge in the mountains, where, between Arzabia and Irtia,³ they were

¹ This district M. F. Thureau-Dangin identifies with Marand, and quotes Tavernier, bk. i, ch. iv, in support of this. To the accuracy of the passage Belck, Lehmann, and Sester (*Zeits. f. Ethnologie*, 1892, pp. 137 ff.; *Verh. d. Berliner anthrop. Gesellsch.*, 1893, p. 220) also testify. Some of the hydraulic works still exist.

² A district called Bit-Sangibuti, "House of Sangibutu," is also found, and seems to be different from Sangibutu, though there is some confusion between the two. The latter was apparently north of Lake Urmia, and formed part of Ararat; whilst the former seems to have been a Median tribe. Sargon himself entered Ararat by another passage; M. F. Th.-D. mentions "la route entre Kotour et Erdjek".

³ Two mountains, the valley between which "est certainement celle du Kotour-tchai".

dispersed by the Assyrian soldiers. Other cities, whose names do not appear in the text, were also destroyed, and vast quantities of grain were captured and heaped up in mounds within the Assyrian camp. Sargon states that he caused his people to eat this produce, which was reserved for the return journey. Magnificent plantations, quantities of vines, and the watering-places were ravaged, and important forests were consumed by fire. In all, 146 villages were destroyed, and he caused the smoke of their burning—a frequent accompaniment of the march of the Assyrian army—to cover the face of the heavens like a storm-cloud.

Par. X. At last Sargon left the strong cities of Sangibutu, and approached the province of Armarilī.¹ Here he came to the fortified city Bubuzu, and the double-walled Hundur, the tops of whose battlemented towers had a passage like a moat (*tubal ema hīri rukkusū*, but the rendering is not certain—M. F. Thureau-Dangin has found it needful to leave the first three words untranslated). Here these and five other strongholds, with thirty villages, at the foot of Mount Ubianda, were destroyed and spoiled in the same way as those already mentioned. After devastating the region around, the Assyrian army marched to Arbu, Ursā's paternal city, and to Riyar, the city of Sarduri, Ursā's predecessor. These, with seven cities in the neighbourhood, where his brothers, with the royal seed, dwelt, and which were strongly fortified, were likewise razed to the ground, and the temple of Haldia, his god, burned down and destroyed.

Par. XI. Leaving Armarilī (which is here called Armarialī), Sargon now crossed the Uizuku, "a cypress-mountain, whose mass was marble," and arrived at Ayādu, where he found thirty cities arranged like boundary-stones around a lake,² or, as the king says, beside an

¹ Written, in a letter (Harper, 444, l. 11) of later date, *māt Armir-aliu*.

² Lake Van, northern side.

undulating sea. He names them all, but speaks more particularly of Argištiuna ("the city of Argišti") and Qallania, powerful fortresses, solidly constructed, and situated among them.¹ Their foundations were laid 240 (cubits) high on Mounts Aršidu and Maḥ-unnia, where they shone forth like stars. Selected troops, shield-bearers and lancers, garrisoned them, but they fled and took refuge behind the fortifications, leaving the country and its prosperous habitations to be pillaged by the Assyrian troops. The number of the villages destroyed was eighty-seven, and the same scenes of plunder, destruction, and devastation are recorded as in the other details of conquest already given.

Par. XII. Continuing his advance, Sargon quitted Ayādu and crossed the Rivers Alluria, Qallania, and Innāya, and arrived at Uaiais,² Ursā's "province of trust"—the place where he believed himself to be in perfect safety. This lay "at the foot of the border" of Ararat, on the boundaries of Na'iri.³ Uaiais Sargon describes as a fortress stronger than all the others and a work of art (*nukkulat épšessa*, "its fashioning was artistic"). Here Ursā kept his valiant men-at-arms, and the spies who brought news of the surrounding countries were stationed within it. Moreover, he had brought up thither his prefects with their forces. This was taken by a rear-attack, and five strong cities, with forty villages, fell into Sargon's hands. The plantations were destroyed, the forests cut down, and what was left consumed by fire.

Par. XIII. Leaving Uaiais, Sargon led the way into the territory of Yanzū, king of Na'iri, who, leaving his

¹ Probably Kefir-kala and Akhlāt, on the slopes of the Sipan and the Nimroud.

² Thureau-Dangin identifies this with the *māt* or *āl Uasi*, "country" or "city of Uas", of the later Assyrian letters. Other forms of the name are *āl Ua(y)asi*, *āl Uesi*, and perhaps *māt Uzaz* and *māt Uzaurin*. He says that this is doubtless Bitlis, whose castle commands the Mesopotamian plains to the plain of Van. (See pp. 608, 610, l. 16.)

³ Of this district Lake Van formed the centre.

royal city Hubuškia,¹ came a distance of 4 leagues to make submission. He kissed the Assyrian king's feet, and brought tribute—draught-horses, oxen, and small cattle, which Sargon received in Hubuškia.

Par. XIV. The Assyrian king in this paragraph refers to the return journey, in the course of which the first to be attacked was Urzana, the Muṣaširian, "a doer of sin and wickedness, a traverser of the oath of the gods, unsubmitive to rule." He had sinned against the oaths (sworn before) Aššur, Šamaš, Nebo, and Merodach, and revolted against Sargon himself. The Assyrian king therefore interrupted his return march to exact tribute and the usual homage, which had been withheld; and in vexation of heart (*ina šuhut libbi*) ordered all his chariots and horses to return to Assyria with his camp. The reason of his grief is stated in the lines which follow, and is to the effect that it was with the great help of Aššur, father of the gods, lord of the lands, king of the totality of heaven and earth, author (of all), lord of lords, to whom, from remote days, Merodach, the Enlila of the gods, had given the gods of the land and of the mountains, (and) of the four regions, to do him (Aššur) honour, without anyone escaping therefrom, with their accumulated treasure, which was to be brought within Ē-ḫursag-gal-kurkura (the temple of Aššur in the city of that name), in accordance with the sublime command of Nebo and Merodach, "who had taken a course into a station of the stars, for the exalting of my weapons." Moreover, "Magur,² lord of the crown, had caused favourable signs for acquiring power to be revealed to the watch for the overthrow of the land of Gutû,"³ with

¹ Also *Hubuskia*. It was capital of a province of the same name. Na'iri or Hubuškia was probably the Bohtan-su Valley. The city Hubuškia may have been Saird or in its neighbourhood.

² Assyro-Bab. *Makurru*, "the bark," a name of the moon, whose upturned horns suggested to the early Sumerians a ship.

³ Generally identified with Media, but really a district. The name is preserved in Jebel Judi.

which, apparently, this district was identified. With the sungod's precious consent, therefore (he having caused to be written in the entrails consulted clear signs that he would go by Sargon's side), the king went in his own chariot, accompanied by a thousand cavalry, archers, and lancers, against Mušasir—a difficult path. Traversing the Arsiu, a needle-like peak over which there was no ascent, and crossing the upper Zab, which the people of Na'iri and Kilhi called the Elamunia, he found himself between Mounts Šeyak, Ardikši, Ulāyau, and Alluriu.¹ Here we have again a good descriptive passage, in which these heights are called "lofty slopes, peaks of difficult mountains, which reject description, and among which there is no road for the passage of infantry". Here they saw mighty waterfalls, the noise of which could be heard at the distance of a league like thunder (*kima Adad*, lit., "like Hadad"). They were covered with all kinds of desirable fruit-trees, and vines like rushes (in their abundance), but on approaching their defiles they inspired fear. Here, wherein no king or prince had ever before penetrated, nor even seen a road, Sargon felled the trunks (saplings), and cut through their steep peaks with the aid of brazen axes, the result being a narrow footpath through which his infantry might march. His chariot was borne on the shoulders of carriers, and he himself went through on horseback, whilst his cavalry, which generally accompanied him, passed through in single file, *ina pušqi-šunu*, "in their hardship."

At this point there is a gap of five lines, followed by five more which are mutilated. This portion of the text shows that the enemy had made preparations for

¹ The mountains dividing the Upper Zab from the Bohtan-su. The road taken was probably that from Meuks to Kochannès via Taouk, Mervanen, and Billi, mentioned by Layard (*Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 418 ff.)—so Thureau-Dangin, who suggests that the immediate approach to the land of Mušasir was by way of Bashkala-Koshab. This places Mušasir much more to the north than it has been regarded as lying.

resistance, sacrificing great oxen and fat sheep, without number, to their gods. Upon Haldia, Ursā's deity, they placed a crown (tiara) of lordship, and delivered to him the royal sceptre of Ararat. Sargon, however, at once made his presence known, and caused the noise of his army to thunder against them like Hadad. Mounting on the roofs of their houses, the old, both men and women, wept bitterly, and people crept on all fours, appealing for their lives. As Urzana, the king ruling over them, had not submitted to the word of Aššur, had thrown off the yoke, and had despised Sargon's service, he had made the project to take them all captive, together with the god Haldia, Ararat's trust. As conqueror, therefore, he set the king before his city-gate, together with his wife, his sons, his daughters, his people, and the seed of his father's house, and took them away as captives. To these he added 6,110 men, a dozen mules, 380 asses, 525 oxen, and 1,235 sheep, which were brought into the Assyrian camp. He then entered as master into the house (temple) of Haldia at Muṣaṣir, and installed himself in the royal palace. Here he found enormous treasures heaped up, which he naturally took possession of. This included 38 talents 8 manas of gold, 167 talents 2½ manas of silver; bronze, lead, lapis-lazuli, and a quantity of other precious stones; staves of ivory, ebony, and box, mounted with gold and silver.

This list of the spoil captured at Muṣaṣir is of considerable length, and full of unexplained and therefore untranslatable words, so that a complete account is impossible. A few, however, of the more noteworthy objects which it contains may be mentioned. There were baskets for plants in ivory, ebony, and box, mounted in gold and silver; the silver cup of Ursā, with its lid, and ten others from Tubal, with golden handles; censers from Tubal; many brazen vessels of various kinds, including lamps(?); stoves, and other objects;

also lamps(?) of iron; 130 gaily-coloured vestments of linen and of blue and scarlet wool of Ararat and Kilhu. Sargon then sent his officers to the temple of Haldia, and brought forth that deity, together with Bagbartu, the goddess of the place, with the numerous goods of the temple—[1]4 (or 24, or 34, etc.) talents 3 manas of gold, 162 talents 20 manas less 6 36ths of silver, 3,600 talents of unwrought copper, 6 golden shields which hung on the walls of his abode, where they shone brilliantly, "and the heads of snarling dogs projected at their centres, and 5 talents 12 manas of dark flame-coloured (gold) was the weight." All the furniture and fittings of this temple—locks in the form of human hands; plating in the form of a winged deluge(-dragon); bolts; keys in the form of crowned female genii bearing (serrated) sword and circle, the soles of whose feet trampled snarling dogs; swords, falchions, etc.—were of gold; whilst many other things—lances, arrows, darts, and 12 shields ornamented with flood-dragons', lions', and wild bulls' heads—were of silver. Among the treasure captured were 67 basins and cups of silver, also stoves and plant-baskets of the same, mounted or plated with gold. But this was not all; Sargon enumerates in addition 33 chariots, bows, quivers, toothed swords(?), shields, and 393 cups, strong (i.e. heavy) and light, of silver, the latter of Assyrian, Araratian, and Kilhian work.

Continuing, Sargon enumerates a golden signet-ring with which the orders of Bagbartu, spouse of Haldia, were achieved, and many divine vestments. There were also 139 staves, tables, plant-baskets, swords, daggers of ivory and ebony, mounted with gold, and numerous jewels, some of which belonged to Haldia and Bagbartu, his spouse. Among the bronze objects were 25,212 shields of various weights, 1,514 lances and lance-heads, 305,412 swords, bows, javelins(?), and darts, 607 basins, vases,

and other vessels. Especially mentioned is the great vessel holding 80 water-measures, with its lid, which the kings of Ararat, when sacrificing to Haldia, filled with wine for libations; the four brazen statues of the doorkeepers of the temple, with their pedestals; a praying statue of Sar-duri, son of Išpuini, king of Ararat; a statue of Argišti, king of Ararat, with a wonderful tiara decorated with divine emblems. This statue showed the king holding up the hand in the attitude of benediction. With its shrine, the weight of the whole was 60 talents of bronze.

But it was apparently the statue of his opponent, Ursā, which really attracted Sargon's attention most. This ruler was represented accompanied by his two chargers and his charioteer, with their seats, all cast in bronze; and the group bore his own glorification expressed thus:

"With my two horses and my single charioteer, my hand has captured the kingdom of Ararat."

In all the above Sargon does not enumerate the countless objects in gold, silver, lead, etc., which (the enemy) had pillaged from city, palace, and temple—edifices of Aššur and Merodach (Assyria and Babylonia).

All the spoil from the palace of Urzana and (the temple) of Haldia were carried by his soldiers to Assyria, Mušašir was annexed, and the people worked and paid taxes like the Assyrians.

"When Ursā heard, he crouched down on the ground, tore his garments, and his arms hung limp; he loosened his girdle, tore his hair, and his heart oppressed (?) him on both sides; he threw himself down at full length. Then became his mind enraged, his liver burned, with his mouth he uttered grievous cries. In the whole extent of Ararat I spread abroad affliction, and I caused tears for an eternity of days to be in Na'iri."

Par. XV. At this point Sargon glorifies his gods for his success, brought about by the supreme force of Aššur

the power and might of Bêl and Nebo, the constant grace (or goodwill) of Šamaš, and the majesty of Nergal, who had gone by his side and protected him, from his entry into the province of Sumbu between Mounts Nikippa and Upā, in Ararat, Zikirtu, the land of the Manneans, Na'iri, and Mušašir. He had defeated the armies of Ursā the Araratian and Metatti the Zikirtian, taking from the former 430 cities belonging to seven provinces. From Urzana the Mušaširian he had taken Haldia his god, Bagbartu his goddess, and the numerous goods of his temple, besides 6,110 men, live stock, also his wife, sons, and daughters.¹ By the defile of Andarutta, before the city Hipparna,² he came forth, and returned safely to his country.

Par. XVI. This, the final paragraph, is the colophon, consisting of five widely-spaced lines, with some minor but interesting details—

“One charioteer, two cavalymen, three sappers were killed.

“The great omen-shower, Tâb-šâr-Aššur, conducted the forerunners to Aššur, my lord.

“Tablet of Nabû-šallim-šunu, the great scribe of the king, the great instructor, Sargon king of Assyria's Master of Arts, eldest son of Harmakku, king's scribe, the Aššurite.

“Brought in the eponymy of Ištar-dûri, governor of Arrapha.”

Naturally a great many details have been omitted in the preceding account of the eighth campaign of the Assyrian Sargon, but in all probability no really interesting point is wanting. As the military history of one single year of this king's reign, it is a model record, full of information, and apparently just that information

¹ Urzana is not mentioned as a captive, so it seems probable that he escaped, leaving the members of his family in captivity.

² Probably by Amadieh and Daudieh and the long defile of Dehok.

which we desire to have. The military details naturally predominate, but not unduly, and they are interspersed with information of different kinds—political, geographical, ethnographical, and botanical. Religion, with its rites and ceremonies, is not excluded, and, more precious than all, we have the mind of the king—unless it be merely that of his scribes, which seems unlikely—in the excellent descriptions of nature and scenery seen on his march, showing that, like the rest of us, he could appreciate the beauties of nature, and recognize the picturesque.

The account of this campaign given in Sargon's *Annals* is a mere outline compared with the text of this new inscription. He states that in the 8th year of his reign he went to the land of the Manneans and of the Medes. He received the tribute of the former, of the Ellipeans, and probably of other districts, including that of the chiefs of the mountains, Zizi and Zala, lords of cities of the district of Gizilbundu, whose tribute Sargon's successors had never received. He had made slaughter in the army of Metatti of Zikirtu, taken and pillaged three strong cities and twenty-four towns, and had destroyed Parđa, the capital, with fire. Metatti and the population of Zikirtu fled. He had made untold slaughter of the army of Ursā of Ararat, and had captured 260 of the seed-royal and the cavalry. To save his life Ursā fled, and Sargon pursued him as far as Mount Zimur, a distance of 5 leagues. He records that he restored to Ullusunū Uišdiš, the Mannean fortress, and had captured Ušqaia upon the cypress-mountain Mallau, with 115 towns around. He had also taken and burned Aniaštania on the frontier of Bit-Sangibuti, Tarui and Tarmakisa in the region of the Daleans, and Ulhu at the foot of Mount Kišpal, with twenty-one strong cities and 140 towns around, situated on the mountains of Arzabia. Summarized, the remaining places taken were:—

7 strong cities of Armariāli and 30 towns around at the foot of the Ubianda mountains ;

Arbu, belonging to Rusā (Ursā) ;

Riar, belonging to Ištar-dûri (Sar-duri) ;

30 towns of Aiaid, a district on the coast ;

Argišṭina and Qallania, on the Aršidu and Maḥḥaunnian mountains ;

5 fortresses around Uaiāis, with 40 villages.

He next mentions the tribute of horses, etc., which he had received from Yanzū king of Na'iri in Hubuškia, and then goes on to describe his operations against Urzanu the Muṣaširian, who had sent treasonable communication to Ursā of Ararat. He states also here that he had gone with his single chariot and only 1,000 cavalry, with infantry trained to fight, and had crossed the Šiak, the Ardikši, the Ulâiau, and the Ullaria either on foot or horseback. Urzana fled on hearing of his approach, and Sargon then entered Muṣašir, capturing Urzana's wife, sons, and daughters, with 6,170 of the inhabitants, and a quantity of spoil, most of which was enumerated, but the passage is mutilated and defective. This province (Muṣašir) he annexed to Assyria, making his palace-steward governor. The text of this historical epitome, which is preserved on the squeezes in the Louvre, has been revised by M. Thureau-Dangin with considerable success.

Prism B of the inscriptions of Sargon in the British Museum bears a parallel but not identical text to that of the new inscription. It deals mainly with the capture of Muṣašir, and the spoil taken, and presents a few variant details. This contains likewise a number of words of uncertain meaning, designating the objects found among the spoils. As this inscription is partly duplicate of the Louvre's new acquisition, a number of lacunæ in the prism-inscription have been filled up by comparison with it.

tract, have arrived. They have done service in the House of God. They say thus: 'The king is coming, he is at Uasi. The (other) prefects are late, (but) they will come.' They (the two prefects) have done service in Muṣaṣir.

"Concerning what thou hast written, namely, 'No one ought to bring his troops to the service without the word of the king'; when the king of Assyria came, did I prevent him? What one has done, the other does; and this last, how can I prevent him?"

M. Thureau-Dangin points out that there is something of impertinence in these last words. In all probability, however, Urzana was less courteous than he would have been because he was writing to the chamberlain, and not to the Assyrian king himself. Nevertheless, it is probably true, as he says, that Urzana would not have adopted this tone after the successful expedition recorded on the new tablet. With regard to the inscription itself, though grammatically written on the whole (one mistake is the use of the singular verb *idabub* instead of the plural *idabubu*), it contains the strange word *karkatē*, rendered by Thureau-Dangin as "est-ce chez toi", which is possibly Old Muṣaṣirian and not Assyrian. In this case, as the phrase in which it occurs is a quotation, it was possibly the word used by Sargon's chamberlain, and if so, would show that he knew the speech of Muṣaṣir. Compare the Old Arzawanian *katti-mi*, "with me," *katta*, "with thee," in the monograph upon the tablet from Yuzgat (by T. G. Pinches and A. H. Sayce), published by this Society, 1907, pp. 19-20.¹ The likeness, moreover, between Arzawa and Urzana will also be noticed—it is possibly for Arzawana, "the Arzawanian."

In another rather mutilated tablet discovered at Nineveh by the late George Smith, Urzanā (the final *a* is long

¹ *Karkatē* may, however, be connected with *karku*, "border," "bank" of a river (K. 689, 10), and *karkētī*, "borders" (K. 654, 9).

here) writes to the king himself. "The king my lord," he says, "knows my wishes (or my needs). Oxen and sheep exist not—the pastures (?) of the provinces (?) have taken them—I constantly (?) expect them, (but) they come not." The remainder of the letter, which is of some length, is too mutilated to translate, but the end is friendly, and apparently contains a wish that Aššur, Bêl, . . . , and Ištar, lady (of battle), may capture the king's enemies, and give him a lasting reign over the lands. Whether it dates from before the conquest of Mušasir by Sargon, or is an indication that Urzana was reinstated as governor or something similar after the events recorded in the new inscription, is uncertain.

Another person whose name is found among the extensive Assyrian correspondence preserved at Nineveh is Aššur-rêšûa, of whom at least thirteen letters exist. K. 194, which was most successfully cleaned by Mr. Ready many years ago, contains much information concerning the person who took part in the military operations, including a certain General Naragê, who had twenty "heads" ("chiefs") with him. In another, Aššur-rêšûa writes to the royal and official seer, whom he calls his "lord", stating that the Ukian messenger, after going up to Ararat, was descending to Assyria, and after crossing a certain district was entering Mušasir.

Another (K. 1080, Harper, 146) refers to Guriania and Nagiu, districts of Ararat and Gomer respectively, the latter seemingly paying tribute to the former. K. 1170 is too mutilated to enable everything to be made out, but it is noteworthy that the reverse mentions "the fruit of the harvest", suggesting that the season chosen by Sargon for his eighth campaign was deliberately chosen. K. 1907 mentions a letter from the Assyrian king apparently concerning the sending of spies to Turušpā,¹ the capital of Ararat.

¹ Written as though pronounced *Tur'ušpā*.

A very interesting inscription is that found by Rassam (a photograph of this was thrown on the screen). It is a letter addressed by Aššur-rêšûa to the steward of Sargon's palace, and seems to be an application for an appointment. This probably belongs to the period after the war with Mušasir was over, and the man who had acted as the eyes of the Assyrian army felt that he could claim a substantial reward for his services. Notwithstanding his Assyrian name, the use of *ina*, "in," for *ana*, "to," leads one to suspect that he was not really a native of Assyria. If that be the case, the name which he had assumed may have been expressive of his hope. Aššur-rêšûa, "Aššur (shall be) my help," he probably said, thinking of the possibility of a substantial reward.

Most of the other letters sent by this official are fragmentary, and therefore of but little historical interest.

In Harper's No. 101, Tâb-šâr-Aššur (apparently the "great seer" to whom the new inscription was sent) sends to the king announcing the receipt of a report from Aššur-rêšûa to the effect that the Ukkian (king or general) had gone to Ararat. He mentions a city called El-iski, apparently as having been entered by this personage.

Aššur-rêšûa was not the only source of information, however, for another correspondent, Gabbu-ana-Aššur, mentions him with two others, Nabû-îdû and Aššur-bêldanin. The reports speak of the watch (garrison) of the Araratian land—they (the royal party, seemingly) had apparently not gone from the (? royal) house and entered the city Kurban. They had repeatedly heard reports that the Araratian had not come forth from Tûrušpia (Tûrušpā). Gabbu-ana-Aššur had therefore marched against Kurban in the month Tammuz, and would send a report (of the state of affairs) on the 20th of Ab.

Another interesting letter is that from Marduk-šarra-ušur to the king, from which it would seem that the writer,

having been placed in charge of the land of Ellipa, had heard that he was to receive Sungibutu (Sangibutu, p. 591) also, though the mutilation of the text makes the sense somewhat doubtful. In yet another communication Ištar-šum-iqīša describes affairs among the Zikirtians; and Hu-tešub (or Išsur-Tešub) sends a communication, unfortunately more than half broken away, in which he says that he has heard that the Zikirtians are located over against the Manneans.

Another personage—period likewise doubtful—was Šarru-êmuranni, who seems to have been a kind of travelling political agent. In one letter, after reporting about horses, he mentions that the servants of the king had captured Kibatki, and had put the people to the sword. Being afterwards stricken with terror, they had sent to him, and he had placed them with the hunters. To all appearance he aimed at giving the fullest information, and in another letter, after citing the king's instructions, he states that he was going to Parsua. After a break, he seems to refer to the reaping operations in the land of Zamu. He (Šarru-êmuranni) would look for the king's messenger, and obey the king's instructions—in any case(?) Nabû-hamatîa would do the king's work, and repair the dilapidations of the king's fortresses.

Apart from the letters of Sennacherib to his father, which would need a monograph to themselves, one of the most important inscriptions apparently dealing with the period preceding that of the new inscription, is Harper's No. 444 (K. 645). The writer (whose name is lost) states that five governors of the land of Pur- . . had entered into the city Uesi (Thureau-Dangin: Bitlis). These were Setinu, governor of . . -teni, Qaqqadanu (an Assyrian name) of the Ukian border, Sakuatâ of the land of Qaniun, Siplia of the land of Alzi, and Tutu of the land of Armiraliu (cf. p. 592). They had gone up from their districts, had strengthened (?) their forces, and the king

(Ursā ?) had gone forth from ʾTurušpā (his capital), and entered Qaniun. As the Assyrian king had sent to the writer, saying "Send spies" (*awēlu dayale šupur*), he had sent (them) a second time. The first had gone, and reported (as above). The others had not yet come forth again (returned from the mission).

Another inscription of the nature of a letter, but which has no superscription, bears upon the expatriation of the nations captured—that system which led to the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities of the Israelites. The following is the substance of the text in question:—

Ina eli awēlu ummanē māt Mušaširāa ša šarru rēs-sunu išūni—ina di Siḥana ša māt Maš šunu. Nišpūru. Lābilūnišūnu. Ūlā ina māt Maš-ma épšūnu.

"Concerning the people, Mušaširians, whose head the king has raised (? whom he has favoured)—in the city Siḥana of Maš (? *mons Masius*) are they. We have sent. Shall we bring them (back)? Is it not then in Maš that they work?" (K. 826, Harper No. 448).

There are numerous inscriptions referring to horses, but in all probability the following has more than ordinary historical importance, bearing as it does on the new inscription:—

Yala-¹ . . . , the son of the Andian king, is coming;
Nergal-bêl-ušur, the . . . , is with him.

16 strong horses,
13 irgini horses,
14 black horses,
1 Mursite,
1 of Tuanu,
6 of . . .

¹ There are faint traces of two wedges on the edge of the break, suggesting some character like *i*, *at*, *ši*, or *ya* (? *Alai*, *Alattu*, *Alaši*, *Alaya*, etc.).

Reverse

(and) his 5 mules—


Total : 51 horses (belonging) to the son of the Andian king.

Ābit¹-šarri-ušur, the Manean minister, comes with him. I ask him thus, Is Nawurtu . . . ? (or, I asked him "Is it well . . . ?). (Remainder too mutilated to translate.)




The following interesting letter I give according to my copy made about twenty-five years ago, and revised lately. It is Harper's No. 687.

K. 484.

一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十、十一、十二、十三、十四、十五、十六、十七、十八、十九、二十、二十一、二十二、二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一、三十二、三十三、三十四、三十五、三十六、三十七、三十八、三十九、四十、四十一、四十二、四十三、四十四、四十五、四十六、四十七、四十八、四十九、五十、五十一、五十二、五十三、五十四、五十五、五十六、五十七、五十八、五十九、六十、六十一、六十二、六十三、六十四、六十五、六十六、六十七、六十八、六十九、七十、七十一、七十二、七十三、七十四、七十五、七十六、七十七、七十八、七十九、八十、八十一、八十二、八十三、八十四、八十五、八十六、八十七、八十八、八十九、九十、九十一、九十二、九十三、九十四、九十五、九十六、九十七、九十八、九十九、一百。











3. 

6. The Great House (Per-Aten)

9.   

12. 

第一冊
第二冊


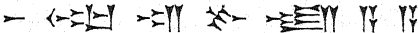





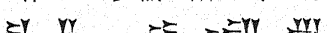






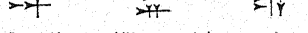
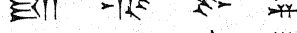
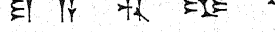
15.    
EDGE.      

18. 

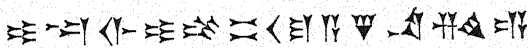
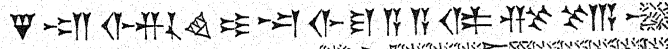
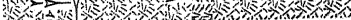
REV. — 全一頁 —

三三三三

¹ Thus, according to my collation.

21. 
 - 
 - 
 24. 


 27. 


 30. 


 33. 


 36. 


LEFT-HAND EDGE.

- 
 39. 


K. 484, Transcription

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| A-na <i>awēru</i> nagir <i>ékalli</i> | To the steward of the palace |
| bēli - ia | my lord |
| 3. <i>ārad-ka</i> <i>m.Ārad-ru</i> Sin | thy servant Arad-Sin. |
| <i>awēru</i> Ga - me - ra - a - a } | That Gomerite (Kimmerian) |
| an - ni - u | |
| 6. <i>it - tu - ši</i> <i>āltu</i> lib - bi | has gone forth from |
| <i>māt</i> Ma - na - a - a | the Manean land, |
| <i>ina</i> libbi mat <i>Uratī</i> | into Ararat |
| 9. e - tar - ba | he has entered. |

- . . . *di(?) - hu - u - di - a - li - e* . . . - di hu' udi - alê
ša(?) bīt ma - ri ša m. u tu of(?) the house of Sarduri's
Ištar - dūri son(?)
12. *šu - ru(?) - u - a* my
 *mat Ša - ki - ni(?)* [is in ?] Šakinu(?).
awātu dbil šip - ri The messenger
 of the governor
 15. *ša awātu bēl pihati* of the city Uesi (Uaiais)
ša al U - e - si unto Urzanu(?)
eli Ur - za(?) - ni(?) has go[ne].
 18. *it - tal - [ka]* Concerning the lord(?) of . . .
ina eli bēl(?) d[li?] [he says]
- m - a e - mu - ki* }
 21. *lil - li - ku - ni* } thus: May (his) forces go
ina eli dī Bu - li - a - a unto the city of the Bulians
ina eli dī Su - ri - a - na - a - a (and) unto the city of the
 Surianians.
24. *māt Urarti gab - bi - šu* All the land of Ararat
ip - ta - lah fears
a - da - niš greatly.
27. *e - mu - ki u - pa - hu - ru* They have gathered forces.
ma - a i - su - ri Moreover: If
ki - ma ku - bu - u like a *kubā*
30. *i - di - i - ni* he has judged.
ma - a ni - zu - gu - pu Then: We will plant(ourselves)
ina muh - hi - šu against him.
33. *ina eli hu - ub - ti* }
an - ni - e } About that plunder
ša iq - bu - ni of which they said
36. *ma - a hu - ub - tu* thus: The plunder
ih - ta bat he has carried off.
i - ba - ši i - gab - bi - u Yes, they say
ma - a ša na - gi - e thus: Of the district
39. *ša al Ar - hi i - ba - ši* of the city Arhi it is,
ma - a a - di zi - kar - ru(?) and: with the men (of)

Free Rendering

(as far as its mutilated condition enables the sense to be made out)

To the Steward of the Palace, my lord, thy servant
Ârad-Sin.

That Gomerite has gone forth from the Mannean land—he has entered into the land of Ararat. . . . -diku'udi-alê, of the house of Sarduri's son, my . . . -šuru, is in Sakinu(?). The messenger of the governor of Uesi (Uaiais or Bitlis) has gone to Urzanu(?). Concerning the lord of the city . . . , (he says) thus: "Let (his) forces go into the city of the Bulians (and) the city of the Surianians. All the land of Ararat fears greatly. They have gathered their forces." (He continues) thus: "If he has judged like a *kubû* (?simpleton), then we shall stand against him."

About that plunder of which they said thus: "They have carried off the plunder"—Yes.¹ They say thus: "It is of the district of the city Arĥu," adding "(It was carried away) with the men of . . ."

The people of Gomer (Gamir), identified with the Kimmerians, are mentioned by Sennacherib in his letters to Sargon. It is there that we find the variant 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *mât Gamir* (*ir*), which I had adopted many years ago (see the *New York Independent* for August 22, 1889, p. (1087) 15)—it seems to be due to the fact that 𐎶 means "total", and is probably to be read *gamru* (construct case *gamir*). The Maneans are naturally the same as the Manneans (see pp. 583 ff.). Urzani is too doubtful to base anything upon, but if by chance the reading be right, Urzana of Muṣaṣir is probably the person intended. The Bulian and Surianian cities in this letter are apparently not mentioned in the new inscription of Sargon.

¹ Lit. "it is (so)".

In the present state of our knowledge, this mutilated letter may be regarded as referring to Ursā before the operations recorded in the new inscription. Ârad-Sin's opinion was that if the Araratian king's judgment was comparable to a *kubû* (? a reed = a weakling) "we shall stand against him". The city of *Arhi*, which he reports as having been plundered, was probably in the Armenian tract.

But a great deal could be said as to these and other inscriptions referring to Assyria's north-eastern frontier.

The new inscription is a great contribution to a great reign, and, holding out as it does hopes of similar detailed reports of Assyrian military exploits, presents, like the records of Aššur-bani-âpli's reign, the possibility of a fullness of detail in other sections of Assyrian history such as the earlier translators hardly dared to expect.

XXI

JEWISH KNOWLEDGE OF THE SAMARITAN ALPHABET IN THE MIDDLE AGES

By M. GASTER

THE Jews have never practically lost sight of the Samaritans, unlike the Christians, who for at least a thousand years had entirely forgotten their existence, as no writer or pilgrim to the Holy Land speaks of them with the solitary exception of Mandeville. It was therefore a great surprise to the Western world when at the beginning of the seventeenth century the darkness began to be lifted, and through Scaliger, Huntingdon, and Della Valle for the first time authentic news about the Samaritans, their language, and their Bible began to reach Europe.

The Jewish literature, however, knows no real interruption. Tradition flows on continuously from century to century, and whenever the occasion arises new facts are added to the old tradition. Jewish pilgrims like Benjamin of Tudela and the famous poet Alharizi not only visited the Samaritans in Nablus, but both gave accurate and graphic descriptions of the people in Sichem, of their peculiarities, their liturgy, and traditions. Benjamin of Tudela, who flourished in the twelfth century (1160), writes of them in a simple style befitting a traveller's tale. Alharizi, who flourished at the beginning of the thirteenth century (1216), who saw everything from the poet's point of view, and who himself could indulge in bitter sarcasm and irony, does not spare the Samaritans in one of his *Makamat*. As I may point out on another occasion, I believe that Alharizi had also made himself conversant with some books of the Samaritan literature, among them the Book of Joshua, for I believe that the whole setting

of his Makama with the story of the dove by which the besieged city is freed from the besiegers is nothing but an imitation from the episode of Shobakh of the Samaritan Joshua. It will be seen that Jews living in Palestine, as well as others who were travelling from the European continent, came often in contact with the Samaritans and tried to obtain from them some information about their literature, and more especially of their script.

There were two reasons which preserved the recollection of as well as the interest in that script. There were the comparatively abundant references to it in the older Talmudic literature and the Jewish coins. The Jews did not dispute the claim of the Samaritans that their alphabet was the genuinely "Hebrew" one, and more than once the opinion was expressed in the Talmud that it was in this "Hebrew" script that the Law was given on Mount Sinai (Sanhedrin 22*a*, Jer. Megillah, i, f. 71*b*, *c*), but that with the advent of Ezra a change had come and another script called Ashuri (probably Aramæan, not Assyrian as is generally thought) had been substituted for the older form of writing. No real reason has ever been assigned for this fundamental change. Probably in the eyes of the people it was quite sufficient to mark a separation between the two sects of the Jewish nation. Whilst they were engaged in mutual warfare no question was asked about such a change, as it required practically no other justification. But for all that, the older alphabet was not entirely forgotten, and it was used, as is well known, for the inscriptions on Jewish coins.

These coins date partly from the period before the destruction of the Temple (Simon, *c.* 135 B.C.), and some of them probably are as late as the beginning of the second century (Simon bar Kochba, 130 A.D.). No explanation has hitherto been found for this peculiar phenomenon. As the Jews had practically discarded

their ancient Hebrew alphabet, why should they use it again in lieu of the one which they had adopted? There was apparently no obvious cause why an antiquated alphabet should suddenly be used just for the coinage, which ought to bear the most popular script, and on which legends ought to be easily understood by the people for whom the coins were intended.

An explanation could be suggested for the non-use of the square character. It was regarded as a holy script, and was used practically exclusively for the sacred writings, and it might have appeared to the people to be a profanation to put the same script in which they wrote the name of God on the currency, which would pass from hand to hand, and easily pass from the hands of Jews to the hands of Gentiles. No such scruples virtually were attached to the other alphabet, just because it was now used among the Samaritans. Moreover, as the latter were almost as numerous in Palestine as the Jews, this Jewish coinage might have been intended also to be used by the Samaritans, for curiously enough no one has yet heard of a Samaritan coinage, nor is anywhere reference made to coins struck by the Samaritans with any direct mention of Sichem bearing Hebrew legends in their own script.

If, then, in addition to this consideration, it is accepted that the coins as struck by the Jews were issued by Simon the Maccabean in the last years of his reign (about 135 B.C.), just at the time when he had occupied part of Samaria and asserted his claim over that part of the country, it is not at all improbable that he used this script on coins intended for a common currency as a demonstration against the Samaritan claim that Sichem was the Holy Place. This might also explain why the obverse of many of the coins, notably those of the time of Simon the Maccabean, have a representation of the Temple with the legend "Jerusalem the Holy

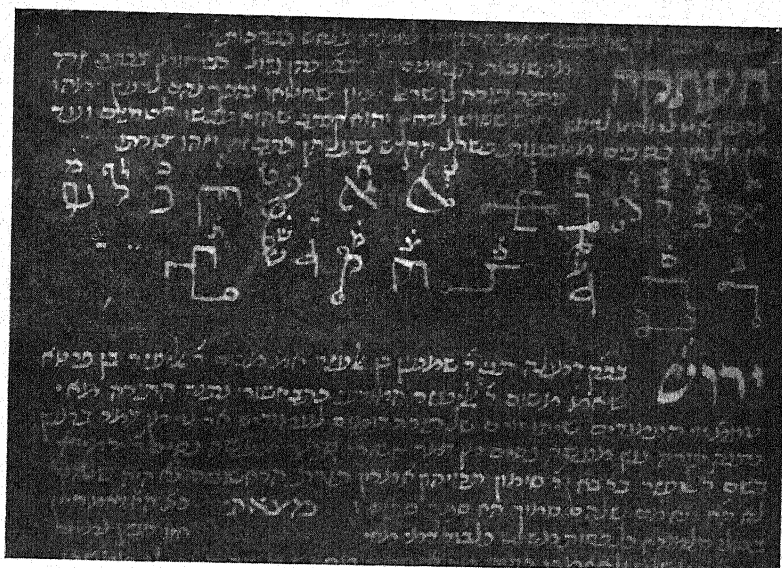
One". It was intended to show *urbi et orbi* that there was only one Sanctuary, one Holy Place, only Jerusalem. It was a symbol of victory over the Samaritans struck by the Hasmoneans, just as the Romans and Greeks struck similar coins as a sign of victory.

Now these streams of tradition, the one about the Hebrew origin of the "Kuthean", i.e. the Samaritan alphabet as found in the Talmud, and the other, the legends on the Jewish coins, have been the means of preserving the memory of the Samaritan script alive among the Jews. I have been able to gather some curious data about this knowledge of the Samaritan alphabet which might prove of interest.

They start from two heads. The one is found in commentaries on the passages in the Talmud, and the other is connected with investigations of the Jewish coins. The commentaries on the Talmud, however, are very brief. They do not discuss the script. They merely explain the tradition, and one of the commentators, viz. Rashi (*ob.* 1105), must, as we shall find, have even seen somewhere a Samaritan alphabet. He shows a close acquaintance with it. I will deal with this point later on, for it is only an allusion, though of no mean importance. Of far greater interest for the fact that the Jews were acquainted with the alphabet is that copies of this very alphabet have been preserved in ancient mediaeval writings.

In the first place I mention the MS. in the Bodleian Library (I cannot trace the number), a page of which I have been able fortunately to photograph. I give it here in facsimile (p. 617), with a transcript in Hebrew followed by an English translation.

The MS. dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. The passage which I am reproducing here purports to be a direct copy of one of the numerous Responsa which emanated from the heads of the colleges and the leaders of the Jews in Babylon, who held authority over practically



העתקה מתשובות הגאונים ז"ל בפ' כהן גדול רבי אומ"ר
בכתב זה ניתנה תורה לישראל כיון שחמאו נהפך להם לדעץ
מהו לדעץ אנו למדונו לדעץ ויש ששונין לדחץ והוא הכתב
שהוא עכשיו לכותים ועד אן יוצאים כספים ממבעות בשקל
הקדש שעליהן כתב זה וזהו צורתו

Here is the copy of the alphabet in the MS.

ירוש" בפ"ק דמגלה תני רבי שמעון בן אלעזר אמ"ר משום ר'
אליעזר בן פרטא שאמ"ר משום ר' אליעזר המודעי כתב אשורי
נתנה התורה מאי מעמ" ווי העמודים שיהו וויים של תורה
רומים לעמודים א"ר לוי מן דמר בדעץ נתנה התורה עין מעשה
נסים מן דמר אשורי סמך מעשה נסים ר' ירמיה בשם ר' אלעזר
בר בא ור' סימון תרויהון אמרין תורת הראשונים לא היה
שלהם לא ה"א ולא מ"ם שלהם סמוך (סתום) הא סמך סתום :

the whole of Jewry in their time. The Geonim, as they are called, came to an end at the latest with the middle of the tenth century. The copy, therefore, cannot be later, but it is evidently much older, and forms part of answers which these heads of the schools and colleges sent to queries about the elucidation of certain difficult passages in the Talmud.

Antiquarian passages were often those which required an explanation, for the Jews in Europe or in the West of Africa were not acquainted with all these details, with which the people in Babylon and in Palestine were often quite familiar. One of these questions must have been the demand for an interpretation of the passage in the Talmud in which it was stated that the law had originally been given in the "Hebrew" script, but that it had been abandoned and another one substituted for it, the so-called square characters. The translation runs as follows:—

"A copy from the Response of the Geonim, and this is what they say in the chapter Kohen Hagadol (Tr. Sanhedrin, f. 22*a*). Rabbi said the Torah was given to Israel in this script (Hebrew), and when they sinned it was turned into Da'as. What means Da'as? We have been taught to know it under the form Da'as. Others explain it Dhs, and this is the writing which is now that of the Samaritans. And unto this very day there are silver coins current in the likeness of the Holy Shekel with this writing on them, and this is the copy of the letters. [Here follows the Hebrew alphabet with the corresponding letters of the Samaritan alphabet underneath.] In Treatise Jer. Megillah, ch. i (f. 71*b*, *c*), we find R. Shimeon, son of Elazar, said in the name of Eliezer, son of Parta, who said it in the name of R. Eliezer the Mudite, the Law had been given in the Ashuri script. Whence do we know it? 'The hooks [vavē] of the pillar,' the vavē of the Law should be like unto pillars [i.e. the letter ׀ should look like a column—straight perpendicular line].

R. Levi said whoever said that the Law had been given in the Da'aṣ (Ra'aṣ) script, then the letter **י** was miraculously written; whoever said it was Ashuri, then **ד** was miraculously written. R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Elazar Baraba and R. Simon both said in the Torah of the Ancients neither their **ה** (**הא**) nor their **מ** (**מם**) were closed,¹ but **ד** alone was closed."

The explanation of the last sentence is that these letters forming a complete circle could not have been kept in the Tablets of the Law unless by miracle, for they were cut out of the stone, and there was nothing to keep the central portion attached to it.

The commentators of the Talmud have merely discussed the meaning of that mysterious word Da'aṣ, Ra'aṣ, or Dḥṣ without coming to any satisfactory conclusion. If the correct reading be Da'aṣ one might almost feel inclined to see in it the terminus technicus for the wedge-like Assyrian-Babylonian writing, for which hitherto no Hebrew name has yet been discovered. But this is merely a conjecture, and it might lead me far astray were I to follow up the question as to whether the Jews were intimately acquainted with the Cuneiform script, and if so, why no name of this kind of writing has been preserved.

The variation mentioned in the first part of this Responsum is quite in conformity with the phonetics of the Samaritans, who make no difference between the gutturals and often substitute **י** for **ה**, and **ה** for **י**, and, as we shall see, also pronounce **ע**, **ה**, **ח**, **א**, almost without any distinction, in fact so much so that the signs of these letters are used promiscuously to designate often one and the same sound.

If we now examine more closely the shape of this Samaritan alphabet we shall find that in the main there is a close agreement between this script and that used by the Samaritans, yet there are some differences which are

¹ In MS. the reading is **סמך**; in the Talmud the reading is **סחם**.

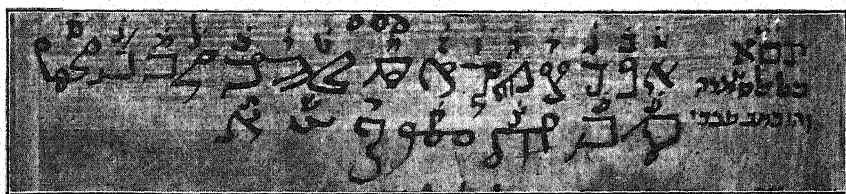
not due to the inventive genius of the scribe, but probably rest on much older tradition. It will be noticed that not a few of the letters terminate with small ringlets instead of with straight lines: \aleph , \beth , γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , η , θ , ι , κ . Others are somewhat changed and difficult to recognize, like λ , μ , ν , ξ , \omicron , π , ρ , σ . But, for all that, it cannot be gainsaid that the copyist reproduces here a genuine Samaritan alphabet, in which the square character is beginning to change and approximate more or less to the cursive script. These ringlets seem to be of a very archaic origin, and show that this alphabet had been used also for quite a different purpose than the mere writing of Samaritan books. Rashi, in his commentary to the above passage in the Talmud (Tr. Sanhedrin 21*b*, s.v. \aleph), says this was the alphabet of the Samaritans and was also used in amulets and charms and Mezuzot. The ancient alphabet evidently had become the mystical alphabet, and the letters were used in such charms down to recent times, sometimes being distorted out of recognition and distinguished by the fact that the corners are rounded off in small ringlets. No doubt the Samaritan alphabet had become a mystical alphabet to those who did not understand it or to those to whom it appealed as being the very alphabet in which, according to the tradition recognized by the Jews as correct, God Himself had given the Law in this script. It was therefore the script best fitted for all mystical purposes, as it was endowed with a significance and value lacking in every other script. Rashi, then, must have seen such an alphabet similar to the one in the facsimile here reproduced. This would prove the accuracy of the copyist in the manner in which he reproduced the old Samaritan alphabet.

Maimonides describes and denounces this practice (M. T. Hil. Tefillin, v, 4). The correctness of this view, that ancient alphabets became in time mystical alphabets and that this has happened with the Samaritan, is borne

out by the list of such alphabets found in a MS. in the possession of Mr. David S. Sassoon. The MS. is of Oriental origin. It is written in the year 1465-8 (1776-9 Seleucid), and is part of a compilation called Sha'ar Harazim (not the book with a similar title ascribed to Todros ha Levi, but one of a much later date). It consists of 465 chapters, being mystical prayers or sympathetic prescriptions, love philters, amulets, charms, etc. The book is mostly composed in Hebrew.

There are some chapters written in Arabic. They contain mysteries (Sodot) ascribed, curiously enough, to the Fayyumi, by which name the Gaon Seadyah of the ninth century is usually known.

I am reproducing here the Samaritan alphabet from the MS. kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Sassoon—



It is paragraph 461, and is called in the margin **כַּתְּבֵי עֵבְרִי** and underneath **וְהוּא כַּתְּבֵי עֵבְרִי**, i.e. "the Samaritan alphabet, which is the Hebrew writing". The form approximates very much more closely the actual Samaritan, but not a few agree very closely with the one reproduced before. We have here also the Hebrew equivalent letters written above the corresponding Samaritan signs; and we find that they also have those peculiar ringlets to which attention has been drawn and which show that this alphabet served magical purposes at a later time.

We turn now to the other stream of information, which has kept alive the remembrance of the Samaritan alphabet, although it was not put to any mystical use—the legends





of the shekel, to which reference is made also in the Response of the Geonim. This identification of the Hebrew script of the shekel with the Samaritan script brought the Jews in close contact with the Samaritans in Palestine and helped to keep alive the knowledge of the script among the Jews.

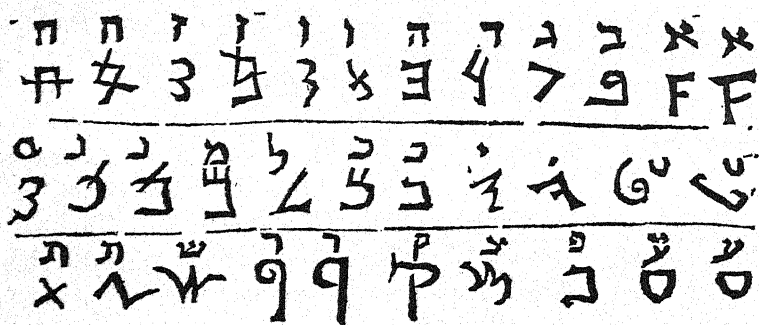
Azaryah de Rossi, one of the most prominent Jewish antiquarians of the time of the Renaissance, devoted a special chapter to an investigation of the Jewish coinage, and notably to the legend of the Shekel. He has gathered in that chapter of his famous book *Meor Enayim*, printed by him in Mantua, 1574, much curious information, of which I am giving here only those parts which affect us directly in the question before us, for he discusses in addition to the legend many other problems connected with the shekel, which are now beside the mark. We learn from him among others that many Jewish travellers from Italy in going to Palestine did not shun contact with the Kuthiim or Samaritans. On the contrary, they entered into friendly relations with them and obtained from them much information. Furthermore, these travellers made ample notes of that information, and brought or sent it home in notebooks in which they had set down the knowledge which they had gathered. Some of these collections had come into the hands of de Rossi, and he gives us extracts therefrom which prove of great value, the loss of which must be deemed also a loss to the world at large. It is from such collectanea that de Rossi is able to reprint a complete Samaritan alphabet, which I am reproducing here from the first edition, f. 171a. On f. 171b we have a very rude representation of a shekel. Before discussing the form of the letters of this alphabet I had better sum up here the information contained in the *Meor Enayim*.

In chapters 56-8, ff. 171a-8b, we find there in the first place from these short references by de Rossi, that

the tradition had been continued uninterruptedly down to the sixteenth century.

"On the letters of the alphabet of the other side of the river Eber Hanaha and on the Holy Shekel. Towards the end of our work we are now discussing also some types of letters not of our script, but of that script which our sages called Tr. Megillah I, San. ch. 2; they called it 'Hebrew Script', namely, that of the other side of the river, which they also called the script לִבְנוֹנָה, the interpretation of which is (as given above in the name of Rashi) like the script on amulets and mezuzot, and is still used by the Kuthiim (Samaritans). Also Maimonides, in the Commentary of the Mishna Yadayim, chap. iv, writes about it that that is the script used by the people called Al Samira, viz. the Samaritans. And according to what I have seen in a Kontras (compilation) sent by a reliable man from the Holy Land to Rabbi Petahyah Ida of Spoleto, who also taught him the Arabic language, and his son the Rabbi David Mosheh shewed me (those notes) here in Ferrara, and also according to what afterwards was told to me by the wise man Samuel Marli in Mantua from the Itinerary of the Holy Land of Rabbi Moses Bassolah; and all the novelties which he had seen during that journey, in the very autograph of the above-mentioned man, and also what has been shown unto me there in Mantua by Reuben of Perugia, the script which had been given to him by one of the Christian scholars in Bologna as found in a very ancient book upon which they place great reliance. The following is, then, the form of the Samaritan alphabet, and this is the language of the above-mentioned Rabbi Moses Bassolah:—

The letters of the Kuthiim which are found on the coins follow here. It consists of three rows of two lines each, and under the Hebrew is the corresponding Samaritan letter. Many are double, e.g. twice , twice , twice , twice , etc.



Then follows—

“At the end of his commentary to the Pentateuch, Nachmonides (1263) writes as follows: ‘The Lord has blessed me that I reached Akko, and I found there among some of the local old men silver coins with inscriptions (engravings). On one side like a blossoming almond rod, on the other side the likeness of a flask, and on both sides round it was a very clear inscription, and they showed the writing to the Kuthiin (the Samaritans), and they read it at once, for that is the Hebrew writing which has been preserved by the Samaritans as it is mentioned in treatise Sanhedrin. And they read (the legend) on the one side “Shekel of Shekelim” and on the other side “Jerusalem the Holy One”. And they say that the emblem on the one side denotes the blossoming rod of Aaron, and that on the other side the flask of Manna. We weighed it in the scales, and its weight was 10 silver, i.e. half an ounce, as Rashi mentions. And I have seen also similar coins of half weight, and they weigh half a shekel, which was the shekel of the sacrifices’ (thus far Nachmonides).

“But I (the writer—de Rossi) also, thank God, have seen one of these Shekelim, and I also have seen a coin in the hand of the widow of Isaac Hagiz, the Sephardi, who was one of the inhabitants of Ferara, but who had gone to Jerusalem and died there and was buried in the

Vale of Jehosaphat, about a mile from Zion. And this woman being overburdened with children, she returned to her eldest son, Rabbi Yomtob, who was managing his father's business in Ferara. Round that coin I found written in the above-mentioned letters Shekel of Israel. In the middle a flask and the letters שר above, which according to my opinion are the initial letters of 'Shekel of David', and on the other side 'Jerusalem the Holy One', and in the middle a rod with three blossoms, according to the accompanying two illustrations.

"I (de Rossi) believe that Nachmonides made a mistake when he wrote 'Shekel of Shekelim' instead of 'Shekel of Israel'.

"I (de Rossi) think we can read also ירושלים הקדושה or ירושלימה קדושה, i.e. by reading ה to the previous word for as it is found in Jer. Talmud, Megillah, ch. i, the Jerusalemians used to write ירשלימה ירושלים, which was also a Samaritan practice.

"We pass on to another quotation from the Responsa of Moses al Ashḳar (end of fifteenth century)—'Know that I have found a large number of coins of shekel and half-shekel, and on some of them is written year so and so of the comfort of Zion; year so and so of King so and so; and on one I have found the image of a palm (*lulab*) and citron (*etrog*) tied on to it, and a Jew who was an expert in that writing said to me that on one side was written in Greek letters and Greek arms, and on the other side was Hebrew writing; evidently, then, this coin must have been struck when the Jews were under the Greeks,' etc. The letters which Abraham de Balmas brings in the first chapter of his *Makneh Abraham* are clearly not the letters of the coins." Thus far the abstract from de Rossi.

We learn thus that Maimonides of the twelfth century was fully conversant with the Samaritan alphabet, and he knew that the Hebrew script mentioned was that of the Samaritans of his time. No doubt he must have met

some of the Samaritans in Egypt, as at his time a large colony flourished in Egypt, and Samaritan fragments have been found among the papers rescued from the Genizah in Cairo.

Still more interesting in de Rossi is the mention of Nachmonides, who after he had emigrated from Spain and finished his commentary in Jerusalem met Samaritans in Akko who were able to read to him fluently the ancient Hebrew script of the Jewish coins. Various people had been in close connexion with the Samaritans, as not only was the alphabet preserved in one of these notebooks, but we find there a reference to the Samaritan use of the word קלל for "curse".

If we turn now to the alphabet reproduced in facsimile from de Rossi we shall find that this alphabet agrees much more closely with the script used by the Samaritans than the one reproduced from the MS. of the thirteenth century. The former must have been taken from the writings current among the Samaritans. There are no ringlets, no twisted forms, and the Samaritan letters correspond entirely with the Hebrew printed above them. But we find here a good number of letters represented by two signs. A comparison with the Samaritan script will solve the difficulty. We have here, in fact, both the uncial form of the Samaritan corresponding with the square form of the Hebrew, and we have the cursive form of the letters called by the Samaritans half-letters. It is not here the place to discuss which of the two is the older one, but it is certainly an interesting fact to find that not later than the beginning of the sixteenth century the Samaritans used the cursive writings alongside with the other.

With the beginning of the seventeenth century the Samaritan alphabet became the property of the Western world.

XXII

THE DATE OF KANISKA

(A paper read at the opening of a discussion held in the Society's rooms on June 10 and 24.)

By F. W. THOMAS.

THE date of Kaniska is not a subject which I should have expected to be discussing in public. It is one of those long-standing problems in regard to which one at an early stage conceives an opinion or receives a bias, but which, either for lack of decisive evidence, or because the mind, after considering many conflicting views, is incapable of an act of faith, one leaves in the sphere of things unsettled. I myself should have been well content that the finishing stroke should be dealt by the spade, which even now is probing the ruins of Taxilā. Moreover, at the time when Mr. Kennedy first propounded to me his conclusions, I was fresh from the perusal of Professor Oldenberg's paper,¹ which seemed to have said the last word in the discussion. If we have now invited a debate, and one at closer range than a trimestrial journal allows, the responsibility rests with Mr. Kennedy's extensive articles, their confident tone, and the interest which they have evoked.

Under these circumstances, and more especially in view of the full statements in Mr. Kennedy's recent papers (JRAS. July, 1912-April, 1913), it would be a mistake to occupy time with preliminaries, certainly with any history of the question. But it may be convenient, as has been represented to me, to say something which may have the

¹ *Nachrichten v. d. kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, pp. 427-41, 1911.

effect of placing us all at the centre of the question. For this purpose I venture to draw your attention to a table printed in Professor Percy Gardner's British Museum catalogue of *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* (p. xxxiii). This table, with minor accessions and modifications, may be read as follows:—

About the middle of the third century B.C., when the Seleucid rulers were preoccupied in the West, two Eastern provinces were torn from their empire by revolted satraps. The one grew into the great power of Parthia, which ultimately absorbed nearly all the territory of the suzerain dynasty. The other, the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, founded by the satrap Diodotus, enjoyed for a time a considerable success. Under the third and fourth in the line, Demetrius and Eucratidas, it crossed the Paropamisus and occupied the territory of Kabul and Afghanistan, and even at that period the western Panjab; Demetrius founded in Arachosia the city of Demetrias, and in India Euthydemia or Sāgala. The dissensions of these two princes led to a double succession, the one holding Kabul, perhaps with Bactria, the other centred in the Panjab. The Greeks were at strife with all their neighbours, the Parthians in the west, the Sogdians in the north, the people of Herat, Drangiana, and Arachosia in the west and south. The Indian line culminated during the middle and second half of the second century B.C., in the reign of Menander, whose power was celebrated in the classical world, and whose memory is preserved in a Buddhist philosophical dialogue, entitled the *Questions of King Milinda*.

Either before or during the time of Menander, the first serious breach was made in the Greek dominions, Bactria being occupied by two successive inroads of barbarian invaders, Sakæ, or Scythians, and Tochari from beyond the Jaxartes and from Chinese Turkestan. Subsequently, about the end of the century, the Scythian tribes settled

in Sakastan, or Sistan, advanced to Arachosia and the Indus, and, overthrowing the Greek power, established east and west of the river a dynasty distinguished in coinage and nomenclature, having satrapies as far east as Mathurā on the Ganges. The Greeks of Kabul maintained their independence.

In Sistan the Śakas had been adjacent, and possibly subordinate, to the expanding power of Parthia; and it is therefore not surprising that in their Indian dominion they were succeeded by a dynasty bearing distinctly Parthian names. The Scythians were not, however, entirely displaced, and the two kindred races, often associated in Sanskrit books, were found by the author of the *Periplus*, whose information belongs to the first half of the first century A.D., intermingled in petty contentions in the country known as Indo-Scythia, stretching on both sides of the Indus.

The next incident seems to have been the reduction by the Parthians of the Greek kingdom of Kabul. But this was a prelude to much greater events. The Tochari occupying Bactria had combined in one powerful state the five provinces which had at first been constituted. The author of this concentration styles himself on his coins Kujūla Kadphises, the K(h)usana Yavuga, meaning probably the K(h)usana chief:¹ to the Chinese he is known as K'iu-tsiu-k'io. As enemy of the Parthians, he had at first taken under his protection the Greek kingdom of Kabul, with its last king Hermæus, and it was he who avenged its extinction. Crossing the Paropamisus, he made himself master of Kabul and all the country as far as the Indus; of Kashmir also, according to the Chinese statements.² He died about A.D. 40 at the age of 80.

¹ The title *jabgou* was in later times one of those held by the head of the Western Turks. The title *kujūla* was, perhaps, originally Śaka.

² O. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis d. Türkvölker u. Skythen Zentralasiens* (*Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1904), p. 66.

His son Wima Kadphises, the Yen-kao-chên of the Chinese, was the conqueror of India, and founder of the great Kushan empire, extending at least as far east as Mathurā. His successors, Kushanas of perhaps a slightly different family, were named Kaniška, Huviška, and Vāsudeva: we have no absolute certainty that they retained the dominions north of the Paropamisus. To Dr. Fleet and to Mr. R. D. Banerji and Professor Lüders we owe the proof that between Kaniška and Huviška came a king named Vāsiška, and contemporary with Huviška a (second) Kaniška. The provinces were ruled by satraps and great satraps, for example at Mathurā and Benares,¹ probably also elsewhere.

All these rulers, from the Greek Diodotus onwards, are known by their coins. For the Śakas of Northern India we have in addition, if we disregard the vague references of Indian books, only two inscriptions; for the Parthian group a single important inscription naming Gondophernes, as well as the references in the Legend of St. Thomas; for the Kadphises group, unnamed in Indian and Western literature, only the statements of Chinese authors. Kaniška and his followers are quite unknown to the Chinese, except through the medium of Indian Buddhist literature, in which Kaniška is celebrated as a sort of Constantine; India and Afghanistan have yielded numerous inscriptions dated in the reigns of Kaniška and his successors.

I will now exhibit a few selected portraits and other figures taken chiefly from coins (for most of them see the Plate)—

1. Greeks (Archebius and Menander).
2. Śakas and Western Śakas (Rañjubula, Nahapāna, Heraüs).

¹ The Kharapallāna of the Sārnāth inscription (ed. Vogel in *Epigraphia Indica*, viii, 173 sqq.) will perhaps be identical with the XAPOBAΛANO named on two seals (Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, iii, 58).



1. RANJUBULA.



3. HERAUS.



4. NAHAPANA.



5. CASTANA.



2. HYRCODES.



6. GONDOPHERNES.



9 HERMAEUS. & KADPHISES.



7. PHRAATES IV.



8. ORTHAGNES.



10 KADPHISES. (ALONE)



11. AUGUSTUS.



12. KADAPHES.



13. WIMA-KADPHISES.



14. KANISKA.



15. HUVISKA.



16. VASUDEVA.



17, 18. LATE KUSHAN.



19. SAMUDRAGUPTA.

Coins illustrating (1.) Ethnographical Types (Nos. 1-5 Sakas, Nos. 6-8 Parthians); (2.) Connection of coinage of Kadphises with that of the Greeks of Kabul (Nos. 9-10) & that of Rome (Nos. 11-12); (3.) Development of coin type from Wima-Kadphises to the Guptas (Nos 13-19)

3. Two figures of Pāñcika (early period of Græco-Buddhist art), exhibiting, as M. Foucher has shown in his recent London lectures, a Śaka type.
4. Parthians and Indo - Parthians (Phraates IV, Orthagnes, Gondophernes).
5. Kushans (Kadphises I, Wima Kadphises, Kaniska).
6. Kaniska from coin (with Buddha on reverse) and statue.

In examining the story which has been told, a story which I would not be understood to father in all its details upon Professor Gardner, I would begin by putting aside some interesting questions which do not seem material. How and when did the Śakas, an Iranian people of the outer fringe, come to settle in Sistan? Did they perchance reach India not by that route, but by another? My view upon this question exists in print,¹ and I am prepared to meet objections; but the questions are immaterial, since it is universally admitted that some of these Śakas were in India before the Kushans. Then, the Kushans themselves and their people the Tochari, of what race were they? It has been thought that they were Turks, and Mr. Kennedy has reaffirmed this view. The view is contrary to the opinion of Franke,² the best authority who has examined the matter from the Chinese point of view, and it is contrary to the recently accumulated evidence. But the question is of no importance: remembering Professor Parker's descriptions of the snowball-like character of barbarian invasions from Central Asia,³ remembering, for instance, that the family of Babur was perhaps of Turkish, not Mongol, descent, we can see that nationality is no decisive factor in the matter. On a previous occasion I myself hesitated to

¹ JRAS. 1906, pp. 181-216, 460-4.

² Op. cit., pp. 21 sqq., esp. pp. 44-5; see, however, *infra*, p. 639, n. 1.

³ *Asiatic Quarterly*, vol. xxx, pp. 109-10, 1910; cf. Franke, op. cit., p. 45.

provide an etymology for the name Kadphises, or Kadaphes, owing to the racial doubt: I should not hesitate now.¹

The evidence which seems to me of primary importance is that of the coins. The view of the numismatists in general is in agreement with that of Gardner. Numismatics is a science involving great skill, experience, and scholarship; its conclusions are not lightly to be contested from outside. Beyond this general observation I will say nothing more, so far as coin-types and coin-imitations are concerned: Professor Rapson, I understand, has come prepared to deal with this aspect of the question. Exact dates have not yet been deciphered upon the coins, except in one certain and one doubtful case.

Secondly, there is the evidence of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, a country specially connected with Kaniska, which has recently yielded us a statue of the king himself and also a relic casket upon which he is figured. Our foremost interpreter of this art, M. Foucher, has recently, in some brilliant lectures delivered before the University of London, shown that it is a middle period² that we find represented by the works associated with Kaniska. This argument might be regarded as a little blunted, if we conceived the commencement of the art as dating from Menander; still, one hundred years is not a long period, and I note that Father Dahlmann in his plausibly argued treatise upon the legend of St. Thomas contends (pp. 103 sqq.) that it was the Parthians under Gondophernes who were the prime patrons of the Gandhāra school.

¹ The first part of the name will be = Pahlavi *kad*, "chief," or *kad(vilas)*?; the second part is the *pises* or *pes* (= Skt. *peśa*, Zend *paesa*) of Spargapises, Sapadbizes, Porpes (cf. JRAS. 1906, p. 210, and for the aspiration, *ibid.*, p. 206); the same aspiration occurs in this king's *Khusanasya* and XOPANCY—Could the CY be a genitive suffix = *tse* of Unknown Language I? A genitive value has already been suggested by Professor Rapson for the ΣΥ of the coin of Hermæus (JRAS. 1897, p. 321).

² A decadent period is suggested by D. B. Spooner, *Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report*, 1908-9, p. 50.

Thirdly, there is a palæographical argument. In so far as it relates to the Greek I will return to the matter later. The two Indian alphabets, the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, supply important indications. The Kharoṣṭhī of the Kaniska group is of a cursive type, obviously later than that of the Śaka satraps of Taxilā and Mathurā: their Brāhmī is indistinguishable from that of the Western Satraps, who date in the so-called Śaka era, commencing in 78 A.D. For confirmation of these statements let me refer to the tables published with Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*—(1) Kharoṣṭhī (plate i); (2) Brāhmī (plate iii).

When we turn to the inscriptions, we find no lack of dates, and unfortunately they are of a distinctly awkward character. We find a king Moga, usually identified with the Śaka Maues (before 100 B.C.), with a date 78, furnished by a satrap in Taxilā; next a contemporary satrap in Mathurā with 72. Then there is the Parthian Gondophernes with his curious double figure $\frac{26}{103}$. The Kushans number Kaniska 3-11 (or 18), Vāsiṣka 24-8, Huviṣka 33-60, Vāsudeva 74-98. If the scheme of Gardner is to be saved, we must either posit two eras, one at least unknown, or else with Bühler, Mr. Vincent Smith, and others help ourselves out by the theory of omitted hundreds. Then there are cases where the hundreds are not omitted, a 103, a 113, a 120, a 122, a 200, a 318, a 384.¹ Or shall we boldly arrange all the numbers in order, and take the consequences? The last has been the choice of Dr. Fleet, who in a number of ingenious and interesting papers,² not at all lacking in the extremest degree of precision, has shrunk from none of the consequences—so far as he has considered them. I will now

¹ For a list see Mr. Kennedy's note, JRAS. 1912, p. 686 and reff.

² JRAS. 1903 (pp. 333-4), 1905 (pp. 223-36, 357-8), 1906 (pp. 706-11, 979-92), 1907 (pp. 169-72, 1013-40, 1041-9), 1908 (pp. 55-62, 177-86), 1910 (pp. 818-24, 1315-17), 1913 (pp. 95-107).

endeavour, however, to show that the consequences are not to be borne.

Dr. Fleet finds that the dates, as he arranges them, join naturally on to the first recorded years of an era famous in India, which begins in 58 B.C.: it is known as the Vikrama Samvat, and it has been confused with the name of Vikramāditya, a semi-mythical emperor. Originally, however, it was designated in connexion with the country of Malwa, not very remote from Mathurā, where most of the inscriptions have been found. Its earliest recorded year is 428, equivalent to A.D. 372. That its prior period was of more than local range is an assumption, not, however, an incredible one, since a parallel might be found in the Seleucid era, still surviving in parts of Asia.

If to this era we apply the date (103) of Gondophernes, the first result seems satisfactory. A.D. 45 fits well the legend of St. Thomas, of which the original Syriac text belongs probably to the third century. Coming to the great king Moga, we are somewhat less fortunate: he and his satraps, with dates 72 and 78, may lead on to Gondophernes; but we must separate him from Maues, c. 100 B.C., who will thus lose his inscriptions, while Moga will have left no coins.

But it is the Kushans who cause the most serious trouble. The last date of Vāsudeva being 98, which gives us about A.D. 40, we find him a contemporary of Kadphises I, who dies about that year at the age of 80. The Kaniska group, which founded its era ninety-eight years before, is therefore a separate line of Kushans; and it must have reached India by a different route. A different route is indeed required by the survival of the Greek kingdom of Kabul: nay, we know indeed that the line of Kaniska was in possession of that territory.¹ But let Kaniska have

¹ The Wardak inscription (naming Huviska and the year 51) comes from a tope found in a place Kohwāt, 30 miles west of Kabul (see Mr. Pargiter's edition in *Epigraphia Indica*, xi, pp. 202-19).

penetrated to India via Kashmir.¹ And here we must indeed cry out "enough!" The supposition of an invasion of India through Kashmir was too much for Cunningham,² and it is negatived by all recorded history.

This, however, is not all. That the dynasty of Gondophernes may have been ended by the invasion of Wima Kadphises we can easily see. But how reconcile the twenty-six years of the rule of this Great King³ with a contemporary sovereignty of Vāsudeva? What is the Great King Moga doing as overlord of Taxilā during the same reign?

One further point of a general nature. Even admitting the existence of the Vikrama era in Kaniška's time, there would be no necessity of referring his dates thereto.

The Śaka⁴ era of Western and Southern India, commencing A.D. 78, was introduced by Scytho-Parthian satraps, who presumably were adopting an institution of their suzerain; and we may remark that this circumstance would explain two rather surprising facts, namely, (1) that the era should subsequently have been known in Southern India by the name of the people, the Śakas, whose overthrow it commemorated, and (2) that it should have been retained after that overthrow, the reason being that it depended upon a third and greater power. To this circumstance may be due the common Indian confusion which has vitiated the chronology of the Jains. It is to this

¹ As proposed by Dr. Fleet, JRAS. 1903, pp. 333-4. The pilgrims' route (via the Swat Valley), with its "hanging bridges" (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i, pp. xxx and xciii), was unsuitable for, and has not to my knowledge been used by, an army.

² *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pp. 2-3. For a Chinese view of the impracticability of this route see M. Lévi's article in *Journal Asiatique*, ix, pp. 7-8 and ref.

³ The title Mahārāja was at this time a high one, not assumed even by Great Satraps or King Satraps.

⁴ On this era and its designations see the articles by Dr. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, x, pp. 208-15, JRAS. 1910, pp. 818-24, and by Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, xxvi, pp. 146-53.

epoch that the Kushan dates are, as Mr. Kennedy admits,¹ referred by the generality of scholars. We have therefore in this case two eras, the first really, the second nominally, Śaka, and we may apply to the one the dates of Moga and Gondophernes, while reserving the Kushan numbers for the other. It is hardly necessary to mention that in the view of Dr. Vogel² the Seleucid era, used by the Parthians, accounts for the high numbers, such as 318 and 384. I should, however, utter a caution against any too great reliance upon the double date of the Gondophernes inscription, which certainly does not mention, even if it implies, a "continuous" era. For the reading *sambaddhae*, which indeed would hardly mean "continuous", even were it correct, must certainly be replaced by *saṃbatsarāe*.³

Let me not be misunderstood. Gondophernes was certainly ruling in the year 103 of an era commencing in the first century B.C. But it does not follow immediately that that era commenced in 58 B.C.: the inscription, like most of the others, is a private one, and there is no improbability in the supposition of several local eras.⁴ But the Śaka years 72 and 78 certainly suggest a continuous reckoning, and in that case the question

¹ JRAS. 1912, p. 982, n. 1.

² *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report*, 1903-4, pp. 244-60.

³ The reading *samba(d)dhae*, originally proposed by M. Senart (*Journ. Asiat.*, sér. VIII, vol. xv, pp. 116-17) and retained by M. Boyer (*ibid.*, sér. x, vol. iii, p. 459), would mean rather "connected with". The proposed reading *saṃbatsarāe*, which seems quite certain in M. Senart's plate as compared with a rubbing kindly supplied by Professor Konow, agrees with that of the Âra inscription, edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji (*Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 58-9) and Professor Lüders (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1912, pp. 824 sqq.). The *b* in place of *v*, which was the cause of difficulty to M. Senart and some earlier scholars, is, therefore, to be accepted. In ll. 3-4 of the inscription we ought probably to read the same word *Mira(sa?) boyanasa*.

⁴ This caution is suggested by the fact that at the present day about twenty eras are employed in India. The Parthian era (beginning 249 B.C.) was not very widely separated from the Seleucid (312 B.C.).

of the identity of Maues and Moga is one for the numismatists to decide. Can Maues possibly be brought down so far? If so, it would still remain to be determined whether the era coincided with that commencing in 58 B.C. But in either case it must have been of Śaka institution. As regards the other inscriptions, including those of the Kaniška group, it always remains to be determined by independent evidence whether their dates are to be referred to the earlier epoch (whether 58 B.C. or otherwise), or to that commencing in 78 A.D., or to another; and as may be seen from Mr. R. D. Banerji's excellent article on "The Scythian Period of Indian History" (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 25-75), there are inscriptions other than those of the Kushans in regard to which opinions differ. But in the case of the above-mentioned three we have the means of certitude.

The Chinese evidence I propose to put aside: it is for the most part a matter of general agreement, and it has little bearing upon the exact question now occupying us. Certainly Dr. O. Franke (op. cit., pp. 79-100), who has given us the most complete account of it, comes to a conclusion as regards Kaniška, agreeing with that of Dr. Fleet. But Kaniška is unknown to Chinese history, and Dr. Franke's view, which is hardly in his brief and is put forward with not excessive confidence, is based simply upon a report of transmission of Buddhist books to China in 2 B.C., an occurrence which he ascribes to Kaniška's patronage of that religion (pp. 91-4).¹ The rest of the case, though for the most part it is due to Dr. Fleet, may be most definitely treated in connexion with the recent papers of Mr. Kennedy, to which I now turn.

¹ M. Lévi in his important articles (*Journal Asiatique*, ix, viii, pp. 444-84; ix, pp. 1-42; x, pp. 526-31) had previously discussed this and other points (esp. ix, pp. 14-26).

Mr. Kennedy has considered a large number of matters, and in particular he has adduced two pieces of what he calls direct evidence. But I will turn at once to his main contentions, which concern, firstly, the position of the Greek language in India, and, secondly, the history of the silk trade.

Regarding the former he writes as follows: "The legends on Kanishka's coins are Greek; Greek must therefore have been understood by those who used them.

... Now it can be shown on general grounds that the use of Greek as the language of daily life ceased in the regions east of the Euphrates (except in Northern Mesopotamia) in some places before, and everywhere soon after, the end of the first century A.D.; and there is neither evidence nor reason to suppose that it lingered after that time in an enclave of the Panjāb" (JRAS. 1912, p. 667); and again: "As his [sc. Kanishka's] coins and those of his successors bear only Greek legends, Greek must [on a certain hypothesis] have been spoken in the Panjāb throughout the second century of our era" (p. 683); and again: "Kanishka uses the Greek language and Greek characters on his coins, and he uses these alone ... Kanishka's use of Greek is therefore an essential factor in the Kanishka problem" (ibid., 1913, p. 122).

I cannot express the feelings with which I perused these and similar statements. What are the facts? We have four coins of Kanishka reading on the obverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΠΚΟΥ; on the reverse appears in one case ΚΑΛΗΝΗ, in another ΗΛΙΟC, in a third ΗΦΑΙCΤΟC. This is the total of his Greek, less than the Parthians retained in the third century A.D.,¹ and even these tags were discontinued by his successors.² On the other hand, Gardner alone exhibits over twenty coins with legends in a Scythian language, recently identified

¹ See Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, pp. 241 sqq.

² Huviška has ΗΡΑΥΙΛΟ = ΗΡΑΚΛΗC.

by Professor Konow with one of the unknown languages discovered in documents brought from Chinese Turkestan.¹ Accordingly, Mr. Kennedy's argument would prove that the language in question was the one current in Kaniška's dominion and inscribed upon his coins for the purposes of Western trade.

Again, the Greek phrase (with variations) was inherited by Kaniška from nearly all his predecessors, Greek, Scythian, and Parthian. But let us mark the difference. From Eucratidas, the conqueror of India, onwards all these kings repeat their Greek legends on the reverse of their coins, but in an Indian dialect and the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. Kaniška and his acknowledged successors have no Kharoṣṭhī or Indian dialect. Now which is more credible, that the first Kadphises restored the double alphabet and language after an interval of a century, or that it was first and finally abolished by Kaniška?

It might seem that on this point there is nothing further to be said: the whole case disappears. But it is doubtless a curious fact that Kaniška should have confined himself to the Greek alphabet, more especially as the Kharoṣṭhī was certainly the one solely current in that country, namely Gandhāra, of which he was most demonstrably ruler. Another curious fact, hitherto insufficiently emphasized, is that a hundred years of Greek rule in India have apparently left us not a single inscription in that language. Of neither fact can I offer a certain explanation: but with regard to the former it may be suggested that in Bactria north of the Paropamisus the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet was never in use²; indeed,

¹ If Professor Konow's theory is (contrary to expectation) not maintained, we shall perhaps be forced to regard NANO as a genitive suffix, perhaps akin to Turkish *nin*! In that case the Kaniška group will after all be Turkish: cf. M. Lévi's note in the *Journal Asiatique*, ix, ix, pp. 10-11.

² I incline to the view of Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 31-7) that the Kharoṣṭhī was originally a Gandhāra (and Arachosia)

TABLE OF ALPHABETIC INNOVATIONS IN INDO-BACTRIAN
(GREEK, ŚAKA, KUSHAN) COINS¹

Λ = A (B.C. 38 and commonly after A.D. 40).	Υ = K (A.D. 40).	С = Σ (B.C. 88).
□ = B (A.D. 40).	И = N (A.D. 8).	Γ = Σ (B.C. 57).
Є = E (A.D. 8).	□ = O (B.C. 57).	Ω = Ω (B.C. 57).
I = Z.	l = P (A.D. 51?).	Ш = Ω (A.D. 41).

GREEKS	ŚAKAS	PARTHIANS	KUSHANS
Strato II	Maues	Gondophernes	Soter Megas
С	—	ЄΩ; □Ш; also	ЄИЄΩШ
Zoilus	Azes	□ = O, Γ = P, Υ = Y, Φ and	Kadphises
ИΩ	□	Φ = Φ	И□ЄЄΦ; also
Nicias	Azilises	Abdagases	OO = w.
□ЄШ	—	Є□ЄЄШ	Wima Kadphises
Hippostratus	Vonones	Orthagnes	ЄЄΩ; also H = H, OO = w, P = Y.
□	—	ЄЄΩ	Kaniska
Hermæus	Spalirises	Pacores	ΛЄЄΩ; also OO = w, P = sh, H = H.
□	Є□ИЄΩ; also P (and l) = sh	ЄЄΩ	Huviska
	Heraüs	Arsaces Dikaios	ЄН(=K)ЄΩ; also
	Υ□ИЄ	ЄЄΩ	H = H, OO = w, P = sh, P = Y.
	Hyrcores	Arsaces Theos	
	Ω; also l = P	ЄЄΩ	Vāsudeva
	—	Sanabares	H = H, P = sh.
	SATRAPS	ЄЄ; also Γ = B	
	Rañjubula	—	
	ЄИЄΩ	SATRAPS	
	Kharaosta	Zeionises	
	ЄΩ; also H = h	ЄИЄΩ	
		Nahapāna	
		ИИЄΩ; also H = h	
		Caṣṭana	
		ИЄΩ	

¹ In many, or most cases, the normal forms also are found on coins of the kings who employ the innovations. The dates are the initial dates of the Parthian kings first employing the signs in question. Apology is due for the imperfections of the table, partly due to uncertainty or divergencies in the readings of the numismatists, who often find a difficulty in distinguishing, for instance, Ω, ω, and Ш. Concerning P see p. 642 and n. 3. For Υ and H (and also for some of the other forms) see the tables of alphabets in Sir E. M. Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912).

even (later) in Chinese Turkestan it has practically¹ not been found in connexion with any non-Indian language. It was no doubt in Bactria that the Scythian tongue of Kaniška was first committed to writing, and therefore in Greek characters;² and this is why the Scythian coin-legends of Kaniška employ the alphabet to which the language had first been wedded.

We are now drawn on to consider the palæographical question. As we have often been told, and last by Mr. Kennedy (JRAS. 1912, pp. 982-3), the Greek alphabet of Kaniška is characterized by certain cursive forms. Not to dwell too long upon the matter, I have compiled a table which will show that the use of these forms, upon the evidence of dated Seleucid and Parthian coins, has a range too wide for exact chronological inference, but that its growth is not in favour of Dr. Fleet's but of Professor Gardner's arrangement of the dynasties. Within that period the use of alternative forms and with it the correctness or incorrectness of the Greek was, as Professor Rapson has pointedly shown (JRAS. 1905, pp. 811-12; cf. 1903, pp. 285-6), conditioned by local, not temporal factors. The satraps of Western India, whom we suppose contemporary with the Kaniška group, share two peculiarities of their employment of the Greek alphabet, (1) its adaptation to a non-Greek language, and (2) occasional retrograde direction.

There are, however, two signs which demand a special consideration. Mr. Kennedy observes in a note that "Dr. Fleet's detection of the presence of the letter *h* on

alphabet, in which case its name may be derived from Arachosia (Zend *Hara(h)wātī*, *Haraxwātī*). But see the articles of Professor Sylvain Lévi (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, ii, pp. 246-53; iv, pp. 543-79), with whom we should certainly agree that the Sanskrit *kharoṣṭrī* involves a "popular etymology".

¹ The Stein documents seem to contain some phrases, etc., in a Central Asian language written in this alphabet.

² The Greeks having been in Bactria at least 165 years (330-165) before the first barbarian irruption.

Indian coins, first shown in the case of the money of Kharahosta, Kharahōstēs (ibid., pp. 1029, 1041), must be ranked, along with Dr. Stein's brilliant recognition of the letter *san* on the coins of Kaniska, among the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of those times" (p. 987, n. 2).

Dr. Fleet's discovery might, I confess, deceive the very elect;¹ its import is to demonstrate the priority of the Kaniska group, which does not employ it, in relation to the Scytho-Parthian satraps Kharahosta and Nahapāna, who do. Looking at the history of other signs in the table, we can see that non-employment (and in particular, upon Mr. Kennedy's hypothesis, the non-employment of *h* and *p* by Kadphises I) is no clear evidence for dating. But I fear that the two discoveries must indeed rank together. Sir M. A. Stein's article was, when it appeared, a notable one, and it still retains its value; but this value lay neither in the recognition of the *sh*-value of the *rhō*-like sign *p*—this was remarked by Cunningham and Burgess years before²—nor in its derivation from the Doric *san*. Dr. Fleet has already (JRAS. 1908, p. 186) entertained a doubt whether the Kharoṣṭhī *ṣ* would not supply a more probable origin, and the Aramaic *tsade* has strong claims on grounds of pronunciation and shape;³ Professor Rapson has also a probable theory which I hope that he will now develop.⁴ But a derivation from a Greek sign, which shows no similarity in form, which never had the value *sh*, and which after the fifth century B.C. survived only, except until the second

¹ Of course, I do not dispute the importance of the determination of the *h*-value of the sign.

² See the *Ind. Ant.* 1884, p. 58 (Burgess), and as regards Cunningham his *Coins of the Indo-Scyths*, i, p. 5 and reff.

³ The *tsade* of the Nabathean Aramaic is *exactly* like the Kushan sign (see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i, pl. i).

⁴ The theory is that adumbrated by Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, iii, p. 16.

THE IRANIAN ALPHABETS.

	ARAMEAN.		PEHLEVI.						INDO- BACTRIAN.	ARMENIAN (Reversed.)	GEORGIAN. (Reversed.)	
			ARSACIDAN.		SASSANIAN.		PARSI.					
	SATRA- PIES & EGYPT.	PAL- MYRA.	Coins & Gems.	Haji- abad B.	Haji- abad A.	Coins.	MS.	KAPUR- DI-GIRI.	Oldest MSS.	Oldest MSS.		
	Sec. iv. & iii. B.C.	Sec. ii. A.D.	Sec. i. & ii. A.D.	Sec. iii A.D.	Sec. iii. A.D.	Sec. iv. to vi. A.D.	Modern	Sec. iii. B.C.	Sec. ix. A.D.	Sec. xi. A.D.		
𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	𐎠	1
𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	𐎡	2
𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	𐎢	3
𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	4
𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	5
𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	𐎥	6
𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	𐎦	7
𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	8
𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	𐎨	9
𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	10
𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	𐎪	11
𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	𐎫	12
𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	13
𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	𐎭	14
𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	𐎮	15
𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	𐎯	16
𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	𐎰	17
𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	18
𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	19
𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	20
𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	21
𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	22
I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.			

"From Isaac Taylor's History of the Alphabet Vol. 2, by kind permission of Mr. Edward Arnold."

NOTE. The forms of *tsade* & *koph* referred to on p. 642 will be found most exactly reproduced in the works there cited, in notes 2 & 5.

century B.C., in two localities,¹ as a Greek numeral figure, is really inconceivable. As regards the form for *h*, let me show it in an alphabet² which flourished contemporaneously, and still earlier, in Syria and the whole Parthian world, which was a sister of the Kharoṣṭhī, and which was later the parent or kin of many alphabets in the Semitic world and in Central Asia. The Kharoṣṭhī has felt the continuous influence of the same alphabet, as we may see from the form of its later (Kushan) *k*.

Coming to the question of the silk trade, I readily admit that Mr. Kennedy has put together a deal of interesting matter, in discussing which I should quickly find myself out of my depth. The importance of the trade at a later date has been elucidated by M. Chavannes in his fundamental treatise concerning the Eastern Turks (p. 233); and Father Dahlmann also in his essay on the Legend of St. Thomas, published early in 1912,³ has dwelt upon the matter (pp. 71 sqq.). What I miss in Mr. Kennedy's argument is a note of date. The first century B.C., and probably the latter half of that century, seems by general consent to be the period when the trade first acquired importance for the Roman world; but the silk reached India itself at an earlier time, if we may trust a reference in the *Arthaśāstra*,⁴ and no doubt it reached Parthia also. Mr. Kennedy states that the trade followed two routes, both ending in Syria, the one directly through the Parthian empire, the other through Kashmir and Indo-Scythia. It was, therefore, not in the commerce itself that we must seek the explanation, if an extra-Indian

¹ See Roberts, Introduction to *Greek Epigraphy*, p. 10, n. 1, and Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, No. 480 n.

² Pahlavi; see Euting's *Drei Tafeln des Pehlevi- u. Zend-Alphabets* (Strassburg, 1878) and Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. Thomas), vol. ii, pls. xi-xi^b.

³ Mr. Kennedy had made his theory known to me before this publication.

⁴ Ed. Shama Sastri (Mysore, 1909), p. 81, ll. 3-4.

explanation is needed, of the gold coinage of the Kushans, since in Parthia also a similar effect would have been manifested. It was the unencumbered sea trade to Broach that brought the Roman gold, a trade which did not flourish until the first century A.D., when Pliny deploras the drain of specie which it caused. Nor is there any reason for laying a special emphasis upon the silk, since the author of the *Periplus* (§ 49) takes no particular notice of this article, which he merely cites in a list including many others, such as cotton, pepper, spikenard, ivory, onyx-stones, and porcelain. I conclude, therefore, that the argument from the trade in connexion with the gold coinage of the Kushans is not in favour of a date in the first century B.C., but against such a date. As regards the types and weights of the coins, I shall leave it to Professor Rapson to show whether the views of Cunningham and Gardner have been any whit invalidated by Mr. Kennedy.¹ But it is open to anyone to remark that we have gold coins of Wima Kadphises, the conqueror of India, but not of his predecessor Kadphises I. We can easily see how the gold coinage of the Kushans commences with the former and leads on to that of the Guptas; but if the first Kadphises is to be placed after the Kaniska group and before his namesake, why are his issues confined to copper?

This leads me to the mention of Mr. Kennedy's singular treatment of the Ahin Posh find of coins (JRAS. 1913, pp. 371-8). In this *stūpa*, excavated in 1879, were found twenty gold coins, ten of Wima Kadphises, six of Kaniska, one of Huviska, one of Domitian, one of Trajan, and one of Sabina. This last coin fixes the date of the deposit as not earlier than 117 A.D. Now, if Huviska's dates are reckoned in the era which commences A.D. 78, the deposit will have taken place, as is natural, during his reign, and there is a sufficient

¹ The weight of the coins, even if determined by an arithmetical ratio, may have been *approximately* based upon that of the Roman *aureus*.

cause for there being no coin of his successor Vāsudeva. But, if we prefer the era commencing B.C. 58, then not only is there no reason for the non-representation of Vāsudeva, but between the date of the last king represented, i.e. on Mr. Kennedy's hypothesis Wima Kadphises, a date which could hardly be later than A.D. 78, and the earliest date for the deposit, there intervenes a period of at least forty years wholly blank of Indian coins. These circumstances, upon which stress is justly laid by the upholders of the common view, and in particular by Professor Oldenberg, whose paper Mr. Kennedy has now perused, are disguised by him in a haze of inconclusive matter concerning the weights of the coins and the date of the *stūpa*, the postponement of which can only make matters more unpromising for his view. There are also numerous other finds of coins, of which Mr. Allan has kindly furnished me with the subjoined list,¹ where coins of Kaniska are found in company with

¹ Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Report, xiv, 116, cf. 136. Coins of Zoilus, Gondophares, Kaniska, and Huviska are numerous at Pathankot.

— xx, 37. Wima Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska, and Vāsudeva are found at Mathurā.

— xxii, 108. Immense numbers of coins of Kadphises, Huviska, and Kaniska found annually in Khaira Dih.

— xiv, 48. "Pot full of large copper coins found at Ransi a few years ago" (i.e. before 1878); seem to have been about 500 Wima Kadphises and Kaniska.

— xii, 206. Large Æ of Wima Kadphises and Kaniska are found around Bua Dih.

— xii, 43. Find of about twenty copper coins, Wima Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska, Vāsudeva, in Indore.

— xi, 97. Gold coins of Kaniska and Huviska found with gold of Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina (Ahin Posh hoard).

— xi, 25. Coins of Wima Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska, Vāsudeva, also later ones, numerous around Sankisa.

— v, 176. Two of Wima Kadphises, one of Kaniska, and one of Vāsudeva at Kanhiara.

— ii, 162. Mānikyāla tope No. 2, 8 Æ of Kujāla, Wima Kadphises, and Kaniska, 4 A Kaniska, 7 A Roman denarii (latest of M. Antony, 43 B.C.).

Proc. A.S.B. 1895, p. 82. Find of 382 copper of Kadphises II, with forty copper Kaniska, on the Kalka-Kasauli Road in Patiala.

JASB. 1881, p. 184. Find of c. 1,000 coins of Kadphises, Kaniska, Huviska, and Vāsudeva at Peshawar.

those of Wima Kadphises; and in at least three cases the large collections represent neither Huviṣka, nor Vāsudeva, nor Kadphises I, all of whom Mr. Kennedy supposes to have intervened. The reliability of inferences from such collocations is demonstrated in cases untouched by any doubt.

Of the diversity of divinities named on the coins too much has been made. Kaniṣka, like Akbar, whose prototype in more than one respect he is, patronized a number of the religions flourishing within and without his empire. But that the non-Indian gods figured on the coins are nearly all Zoroastrian, Sir M. A. Stein has shown. And for the most part they are included in a sentence of Strabo, who writes of the Persians (*Geogr.* xv, 13): *θύουσι δ' ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ, τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡγούμενοι Δία τιμῶσι δὲ καὶ Ἥλιον, ὃν καλοῦσι Μίθρην, καὶ Σελήνην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδωρ.*

Over Mr. Kennedy's reference to the poet *Aśvaghoṣa* (*JRAS.* 1913, p. 371), whose old age¹ was contemporary, as is well known, with the youth of a Kaniṣka, I need hardly waste a word. If Professor Lüders, the discoverer and editor of the recently published fragments of *Aśvaghoṣa's* dramas, had found in the MS., as we know he did not,² anything inconsistent with a date for the poet in the first or second century A.D., would he be now one of those who have most sharply contested Mr. Kennedy's theory? Nor does Mr. Kennedy refer to the fact that the Chinese *Life of Vasubandhu*, translated by Professor Takakusu,³ places *Aśvaghoṣa* in the 500's after Buddha in a passage where the number seems to imply after 20 A.D. I do not, indeed, envy any scholar who, believing *Aśvaghoṣa* a contemporary

¹ See *Maharājakanikālekha*, vv. 1, 6, 75, 80 (*Ind. Ant.* 1903, pp. 345 sqq.).

² *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Königlich Turfan-Expedition: kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft i), p. 11.

³ See his articles, *T'oung Pao*, 1904 (pp. 10 and 12), and *JRAS.* 1905, pp. 52-3.

of the great Kanīṣka, places the latter's accession in 58 B.C.; ! for the poet's literary life will then belong to the latter half of the second and the first half of the first century B.C.

But we must not forget that Mr. Kennedy considers that he has direct evidence for placing Kanīṣka in the first century B.C. First, he observes (JRAS. 1912, p. 683) that "a passage of a Buddhist work, the *Samyuktāgama*, quoted in a Chinese compilation of the fifth-sixth century A.D., mentions four nations as reigning simultaneously: the Yavanas in the north (i.e. in Kābul), the Śakas in the south (Indo-Scythia), the Pahlavas in the west (Asia and Arachosia), and the Tushāras in the east". There must therefore have been a Tushāra or Kushan kingdom in the Panjāb and at Mathurā when Greek princes reigned in Kābul. Mr. Kennedy would further (ibid., pp. 685-6) * identify either with Kanīṣka or with a supposed viceroy of his a certain Yin-mo-fu, mentioned as ruling Kashmir in the first century B.C. Concerning Yin-mo-fu I will simply read the Chinese statement—

"The relations of China with Ki-pin began at the period Wuti (140-85 B.C.). Inasmuch as it was remote and far distant, the Chinese troops could not reach the country. The prince of the land Wu-t'ou-lao had several times misused and killed Chinese envoys. When Wu-t'ou-lao died, his son succeeded to the throne. He sent envoys to bring tribute. The official in the frontier district, Wên Chung, accompanied these envoys. The prince, however, purposed once more to do violence to Wên Chung. Wên Chung became aware of it, and entered into relations with the son of the prince of Jung-k'ü, by name Yin-mo-fu. Both attacked Ki-pin on a concerted plan and killed its princes, whereupon Yin-mo-fu was appointed prince of Ki-pin" (Franke, op. cit., p. 63).

Now we have no further information concerning Yin-mo-fu or his original kingdom of Jung-k'ü, which Franke conjectures to be in Tibet. But that down to

24 B.C. Ki-pin did not belong to the Tochari we learn from another passage of Franke's work (p. 69), where, after quoting Pan-ku, he remarks that "here accordingly Yuē-chi, An-si, and Ki-pin are mentioned side by side, so that the inclusion of the last named in the kingdom of the Yuē-chi cannot yet have taken place". As to the monkish author, of unknown date, with his schematistic division into north, south, east, and west, a division recurring in Hiuen-Tsang and other writers, I do not suppose that anyone acquainted with such literature will allow it the slightest weight.

What I find disconcerting is Mr. Kennedy's bracketed interpretations, according to which the north means Kabul, the south Indo-Scythia, the west the Parthians, and the east India. Perhaps he will explain why he departs from the customary Chinese notion, according to which the south is India, where he would place Kaniška, and the east, where the passage places the Yuē-chi, is Eastern Turkestan and China.¹ And perhaps he will also show why Aśvaghōṣa addresses Kaniška as ruler of the north.²

The other piece of direct evidence is a statement of Pan-ku, who died in A.D. 92, that Ki-pin had a gold and silver currency, which circulated not only in Ki-pin, but in Wu-i-shan-li (Arachosia). Unfortunately the description of the coins, as Mr. Kennedy in a note admits (JRAS. 1912, p. 685), shows that they belonged not to the Kushan, but to the Śaka group of kings. And as regards the gold ones, the fact that none of them have ever been found, has led numismatists to the view that they never existed.

Finally, one word concerning Mr. Kennedy's theory as to the epoch of his era commencing 58 B.C., which he supposes to date from a Buddhist Council famed to have taken place under Kaniška. There is, however, an

¹ See Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp. 13 sqq., and cf. M. Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, ix, ix, 24 n.

² *Mahārajakanikālekhā*, v. 47 (*Ind. Ant.* 1903, p. 356).

inscription which reads "in the ninth regnal year (*rājya-samvatsare*) of the Great King Kaniška" (JRAS. 1909, pp. 465-6), and for this or other reasons Dr. Fleet will have the reign, or its legitimation, commence with the Council (JRAS. 1913, p. 95). This hypothesis is certainly a friend in need to Mr. Kennedy's theory. But then the Buddhists, who so highly celebrate the Great King and his Council, have entirely omitted to mention that the two together founded an era, and, what is more, they altogether forbore the use of it. Āśvaghoṣa, the contemporary and correspondent, has no reference to it. Also, when they state, as they sometimes erroneously do, that Kaniška's council was held 400 years after Buddha's decease,¹ they add² that it was 300 years after Aśoka, which places him in the first century A.D.; the 400 years are due to the error whereby Aśoka was made posterior to Buddha by only a century.

These are some of the reasons³ which lead me to dissent from the view of Mr. Kennedy, so fully developed in our Journal. But I do not think he has written in vain. We have had a full discussion of a matter long ventilated in partial studies. Moreover, he has laid the due stress upon the fact that Kadphises I ended his career about A.D. 40. When we reflect upon the conquest of India by

¹ Hiuen Tshang *apud* Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp. 99, 151. Elsewhere Hiuen Tshang himself gives 500 (see Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, i, p. 224). Sung-yun says 300 years (Beal, *op. cit.*, p. ciii). The *Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka* (*apud* Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. ix, vol. viii, p. 463) says 700.

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ In the immediate future, and especially in connexion with Taxilā, the argument from archaeological stratification is likely to be very important. At present we have the two definite points where the Kaniška group is certainly the later, namely, (1) Kabul, where Kadphises I is contemporary with the last Greek ruler and therefore prior to the rule of Huviška (v. *supra*, p. 635), and (2) Mathurā, where the Śakas employ a Kharoṣṭhī earlier than that of the Kushan inscriptions. And these two points are not far from the extreme west and east, respectively, of the empire of Kaniška.

Kadphises' successor, that successor's numerous types and vast issues of coinage, and his therefore presumably long reign, we can see that, if the Kaniška group, which followed and instituted an era, failed to hit upon the year A.D. 78, they must have missed it by a miracle. Professor Rapson will show how their coins at their posterior end join on to those of the Sassanians. It would therefore be literally true, as Albīrūnī states, that the Śaka era commemorates the overthrow of the Śakas (Professor Sachau's trans., ii, p. 6). Kaniška in relation to Kadphises and Wima Kadphises may be compared to Akbar as successor of Babur and Humāyūn; and the position of the Śakas under these kings may find an analogue in that of the Afghan chieftains under the Mughals.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ASOKA'S FOURTH ROCK-EDICT AND HIS MINOR ROCK-EDICTS

In this Journal for 1911, p. 785 ff., I tried to rehabilitate Professor Kern's explanation of that passage of the fourth rock-edict which refers to *vimāna-darsanā*, etc. But Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's remarks in the January part of the *Indian Antiquary* (xlii, 25 ff., 1913) have convinced me that I was on the wrong track, and I now consider my article as the *pūrvapaksha* and his as the *siddhānta*. The passage in question will have to be translated thus:—

“But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.”

As remarked by Mr. Bhandarkar (p. 25)—and before him in other words by Professor Kern—“the sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.” Among the representations which Aśoka used as a means of propaganda, the *vimānas* are a sort of mythical Zeppelins steered by gods. The elephants (*hathīni* at Dhauli) Mr. Bhandarkar explains as

representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lōkapālas. In the "masses of fire" Mr. Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadirāṅgārājātaka*. But according to Childers, Pali Dictionary, p. 18, *aggikkhandha* is "used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction". To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapada* may be added *Mahāvagga*, i, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, Indra, and Brahmā, are stated to resemble "great masses of fire" (*mahantā aggikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression "masses of fire" (*agikkhandhāni*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of "radiant beings of another world".

If the above explanation of the crucial sentence of the fourth edict is adopted, fresh light is thrown on a much-discussed and equally ambiguous passage of the Rūpnāth and connected edicts, where Asōka declares that, as a result of his zeal, "those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvīpa, have now been made (by me) mingled (with them)." In this Journal for 1912, p. 1059, I proposed to connect this statement with those numerous passages of the rock and pillar edicts in which Asōka declares that his chief aim was to secure the "attainment of heaven" by his subjects through the practice of morality, and Mr. Bhandarkar independently expressed the same idea in the *Ind. Ant.*, xli, 170 f., 1912. On the other hand, my friend Professor Venis has justly remarked in a letter of December 8, 1912: "If plain folk are to understand their Devānāmpīya when he says that a new condition of things had been so rapidly brought about in Jambudīpa by his religious zeal, they must be shown some outward physical fact or sign which they could at once accept as the

intelligible or usual attendant of religious zeal." This postulate is complied with if we assume that the "gods" (*devā*) of the Rūpnāth edict are identical with the *divyāni rūpāni*, etc., of the fourth rock-edict, and that in both cases Aśoka wished to remind his subjects of certain religious shows at which he had exhibited to them *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *dhamma*.

E. HULTZSCH.

NEW READINGS IN ASOKA'S ROCK-EDICTS

The patient and successful decipherment of the two Kharōṣṭhī versions of Aśoka's edicts by Senart and Bühler is one of the most brilliant achievements of European scholarship, and to those who handle the same records after these pioneers nothing is left to do but to correct insignificant details. Of such I subjoin a few which deserve attention because they contribute to our knowledge either of the language or of the purport of the Aśoka inscriptions.

I

In the fourth rock-edict and three others, Bühler found the form *dipista*, on which he remarked in ZDMG. xliii, 143: "*Dipista* has nothing to do with *dipitam*, but is the regular 3rd pers. sing. of the Ātm. aorist of *dip* and would correspond to a Sanskrit **adipishṭa* and Pāli **dipittha*. The Ātm. of the aorist is here used as passive as often in the Prākṛits." And in the fourth and fourteenth rock-edicts he read *dipapita*, which he considered as a part. perf. pass. of the causative of the same root *dip*.

But *dipapita* is nothing but a misreading in both places, and in the supposed *dipista* the first syllable is in reality not *di* but *ni*. The following table shows

the readings of the Shāhbāzgarhi rock along with the corresponding words at Kālsi :—

ROCK-EDICT.	KĀLSI.	SHĀHBĀZGARHI.	
		(1) Bühler.	(2) Hultsch.
IV	likhite	dipista	nipistam
"	lekhita	dipa[pi]tam	nipesitam
V	"	dipista	nipista
VI	"	"	"
XIII	likhita	"	"
XIV	likhāpita	dipapito	nipesapita

The derivation of *nipista* offers no difficulties. It corresponds to the Sanskrit *nishpishta*, "ground," and *nipesita* and *nipesapita* are participles of the causative of the same verb.

II

In the ninth rock-edict, line 26 of the Kālsi version begins in Bühler's transcript (*Ep. Ind.* ii, 458) as follows:—

iyam sādhu iyam kaṭaviye [ma]gale āva-tasā athasā nivutiyã [.] Imam ka[tha]m-iti [?]

The two Kharōshthī versions insert three words more. Shāhbāzgarhi reads according to Bühler :—

imam sadhu imam kaṭavo [mam]galaṃ yava tasa athasa nivutiya [.] Nivutaṣpi va pana imam ke[sha] [?]

At Mansehra Bühler read :—

iyam sadhu iy[am] kaṭaviye magale ava tasa athrasa nivu[t]iya [.] Nivutaṣi va puna ima k[e]sh[a]miti [?]

Bühler translated Shāhbāzgarhi as follows :—

"This is meritorious; this auspicious rite must be practised until the *desired* aim is attained." To the success of which *auspicious rites* does this refer?

But the last word at Kālsi is plainly not *kathamiti*, but *kachhāmi ti*, and at Shāhbāzgarhi *kasham*, while Mansehra reads [ka]shami ti, and we have here three different forms of the 1st person singular of the future of the root *kṛi*.¹ Accordingly we must translate:—

¹ Another interesting form of the future tense is *vṛakshamti* in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict v, line 11, where Bühler read [a]chhamti. M. Boyer has shown that the Kharōshthī alphabet uses a special form of *chh* (which I transcribe by *ksh*) in all those cases where it corresponds to

"This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained. After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again."

III

In the Kālsi text of the thirteenth rock-edict two misreadings remain which can be corrected with the help of the Kharōṣṭhī versions. At the beginning of line 37 Senart and Bühler read *savatā*, and in the corresponding place of the Shāhbāzgarhi text Bühler read *tatra h[i]*. But the actual reading is *ye tatra*, and the relative pronoun *ye* corresponds to *tesham* near the end of line 37 at Kālsi, which can now be translated as follows:—

"(To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised . . . —to these then happen injury or slaying or departure of (their) beloved ones."

At the end of the next line (38) of Kālsi Bühler read *yenesha*. But Mansehra supplies the true reading, *Yoneshu*, with which the sentence gives the following satisfactory sense:—

"There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the Yonas."

E. HULTZSCH.

THE LAST WORDS OF ASOKA

I state here concisely, without the interruptions caused by giving references, arguments, and illustrations, my case as regards the record, found at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Brahmagiri, and other places, which I have styled "The Last Words of Aśoka": for details see my paper "The 256 Nights of Aśoka" in this Journal, 1911, p. 1091 ff.:

1. From the ninth year after his anointment to the sovereignty, Aśoka was a pious man, devoted to the a Sanskrit *kṣh*; see *Journal Asiatique* (10), xvii, 422 ff. The present *vrachati* (= *vachchaḥ*, Hēmachandra, iv, 225) occurs in edicts vi, 16, and xiii, 10.

practice, inculcation, and maintenance of morality and religion: and eventually, whether he did or did not actually become a Buddhist, he became specially well disposed to the teachings of Buddha, and specially interested in the affairs of the Buddhist Saṃgha.

2. This record of Aśoka was issued, not by Aśoka himself, but by certain officials, the Ayaputa and the Mahāmātas; and it was sent out, not from the capital city Pāṭaliputra, but from Suvāṇṇagiri: this is plainly one of the hills, still known as Suvāṇṇagiri, Sōṇagiri, surrounding the ancient city Girivraja, just below Rājagṛiha, Rājgir, in almost the very heart of Aśoka's dominions, and in a locality which was full of Buddhist associations.

3. The record relates to morality and religion: and a clause at the end of it makes a mention of "nights", and presents derivatives from a root *vi-vas* in connection therewith.

4. The number of the nights is specified in the record as 256; which gives a period of four or five days more than eight and a half of the lunar months which were the calendar months of the time.

5. There is nothing in the calendar to account for such a period as that: also, climatic and other considerations make it practically impossible that any ancient Indian king could make a state tour of such a duration, whether for the inculcation of morality and religion or for any other purpose; and it is equally impossible that any ancient Indian king could lead the life of a monk for so long a time, and either retain or regain his sovereignty.

6. But we know that Aśoka was anointed as king when 218 years had elapsed, i.e. at some time in the year 219 current, after the death of Buddha, and that he then reigned for 37 years: this carries us on to some point in the year $219 + 37 = 256$ current; and giving a year the figures of which are the same with those of the nights

which are mentioned in the record, it shows the direction in which the explanation of the nights is to be found.

7. Pious Buddhists of early times, and doubtless pious members of other sects also, were in the habit of passing their nights in worship: witness, in particular, the line in a verse which I have quoted from the Suttanipāta:—*Namassamānō vivasēmi rattim*; “worshipping I spend the night;” in which we have a derivative from a root *vi-vas* in construction with the word for ‘night’, just as we have such derivatives in the clause mentioning the nights in the record of Aśoka.

8. It is well established that in ancient India kings were in the habit of ending their public careers by abdicating, installing their successors, and withdrawing to spend their remaining days in the practice of religion.

9. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk: and the Aśokāvadāna chapter of the Divyāvadāna relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist Saṃgha; and it thus seems to present some reminiscence of abdication by him.

10. The topic of the record is zeal or energy in the practice of morality and religion: and the record expands the dying speech of Buddha, whose last words were:—“Work out your salvation by diligence!”

11. Taken with the other points, the agreement in the numbers—256 nights and 256 years—indicates a conclusion which seems irresistible: namely, that, after reigning for thirty-seven years, Aśoka, in the course of the 256th year after the death of Buddha, abdicated and passed into religious retirement on the hill Suvarṇagiri; that the address published in the record was delivered by him on the 256th night after that event; that it was delivered on that particular occasion because he then fulfilled in worship at night in his retirement a number

of nights equal to the number of years which in the meantime had been completed since the death of Buddha; and that it contains his last pronouncement, if not actually his dying words.

J. F. FLEET.

TWO COINS OF SOTER MEGAS, THE NAMELESS KING


Soter Megas was an anonymous ruler who reigned in North-West India in the times of the Kushan suzerains Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises. He is known to us from his coins, on which he is merely called "the King of Kings, the Great Saviour". The coins are in copper only, and are found in great abundance in the Panjab and North-West India. Our knowledge of Soter Megas is summarized on p. 16 of Mr. E. J. Rapson's *Indian Coins*.

The known types of the issues of Soter Megas may be indicated briefly as follows:—

1. The rare bilingual type, British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India, pl. xxiv, 1, found in two sizes. The Greek legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, and is translated literally into the Kharoṣṭhī as *Maharajasa rajati-rajasa mahatasa tratarasa*.
2. The very rare type, B.M. Cat., pl. xxiv, 6, with Greek legend only as on 1; found in a large size.
3. The extremely common type, B.M. Cat., pl. xxiv, 2, with Greek legend as on 1; found in two sizes.
4. The type called by Cunningham the Mathurā type, B.M. Cat., pl. xxiv, 5, in one size only; barbarous Greek legend as on 1.
5. The small copper type without inscriptions, Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, pl. ix, 8; several good specimens now in the British Museum.
6. A single unique specimen in copper without legends but bearing the symbol of Wema Kadphises, together

with a symbol which is probably that of Soter Megas, Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushāns*, pl. xv, 14. This coin is now in the British Museum. It is in poor condition, and all that can be said with certainty about the symbol attributed to Soter Megas is that it has three prongs instead of four as on the symbol of Wema Kadphises.

What Cunningham called a monogram on type 4 is probably part of the thunderbolt. The Kharoṣṭhī monogram *Vi* is found on types 1, 2, and 5. Otherwise the coins are without monogram.

It is generally supposed that anything in the way of a name is absent from the coinage of Soter Megas, and naturally the identity of this ruler has been the object of considerable speculation. It is possible that there was no single ruler called Soter Megas, but that chieftains or viceroys subordinate to the central Kushan monarch were appointed to govern different localities from which different types of coin would issue, and that these subordinate rulers were merely indicated on the local issues by the titles of the King of Kings, the Great Saviour. This view is opposed to the facts that the different types which bear inscriptions are not only united by the common bond of the same Greek legend, but all the types without exception bear a symbol  which, for this reason, is called the symbol of Soter Megas. The titles are those of a single supreme monarch, and as a matter of fact were adopted by Wema Kadphises himself as shown on his coins.

Without entering further into the question it is my present intention merely to direct notice to two Soter Megas coins which bear traces of what may be a name. I have already stated that bilingual type 1 presents a literal Kharoṣṭhī translation of the Greek legend. But in the Lahore Museum there is one specimen the inscription on which contains three additional Kharoṣṭhī *akṣaras*. It was described on p. 52 of pt. iii of

Mr. C. J. Rodgers' Catalogue, and apparently has eluded the notice of subsequent investigators. My attention has been drawn to it in the course of preparation of a new Catalogue of the Indo-Greek coins in the Lahore Museum, and I examined the specimens of this type in the British Museum to see if any of them contained extra letters. One was found, but unfortunately on both this and on the coin at Lahore the extra word is partly off the disc.

The Lahore coin is as follows. The designs, but not the legends, show signs of restriking or of some fault in the die:—



L.M.



B.M.

Obverse

Greek legend running continuously round the coin:

[BACIAEYC BACIAEY]WN CWTHP MEGAC.

King on horseback to r.; r. arm outstretched.

To r. $\frac{\text{LJ}}{\text{O}}$.

W. 141, S. 8.



L.M.



B.M.

Reverse

Kharoṣṭhī legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tradarasa.*

Zeus standing to r. with long sceptre in l. hand and r. arm outstretched.

To r. plant in pot; to l. Kh. vi.

In addition after the word *tradarasa* and before the word *maharajasa* come three more characters. The first is quite distinct and is probably *ra*; the second is partly cut, and all that appears is the end of a downstroke terminating in a hook to the left; the third letter is almost entirely visible and looks like *la*. The usual genitive termination *sa* is apparently missing.

On the British Museum specimen the two letters preceding *maharajasa* are partly visible and look like *la* followed by *sa*. They are certainly not *rasa*, the termination of *tratarasa*, or of the other forms *tradarasa* and *tratrarasa*. The probable meaning of a downstroke with a terminatory hook to the left is an *akṣara* ending in the final vowel *u*.

These *akṣaras* must denote either a name or an epithet. Coming as they do at the end of the legend, they are in the usual position of the name.

I note that in the reproduction of the Lahore Museum coin the second of the additional *akṣaras* looks more like *ma* than it does on the original coin. As they are so incomplete I will not now speculate further on their bearing. It remains for collectors to look out for coins of this class which will exhibit the additional word in its entirety.

R. B. WHITEHEAD, I.C.S.

THE NAMELESS KING

When Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises founded the great Kushan kingdom of Bactria, they employed deputies to rule the outlying provinces. *Heraüs* was apparently the deputy of Kozoulo Kadphises in Western Afghanistan.¹ We read in the Chinese history of the Later Han that Wema Kadphises, having conquered Northern India, governed it through a regent (*chef*).²

¹ JRAS., 1913, p. 126.

² JRAS., 1912, p. 677.

Another Viceroy, Sie, led an army of 70,000 men across the Pamirs in A.D. 90 to attack Pan Tch'ao,¹ and Pan Tch'ao's son, Pan Yong, who was himself the Chinese Governor-General of the Western regions, apparently asserts in his official report to the Emperor Ngan that Northern India was governed by a deputy at the time of his writing, c. A.D. 125.²

There is a king known to numismatists as the Nameless King, whose coins are found throughout the whole extent of the Kushan dominions south of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush, from Kabul to Mathurā. Why his name was omitted from his coins, which give only his titles, we cannot say; possibly on account of a tabu. His coins associate him with Heratis, but still more closely with Wema Kadphises.³ He shares with Wema Kadphises the title $\text{BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC}$; the two kings use similar details on their coins; and on a unique specimen published by Cunningham two heads appear on a single bust, with the respective symbols of Wema Kadphises and the Nameless King.⁴ The chief difference is that the

¹ Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. VII, No. 2, p. 232 (p. 24 of the reprint).

² JRAS., 1912, p. 677.

³ Rapson, *Indian Coins* (Grundriss), § 67, pp. 16-17.

⁴ Cunningham, "Coins of the Kushans": Num. Chron., ser. III, xii, pp. 40-82 (p. 33 of the reprint), after describing this coin, goes on to say: "In addition to the two symbols of Wema Kadphises and the Nameless King, I notice the following peculiarities which are common to the coins of these two princes:—

(1) Both use the same titles of $\text{BACIAEYC BACIAEWN CWTHP MEΓAC}$ in the nominative case.

(2) Both make use of a circular margin composed of reels and pellets, in the place of the native legend.

(3) Wema Kadphises holds a club upright before his face. The Nameless King holds a sceptre upright before his face.

(4) Both use the same peculiar form of the Gandharian letter *j*, i.e. the form which has a small stroke to the right at the foot of the slanting vertical stroke.

See also Rapson, *op. cit.*, § 67.

Nameless King mints only copper, while Wema Kadphises strikes gold, the coinage of gold being a strict prerogative of the sovereign lord. The two must therefore have been contemporaries, more or less; they ruled over the same territories south of the mountain ranges, and I have suggested elsewhere that the Nameless King must have been a member of the royal house of Kushans, and the very deputy whom Wema Kadphises employed to administer his Indian provinces in the latter half of the first century of our era.¹

But besides the coins there is an inscription which may be assigned, I think, with much probability to the time of this Nameless King. In ASI., vol. v, pp. 61-2, Cunningham gave an account of an inscription of three lines, now lost, which comes from the Yusufzai country, and is known as the Panjtār inscription. The first line gives the date:—

“The year 122, on the first day of the month Srāvaṇa, in the reign of the great king, the Gushan.”

The lithograph (op. cit., pl. xvi, fig. 4)² shows that at the end of line 1, after the words *maharayasa Gushanasa*, there came three letters: also, though the stone is fractured there, it suffices to show, by a comparison of lines 2 and 3, that nothing further stood there in line 1. I am advised that “the first of these three letters seems certainly to be *ra*, as read by Cunningham: the second seems clearly to be *ja*: the third is almost entirely destroyed: but it is tolerably evident that the word was *rajami*, ‘in the reign’. We cannot recognize anything which gives the name of this ‘great king, the Kushan’, either there or in the subsequent part of the record”.

Now, it can hardly be doubted that another record from the Yusufzai country, the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription of Gondophernes, dated in “the year 103”, is rightly

¹ JRAS., 1913, p. 129.

² See, better, JASB., vol. xxiii (1854), p. 705, plate, fig. 4.

ascribed to the era of 58 B.C.,¹ and there is no reason why the Panjtār inscription from the same country, written in the same characters and language and dated in the same style, should not also be ascribed to the same era. We find, therefore, that while the Indo-Parthian Gondophernes was reigning in the Yusufzai district in A.D. 46, an unknown Kushan was reigning there in A.D. 65. This unknown Kushan can scarcely be a successor of Vāsudeva, since Vāsudeva's rule never extended to these regions. He must be one of the Kadphises group. His name, if it was ever entered on the stone, must have been one of the shortest. But it is at least very doubtful whether his name was introduced there at all. In that case (and it seems the most probable), the inscription can be ascribed with much likelihood to the time of the Nameless King. The absence of the imperial titles *Devaputra* and *Rājātirāja* from the record bears out this supposition.

If, then, the above chain of reasoning is admitted as probable, it will follow: (1) that the conquest of Kabul by Kozoulo Kadphises, and his death, occurred in the interval of nineteen years between A.D. 46 and 65; (2) that the Nameless King was governor of Kabul and co-regent with Wema Kadphises in the regions south of the Hindu Kush from the commencement of the latter's reign; (3) (but more doubtfully) that Wema Kadphises had not yet entered on the conquest of India in A.D. 65. This last inference, although more doubtful in itself, is probable on other grounds.

J. KENNEDY.

FRESH LIGHT ON KANISHKA

There were two propositions in the "Secret of Kanishka" (JRAS. 1912, pp. 685 ff. and 981 ff.) which I could not prove at the time except indirectly and by inference. I showed (1) that Wema Kadphises' conquest of the

¹ See JRAS., 1905, p. 229 ff.

Panjāb must have been a *reconquest* of the country, and (2) that a cursive Greek script must have been in use among the traders from the Persian Gulf. But direct evidence on both these points was wanting. I am now able to furnish it.

1. We saw (JRAS. 1912, p. 683) that a Kushan king existed in the North-West of India at a time when the Yavanas were still masters of Kābul, that is, down to the beginning of the Christian era. We also saw that this kingdom disappeared under the assaults of the Indo-Parthians and Northern Kshatrapas, and that it was re-established by Wema Kadphises in the third quarter of the first century A.D. The *Hou Han Shu* or "History of the Later Han" is our authority for this second conquest. In the translation which I used the passage runs thus: "Son fils Yen-kao-tchen (Oêmo Kadphisès) devint roi à sa place; à son tour, il conquit le T'ien-tchou (Inde)"—the India in question being the Panjāb. Learning, however, that the words I have italicized gave a faulty impression of the meaning of the original, I betook myself to a very competent Sinologist, who has furnished me with the following transliteration and literal translation.¹ The passage is in the *Hou Han Shu*, ch. 88, fol. 8 r°, col. 2;² the words are these:—

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>taï</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>wang.</i>	<i>Fu</i>
In-his-place	was	king.	Again
(5)	(6 & 7)		
<i>mieh</i>	<i>T'ien-chu.</i>		
extinguished	T'ien-chu (= India).		

¹ Professor Sten Konow was the first to point out the correct rendering of this passage, and has published it recently in his paper on the "Kushanas" at the Historical Congress of London. My thanks are due to Mr. Giles, of the British Museum, for his assistance in the matter. I may add that this paper was written some time before the delivery of Professor Konow's lecture at the Congress.

² The reference is to the standard edition of the Dynastic Histories.

We may therefore paraphrase the sentence thus: "He (Wema Kadphises) succeeded him (Kozoulo Kadphises) on the throne, and subjugated India again."

The capital word here is *fu*, "again." It can only mean that Wema Kadphises' conquest of the Panjāb was the second time the Kushans had taken it. It implies (1) that the Kushans had formerly conquered North-West India, (2) that they had lost it, and (3) that Wema Kadphises restored their dominion over it. Now the five Yue-che principalities, including the Kushan, of the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs date from c. 100 B.C. or 90 B.C.¹ We have therefore an anterior time-limit for the first Kushan kingdom. Fan Ye, the author of the *Hou Han Shu* or "History of the Later Han", furnishes us with a posterior limit, for he tells us that he purposely omits all mention of events which happened before A.D. 25.² We must therefore admit, on the authority of the *Hou Han Shu*, the existence of a Kushan kingdom in North-Western India, which arose, flourished, and fell into decay between 100 or 90 B.C. and A.D. 25—a fact which is demonstrable in another way. We also know that this Kushan kingdom was ruled by Buddhist princes, whose officials first introduced Buddhism to the Chinese.³

We have therefore two Kushan conquests of the Panjāb, the one dating from the first half, or the middle, of the first century B.C., the second from the later half of the first century A.D. The first conquest was transient, or, more correctly speaking, the Kushan kingdom was temporarily submerged; the second kingdom was stable, and lasted without a break to the time of the Guptas. And we hear of only two Kushan conquerors. The "History of the Later Han" has preserved the memory of Wema Kadphises, who (to judge from his coins) was a worshipper of Śiva. During his reign the Buddhist

¹ JRAS. 1912, p. 669.

² *T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 168.

³ JRAS. 1913, p. 369.










propaganda in China ceased, and Indian tradition takes no note of him. Kanishka, on the other hand, was famed throughout the Buddhist world; he overthrew Magadha, and subdued, if all stories be true, every region except the north; his kingdom extended to Benares and Ghazipur. Tradition, inscriptions, and coins combine to magnify his name. If he was not the first Kushan to conquer India, where shall we find room for him, and to whom shall we assign the glory of the earlier exploit? We must postulate an unknown hero, a great conqueror, a zealous Buddhist, who plays the part of Kanishka, his very counterpart and second self; a hero, moreover, who has disappeared and left no trace of his separate existence. I do not think we can expect such self-abnegation even from a Buddhist.

2. I have shown that Kanishka borrowed his Greek alphabet from the traders of the Persian Gulf; and I suggested that his cursive mercantile script came from the same quarter.¹ Kanishka uses uncial Greek characters only on such of his coins which have legends in the Greek language ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟΥ, together with the Greek gods Hephaistos, Helios, and Selene, as well as on those which bear the name and figure of the Elamite Nanaia. On his other coins he uses cursive Greek, while Huvishka and Vāsudeva use the cursive Greek alone. These coins were all struck (as I maintain with Dr. Fleet) within, roughly speaking, the century 60 B.C.—A.D. 40.

Now, I find that a cursive Greek alphabet was used by two contemporaneous kings of Elymais, or Elam, the country of the goddess Nanaia, who figures so largely on these Kushan coins. The history of Elam during this period is exceedingly obscure; so far as it is known it has been recovered chiefly from coins, and within the last thirty or forty years. The kings of Elam used

¹ JRAS. 1912, p. 1009.

Aramaic legends. As a rule they used nothing else. But two kings, Orodes I and Phraates I, struck coins with Greek legends, and these legends are in cursive Greek. Moreover, like the coins of Kanishka, the coins are unilingual. They have no accompanying Aramaic legend. More than two hundred of the coins of these two kings have been found at Susa and Shiraz. Orodes I succeeded the last king of the Kamnascires family, whose latest date is 82 B.C., or possibly 72 B.C. Phraates I comes between him and the end of the century. Whether these princes belonged to the line of the Arsacids, is a matter of dispute. They have Arsacid names; but they claim on their coins some sort of connexion with the Kamnascires who preceded them, and they take the modest title of "king", and not "king of kings". Moreover, Elam remained semi-independent to a much later date.¹

Allotte de la Fuye, from whom I have taken these details, gives the following description of the Greek legends on these Elamite coins: "Elles sont écrites en caractères cursifs, plus ou moins barbares, dont quelques-uns rappellent les formes araméennes; les légendes sont directes ou rétrogrades, les lettres y occupent les positions les plus diverses, tournées tantôt vers le centre, tantôt vers le périphérie de la monnaie, quelquefois couchées; notons en particulier les formes qu'affectent l'épsilon , , , le sigma , , , et celles de l'alpha , , , dont quelques-unes sont très analogues à un omicron."²

A comparison of the Kushan and the Elamite cursive scripts would be of the greatest interest, were it possible. Unfortunately the Elamite coins have nothing beyond the name and the word ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC, and this word is wanting

¹ For the contemporary history of Elymais and Persis see v. Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, pp. 156 ff., and Allotte de la Fuye, *Monnaies de l'Elymaïde*, pp. 42 ff.; also Head, *Historia Numorum*, s.v. Persis.

² Op. cit., p. 29.

on the corresponding Kushan coins, which substitute the title PAO or PAONANO PAO.¹ The Kushan lettering appears to me better cut and less barbaric than the Elamite—a fact which is not strange, since the Greek population in Elam and Persis was at all times very small. But the close connexion of the Kanishka Greek alphabet with that in use in Elymais and Characene is incontrovertible. Equally noteworthy is the preference of these Elamites and Kushans for Greek instead of the popular Aramaic and Prakrit. I have been asked why Kanishka put Greek legends, and Greek legends only, on his copper coins, as well as on his gold. I can only answer that his Elamite contemporaries did the same.

J. KENNEDY.

AJIVIKA

In his admirable treatise upon the *Ājivikas* in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, i, p. 259 seq., Dr. Hoernle writes as follows: "On the exact signification of the name 'Ājivika' we have no information." However, he thinks it probable that the name was not originally taken up by the followers of the heresiarch Gosāla themselves, but was from the beginning a nickname given to them by their opponents and meant to denote them as practising ascetic rules only as a means of gaining a livelihood (*ājīva*). So *ājivika* would mean "professional" or something like that.

It cannot be denied that this seems to be the most probable explanation of this rather obscure word. Nor do I pretend to be in a position to offer a better one. But

¹ I have compared, with Mr. Allan's assistance, some of the coins of Phraates in the British Museum with the Kushan. The only distinctive letters I could find common to both were the *alpha* and *epsilon*. The Kushan letters appeared to me sharper and more angular; more *italianated*, as our writing masters would have said. The epsilon in particular sometimes resembled a cuneiform wedge, a form which is occasionally found in Egyptian *graffiti*.

I think it is at least highly probable that the term in question goes back to a more remote antiquity than that of Gosāla, who was, as is well known, the contemporary of Mahāvīra the Jina and Gotama the Buddha.

The verb *ā-jīv-* we meet with at first in the Mahābhārata, but the noun *ājīva-*, "livelihood," "mode of life," occurs in texts certainly much older than the great epic poem.¹ So we find *sarvājīva-* in the Śvetāśvatara Up., i, 6, and *samyag-ājīva-* (cf. *sammā-ājīva-*) is well known to designate one of the stations of the "noble eightfold path" in the sacred lore of the Buddhists. In Buddhist scriptures, too, *ājīvika* as the name of heterodox ascetics is frequently met with, e.g. Vinaya Piṭaka, i, 8 = Majjh. Nik. i, 170; Vin. Piṭ. ii, 130, 284, etc.; but the name of Gosāla is not mentioned in connexion with it. It is only from Jain canonical books that we learn that Gosāla was the head of the *ājīviyas* mentioned there. As for the epigraphical mentions of the word *ājīvika*, the first of which date from the time of Aśoka and his successor Daśaratha, they have been dealt with at length by Dr. Hoernle in his treatise, p. 266 seq.

Now the founder of the sect of the *Ajīvikas* is, as is well known, called by the Jains Gosāla *Mamkhaliputta*, and by the Buddhists *Makkhali Gosāla* (Skt. *Maskarin Gosāla* or *Gośālikāputra*). That Gosāla was his real name, and *makkhali* (: *mamkhalī*)² = *maskarin* denotes him as belonging by birth to a certain sect of mendicant friars, has been shown at length by Dr. Hoernle. He goes on to state that *maskarin* means an ascetic carrying a single bamboo-staff (*maskara*), and that Gosāla therefore belonged to the sect of mendicants usually called *eka-danḍins*, who were, as we know, orthodox Śaivas.

¹ Of course, I owe the following indications to the St. Petersburg Dictionary and to the article by Dr. Hoernle already mentioned.

² *Makkhali*, because of the change of *r* into *l*, must, of course, belong to an Eastern dialect, probably the Māgadhi.

The early existence of such *maskara*-carrying monks is, as Dr. Hoernle points out, ascertained not only by the name *Maṃkhaliputta*, but also by Pāṇini vi, 1, 154 (*maskaramaskariṇāu venuparivṛājakaṃ*), where he explains the formation of the word *maskarin*.¹ And *Maṃkhaliputta* may, of course, be regarded as a noun of the same kind as *Nigganthaputta* or *Sākiyaputta*, names of the followers of Mahāvira, the *Niggantha*, and Gotama, the great ascetic of the royal house of *Sākya*s.

But this statement, being quite clear to us, seems not to have been so to the author of the Bhagavatisūtra (p. 1204; v. Dr. Hoernle's Uvāsagadasāo, App. i, p. 1); for he states that Gosāla was called *Maṃkhaliputta*, as being the son of *Maṃkhali*, a *maṃkha* or wandering mendicant. Abhayadeva explains *maṃkha* as being "a mendicant who tries to get alms from the people by showing them pictures of (malignant) deities which he carried about with him".² Now—to go further with Dr. Hoernle—there is no real word *maṃkha* that could make good this explanation; moreover, the real meaning of that presumably invented word was not very clear to Abhayadeva and Hemacandra. So we must surely put this explanation aside and hold to the view that Gosāla's father was rather a *maskarin*, a mendicant carrying one staff of bamboo, an *eka-daṇḍin*. But I think that if the word *maṃkha* was really only a blunder of Abhayadeva, his statement concerning the carrying of a picture of a certain ugly-looking deity might be quite right, as I hope to show in the following.

From Pāṇini, v, 3, 99 (*jīvikārthe cāpaṇye*), and the explanations of Patañjali and others, we learn that a picture of Śiva or some other deity³ that was fabricated for sale

¹ As for Patañjali's explanation of this sūtra (M.Bh. iii, p. 96) see Weber, *Ind. Stud.* ii, 174 f., quoted by Dr. Hoernle.

² Hemacandra in the commentary upon *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, v, 795, says that *maṃkha* was = *magadha*, "a bard."

³ Patañjali mentions Skanda and Viśākha too.

should be called *Śivaka*, while another picture of the same god carried about by a *devalaka*¹ and shown to the people for earning money was called simply *Śiva*. I do not wish to enter into an investigation of these grammatical subtleties and their various explanations, which have been fully discussed by the late Professor Ludwig in a paper inserted in the *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, p. 57 seq. But I wish to lay stress upon the fact that according to this sūtra Pāṇini must have been well accustomed to the profession of carrying about idols for the purpose of earning money. And such a mode of life must have been rather traditional at his time, as the grammarians had already been able to make such nice distinctions as to the various uses of e.g. *Śiva* and *Śivaka*, when the words were used to denote these pictures. I think it rather clear that the explanation of Abhayadeva quoted above points to the same fact as is told by Pāṇini. And if, as seems highly probable, we must fix the date of the famous grammarian at an earlier period than has been done hitherto we might suppose that his statement may be nearly contemporary with the life of Gosāla.

Now, it is of interest, too, that just *Śiva* should be used here for exemplifying the rule of Pāṇini, and that the other examples are *Skanda* and *Viśākha*, who are both very closely connected with *Śiva*. For from these indications we might perhaps conclude that the "malignant" deity which Gosāla's father, the *Mamkhali*, was carrying about, must have been just the same *Śiva* of whom ugly-looking and terrible pictures may, after all, have been known since very old times in India. And in relation to this conjecture I might perhaps also lay stress on the fact that *ājīvika* seems to be sometimes used as

¹ *Devalaka* or *devala* was a man who gained his livelihood by carrying about idols and showing them to the people (schol. ad Pāṇ. v, 3, 99; M.Bh.). Cf. Amarakośa, ii, 10, 11, *devājīvi tu devalaḥ*. He was also called a *dāivalaka* (Hār. 150) or *bhānta* (ŚKDr.).

a synonym of *eka-danḍin*, a Śaiva ascetic, and that the *maskarin* of Pāṇini, vi, 1, 154 (and Patañjali upon that sūtra) can scarcely have been anything but such a Śaiva ascetic carrying one staff.

I adduced in the *Vienna Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 151 seq., and vol. xxv, p. 355 seq., several facts, that seemed to me to prove Śiva-worship to have been of considerable importance in Eastern India already in pre-Buddhistic times. And perhaps we might see here another instance pointing to the same suggestions that I made there. Of course, nothing certain can be ascertained from these few lines concerning the original meaning and use of the word *ājīvika*, but I may venture to think, perhaps, that it dates from the time before Buddha, and designated originally an ascetic of the same kind as Gosāla's father, a mendicant friar belonging to some Śaiva sect.

There is another small observation too that might perhaps lend some more weight to my hypothesis, though I confess most willingly it is a rather uncertain one. The Vin. Piṭ. i, 8 tells us that Gotama, on his way from Gayā immediately after his enlightenment, met with a certain Upaka, a mendicant friar, whom the text calls an *ājīvika*. If now it is almost certain that Buddha died at the age of 80 about 480 B.C., and was accordingly born about 560 B.C., this must have passed about 525 B.C., for we know from the canonical texts that in his 36th year he became a Buddha. Now Dr. Hoernle has with much probability calculated that Gosāla died about B.C. 500—I should rather think a little later—and the Bhagavati states that he founded his order of mendicants at Sāvatti sixteen years before his death. If these calculations could be proved, this Upaka, whom the Vinaya Piṭaka calls an *ājīvaka*, was certainly not a disciple of Gosāla, but belonged to a sect previous to his. I readily confess that not much importance can be ascribed to these uncertain chronological calculations; but I think the

statement of the Vinaya Piṭaka may be viewed in connexion with the fact that the Buddhists never denote the *ājīvika*s as real followers of Gosāla. Thus it might perhaps obtain some little more probability.

After all, I have only wished with these few remarks to try to prove that *ājīvaka* originally had nothing to do with Gosāla especially, but was a much older name designating a sect to which he originally belonged and afterwards transferred to his disciples.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

IMPRECATIONS IN INDIAN LAND GRANTS

On pp. 248 ff. of this Journal for 1912 Mr. Pargiter has published a useful collection (increased afterwards by Professor Hultzsch, p. 476) of those passages from the *Mahābhārata* and from the Purāṇas to which some of the well-known imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in ancient Sanskrit grants of land may ultimately be traced. Most of the earliest grants themselves either state, in a general way, that these verses were composed or sung by Vyāsa or Veda-Vyāsa, the reputed compiler of both the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, or declare more distinctly that they were proclaimed by Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*.

In connexion with this subject, it may perhaps be mentioned that the fabulous Vyāsa is regarded as the author of a much quoted Smṛti or law-book as well, and that it is to this legal writer named Vyāsa that the authorship of the imprecations in the grants has been attributed in Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, p. 114, where he says: "The last clause in most grants consists of imprecations on those who resume or violate them; and these generally consist of the words *from the Vyāsasmṛti* given above, though often with considerable variations." The reference is to a previous passage in Dr. Burnell's *Palæography*, containing the whole chapter

on documents from the *Smṛticandrikā* in the original Sanskrit, and in it a text of Vyāsa : *ṣaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi dānācchedaphalaṃ tathā | āgāminīṛpasāmanta bodhānārthaṃ nrpo likhet ||*

Now it is important to note that the texts assigned to Vyāsa in the *Smṛticandrikā* and other digests of law include, besides the text just quoted, which agrees closely with one of the commonest imprecatory texts in the grants, a number of other verses in which all the more substantial parts of a grant are carefully enumerated. Further details are supplied in other *Smṛtis* and in the commentaries, so that we may say, with Dr. Burnell, that the several clauses of a grant, which were legally necessary to its validity, are well described in the Indian law-books. Thus a proper copperplate grant is to contain—the place from which it is issued ; the genealogy of the royal donor ; a description of the gift, and of its conditions and boundaries ; an address to royal officials and other persons ; the information of future rulers regarding the gift and its preservation ; its religious object ; the name, caste, family, and Vedic study of the recipient or recipients ; the perpetuity, inviolability, and heredity of the gift ; special privileges granted ; the benedictory and imprecatory verses ; the signature of the king ; the date ; the official in charge of the grant ; the royal seal. For a detailed comparison of these rules with the contents and wording of existing grants I may be allowed to refer to my paper on “Theory and Practice in Ancient Indian Procedure”, *ZDMG.* xliv, 342 ff. (1890).

Would it be going too far, then, to credit some of the learned composers of *Śāsanas*, whose qualifications and acquirements are discussed in the curious *Śāsanādhikāra* (ii, 10) of the *Arthaśāstra*, with a general knowledge of the above rules, and therefore also of some of the verses on gifts of land occurring in the law-books ? Thus the

short Smṛti of Brhaspati¹ consists of eighty verses chiefly on gifts of land, sixteen of which actually recur in land grants. They commence as follows: *phālakrṣṭāṃ mahīṃ dattvā, yathā bījāni rohanti, yathā gaur bhārāte, śaṅkhaṃ bhadrasanam, ādityo varuṇo vahnih, āsphoṭayanti pitarah, bahubhir vasudhā, svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā, ākṣeptā cānumantā ca, agner apatyam, bhūmim yaḥ pratigṛhṇāti, sarveṣāṃ eva dānānām, harate hārayed yas tu, vāpikūpasahasreṇa, gām ekām, na viṣaṃ viṣam.* The śloka *svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā* is also quoted as a Smṛti in Nandapaṇḍita's *Vaijayanṭī*. The triṣṭubh *sāmānyo 'yaṃ dharmasetuḥ* is both cited from Vyāsa in legal commentaries and quoted in many grants. Nor is Vyāsa the only authority for all these sayings even according to the grants, several of which introduce the verses on gifts of land by some such clause as *tathā coktaṃ dharmasāstre* (or *dharmasāstreṣu*), or *uktaṃ ca dharmasāstraiḥ*, or *uktaṃ ca smṛtisāstre*, or *bhavanti cātra smṛtislōkāḥ*, or *uktaṃ ca mānave dharme*, or *udāharanti manvādāyo maharṣayaḥ*, or *atra manugītāḥ ślokā bhavanti*, or *tathā ca dharmaslokāḥ*, etc.² Judging from these references the Dharmaśāstras or Smṛtis were certainly known to some writers of grants, and so it seems were the legal commentaries, one of which at least, the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of Hemādri (c. 1300 A.D.), is twice referred to in a grant as an authoritative work on gifts.³ The *Dānakhaṇḍa* is no doubt one of the most comprehensive works extant on *dāna*, and contains a section on gifts of land (*bhūmidāna*, pp. 494 ff.) full of quotations from the Epics and from the Smṛtis, in which we again meet with a number of verses familiar from the grants,

¹ *Dharmaśāstrasamgraha* (Calc., 1876), i, pp. 644 ff. = *Smṛtinām Samuccayaḥ* (Puna, 1905), pp. 108 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, pp. 45, 343, 348, 353, 357; iv, p. 259; vi, pp. 18, 97, 145; vii, pp. 93, 100; viii, p. 142; ix, pp. 45, 276; xi, pp. 97, 100, etc.

³ *Hemādrīdānāny akaroṭ, Hemādrīdānavratī* (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 61).

such as *phālakṛṣṭāṃ mahīm dattvā, ādityo varuno viṣṇuḥ, vindhyātavīṣv atoyāsu, svadattām paradattām vā, śaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi, āsphoṭayanti pitarah*, etc.

These considerations tend to show that the law-books should not be overlooked as a possible source of some of the verses on gifts of land in the grants. It is not intended, however, to question the correctness of the statement that those verses, which are attributed to Vyāsa in grants of the Gupta period and later on, were taken from the ancient Epics rather than from the Vyāsa-smṛti, as suggested by Dr. Burnell. The *Mahābhārata*, as we have seen, is distinctly mentioned as the source of these verses in some of the grants. As regards the Purāṇas, we have, besides the verses actually traced by Mr. Pargiter to various Purāṇas, the express statement in several grants that the verses come from a Purāṇa,¹ and a remark in such an authoritative legal work as the *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 194) to the effect that an imprecatory verse from the Purāṇas shall be inserted in the grants (*śaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇītyādi purāṇavacanaprasiddham . . . svargādinarakādiphalaṃ lekḥayed rājety arthaḥ*).

WÜRZBURG.

March 21, 1913.

J. JOLLY.

P.S. The additional two verses, which Mr. R. Narasimhachar has quoted on p. 388 of Journal for 1913 from a land grant of about 400 A.D., and traced to the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, are also found in *Manu* viii, 98, 99.

THE ALCMANIC FIGURE

An interesting and ingenious attempt has been made of late by Mr. J. Fraser² to bring the so-called Alemanic

¹ *Purāṇavacanāni likhyante or bhavanti cātra paurāṇikāḥ ślokaḥ* : *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 63; iv, pp. 109, 117; viii, p. 156, etc.

² *Classical Quarterly*, iv, 27-9.

figure into connexion with the elliptic dual of Sanskrit; that use is seen in cases¹ like *Mitrā*, meaning Mitra and Varuṇa, *āhanī* meaning "day and night". The second stage of the development is seen in the double Dvandvas such as *Mitrāvaruṇau*; a third is seen in the addition of an explanatory singular as in RV. viii, 25. 2: *mitrā tñā na rathyā vāruṇo yās ca sukrātuḥ sanāt*; a fourth is the substitution of the dual of the verb followed by a singular noun, as in RV. vii, 88. 3: *ā yād ruhāva Vāruṇas ca nāvam*. Now, it is argued, a legitimate variant of the third form would be to substitute for the leading dual of this form a singular; then for a *mitrā gatāṃ varuṇas ca* we should have *mitro gatāṃ varuṇas ca*; nearly such a sentence is RV. i, 135. 4: *vāyav ā candréna rādhasā gatam indras ca rādhasā gatam*. This is what in a perfect form is found in the Alcmanic figure: in Alcman's phrase *Κάστωρ τε πάλων ὠκέων δματήρες . . . καὶ Πολυδεύκης* we have the logical development of *Κάστορε . . . καὶ Πολυδεύκης*. This conclusion is aided by the fact that in the instances recorded the nouns associated in the figure are invariably such as refer to things and persons associated by usage and therefore felt to form a natural group, viz. Simoeis and Skamander (*Il.* v, 774), Pyriphlegethon and Kokytos (*Od.* x, 513), Kastor and Polydeukes (Alcman, *fr.* 12).

Neither from the point of view of Greek nor of Sanskrit does the theory appear to me to be tenable. In the first place the theory that the dual Dvandva is derived from the elliptic dual is far from proved. It is indeed conceivable and has been accepted by Delbrück² and by Bergaigne,³ but the reverse relation has been asserted by G. Meyer⁴ and by Wackernagel⁵ with equal force.

¹ See a careful list in JAOS. xxxii, 41 seqq.

² *Altindische Syntax*, p. 98; *Vergleichende Syntax*, i, 137 seqq.

³ *Religion Vedique*, ii, 116.

⁴ KZ. xxii, 8.

⁵ KZ. xxiii, 309.

Nor is it unlikely that the truth lies in the view of Oliphant,¹ who sees in the two phenomena two distinct uses; the former he traces to the Indo-European syllepsis for parents, other cases being later and somewhat sporadic, the latter to a hieratic development from the simple and normal Dvandva with one dual or singular termination. This accords best with all the evidence and with the much more fixed Vedic usage of the double Dvandva, beside which the elliptic dual makes a poor show, and can hardly have had enough life to produce the supposed result.

In the second place there is the serious objection that the theoretic third form *mitro gatām varuṇas ca* is not found in Vedic; the example from viii, 25. 2 has *mitrā-vāruṇas-sanāt* and is about as far from the hypothetical model as it can be, apart from the fact that the sense is wholly uncertain.² The use with the vocative suggests a totally different explanation; there we see that the dual verb can be placed, because the singer knows that another god is to be reckoned in, and we have as a more primitive stage the vocative singular with the dual verb, which is supplemented by the nominative of the name of the other god with a connective. This is too obvious and simple a usage to be ignored, and to deduce it from elliptic duals is surely perverse. So in the fourth stage of the development the simple explanation is that the singer says two (*ruhāva*) and specifies it (*vāruṇas ca*) for the guidance of the hearer. Thus stages three and four disappear, and the derivation of stage two from one is most probably wrong.

The case is no better with Greek. In the first place, the elliptic dual cannot be proved to exist in Greek; the

¹ JAOS. xxxii, 56, 57. Wackernagel (*Altindische Grammatik*, ii, 1. 150, 151) and Macdonell (*Vedic Grammar*, p. 155) ascribe the Vedic dual Dvandva to the elliptic dual and the use of asyndeton.

² See KZ. xxiii, 308. This example is reasonably dealt with by Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* iv, 19, 20.

explanation of *Αἶαντε* by Wackernagel¹ as Aias and Teukros is not acceptable to Greek scholars generally, as little as is the explanation as a double Dvandva of *Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε* (*Il.* xi, 750). In the second place, the rule of preferring the obvious to the recondite tells hopelessly against the suggestion of Mr. Fraser. The examples present the most easy and obvious psychological explanation, and if we agree that this explanation should be deferred until the historical and comparative methods have first been applied, the total lack of result from history and comparison leaves us free to follow psychology. But the case is stronger for psychology than Mr. Fraser allows; in *Il.* v, 774, the words

ἦχι ῥοὰς Σιμόεις συμβάλλετον ἡδὲ Σκάμανδρος

are preceded by *ποταμῷ τε ῥέοντε*, and the dual verb was absolutely inevitable because of the dual as well as because of the meaning of the verb. In *Od.* x, 513, *ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥέουσι Κῶκυτός τε*, the use of *τε—τε* renders the plural at once natural, and removes us further than ever from the imaginary third stage of the hypothesis. In *Il.* xx, 138, *εἰ δέ κ' Ἄρης ἄρχωσι μάχης ἢ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*, the sense is simple; Athena says, "If *they* begin the fight—Ares or Phoibos," and the singular would be far less vivid and effective. Mr. Fraser is forced on his mechanical theory to say that this type could only be created when it was felt that a verb between two singular nouns could be made dual or plural under all circumstances.² In Alcman we have again the connexions *τε—καί*, and in Pindar, *P.* iv, 179,

¹ See Oliphant, *JAOS.* xxxii, 45, n. 1. The passage in Wackernagel to which Oliphant refers is *Altind. Gramm.* ii, 1. 150, but he does not himself lay much stress on the view.

² Curiously enough, neither Kühner-Gerth nor Gildersleeve nor Mr. Fraser cites *Od.* xiv, 216, where the presence of *τε—καί* again makes the case simple. The psychological argument is irresistible in cases where there is a plural after a disjunctive, as in Pindar, *P.* vi, 13; Euripides, *Alc.* 360-2; Herondas, ii, 31.

the words are διδύμους υἱούς τὸν μὲν Ἐχίονα κεχλάδοντας ἤβᾳ τὸν δ' Ἐρπυτον, where Gildersleeve justly says, "The figure becomes much easier if we remember how distinctly the plural ending of the verb (in *Od.* x, 513) carries its 'they', and here κεχλάδοντας recalls υἱούς." If in *P.* iv, 126 we read ἱκον as Gildersleeve inclines to think desirable, the plural is all the more natural as the plural of the participle (εὐμενέοντες) immediately follows. But it is surely needless to pursue the matter: the psychological explanation is so cogent that it would hold its own against even a complete fourfold series in Sanskrit, and is greatly to be preferred to the ruins of such a series.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

BUDDHIST MONASTIC TERMS

With reference to my note on certain Buddhist monastic terms, published in this Journal for 1912, pp. 736 ff., I have to make a correction. On further consideration it appears that the extract from the Vinaya fragment does not "refer to the conduct of the monks when assembled in the Ārāma at the appointed time of receiving their meal"; but to their conduct when receiving alms-food from the people on their begging rounds. Its correct translation is as follows:—

"What is the regulation concerning alms-food (*pinḍa-pāta*)? Respectfully the monk should receive alms-food into his bowl, item by item (not rejecting any), with the proper amount of condiment, with the proper amount of cooked split peas, with circumspection, with fixed attention ('to the four subjects of mindful reflection,' see *Sikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. Bendall, chap. 13, p. xxxvi), with unbewildered mind, not scattering (any particles of the food). Just so much should he receive as will satisfy his need. This is the regulation concerning alms-food."

The term *sāvadānam* does not refer to the individual monks in assembly, but to the items of alms-food offered to the begging monk. He is to accept the items of food as they come; he is not to reject any, not to pick and choose. Accordingly the illegible word, no doubt, is *pūrti*, not *bhakti*.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

KANAMOKSA: AN ANSWER

The word occurs in the following stanza culled from the first chapter of *Devī-Māhātmya*, which, again, is said to be contained in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:—¹

ज्ञानेऽपि सति पश्यैतान् पतगाञ्छावचक्षुषु ।
कणमोचादृताम्बोहात् पीड्यमानानपि बुधा ॥

Mārk. P. lxxxi, 38.

The compound expression "*Kaṇa-mōkṣādṛta*" in the above passage seems to be made up of (1) *Kaṇa* (= particle, as in *नीवारकण* and *जलकण*), (2) *mōkṣa* (= parting with or dropping), and (3) *ādrta* (= eager); and to refer therefore to "the birds eager to feed and water their young ones with corn-grains and water-drops". I have not met with the word anywhere else.

K. R. V. R.

MALABAR, COCHIN.
February 16, 1913.

YASKA'S DATRA. SHAHBAZGARHI AND MANSEHRA PHONETICS

According to Yāska (*Nirukta* II, i, 4) the word *dātra*-, a sickle, was used only by Northerners. It is an interesting fact that the same word survives at the present day in the North-West of India. Sindhi has *ḍāṭrō*, Lahndā *ḍātr*, and Kāshmirī (with metathesis of *r*) *drāt*°.

¹ [The same reference has been given also by Mr. Ram Saran Das in a letter dated April 7, and by Mr. Jnanendranath Sen in a letter dated May 25, 1913.—ED.]

The preservation of *r* in a compound consonant is typical of modern Piśāca languages. Compare Bashgali *dros*, a grape, Skt. *drākṣā*; *grām*, a village, Skt. *grāma*; *wriki*, a fox, Skt. *vrka*-; Kalāshā *pūtr*, a son, Skt. *putr*; *mondr*, a word, Skt. *mantra*-; *ondra-k*, an egg, Skt. **andra*-, *aṇḍa*-; *gardō-k*, an ass, Skt. *gardabha*-; Kāshmīri *trēh*, three. So many others.

Again, the metathesis of *r* is common in the same languages. Thus, Kalāshā *krō*, an ear, Skt. *karna*-; *pron*, a leaf, Skt. *parṇa*-; *drigā*, long, Skt. *dīrgha*-; Shiṇā *krom*, a work, Skt. *karman*-, and many others.

These examples seem to me to throw grave doubt on the common assumption¹ that in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehrā inscriptions such words as *dhrama*-, *draśana*-, *grabha*-, *pruva*-, etc., are merely graphical methods of representing *dharma*-, *darśana*-, *garbha*-, *pūrva*-, etc. They are equally possibly true representations of real words. These inscriptions belong to the very country in which the modern Piśāca languages are now spoken; and, as I have remarked on previous occasions,² it is not safe to assume that the phonetic laws obtaining here were necessarily the same as those in force for the Prakrits of India proper.

Returning to Yāska's *dātra*-, it may be noted that in some modern Piśāca languages, especially in Shiṇā, *tr* often becomes *c* or *sh*. Thus, Shiṇā *puc*, *push*, a son, Skt. *putra*-; Sh. *gōsh*, a house, Skt. *gōtra*; Sh. *cē*, *tre*, Veron Kāfir *chī*, Maiyā *cā*, three; Sh. ✓ *cak* or ✓ *trak*, see. I have not come across any change of this kind in the case of *dātra*-, but our Shiṇā vocabularies are very imperfect. Persian, however, has *dās*, which is connected with *dātra*- (see Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, s.v.).

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

March 17, 1913.

¹ Cf. e.g. Michelson, AJP. xxx, 239 n.

² e.g. *ante*, pp. 142 ff.

DURYODHANA AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

In the second book of the *Mahābhārata* it is told how Maya built a marvellous palace for Yudhiṣṭhira and his brethren. After the Rājasūya, Duryōdhana and Śakuni remained there as guests, and experienced the following adventure (II, xlvii). I quote P. C. Rāy's translation with a few verbal alterations:—

“One day King Duryōdhana, in going over that mansion, came upon a crystal surface. And the king, from ignorance, mistaking it for a piece of water, drew up his clothes. Afterwards, finding out his mistake, the king wandered over the mansion in great sorrow. Some time after, mistaking a lake of crystal water for land, he fell into it with all his clothes on.”

In the Qur'ān (xxvii, 38 ff.) there is a reference to a similar story concerning Bilqīs, Queen of Sheba. It is given in greater detail in Grünbaum's *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkunde* (p. 219), to which Dr. Gaster has been kind enough to refer me. In order to prevent Solomon marrying Bilqīs, the Jinns told him that her legs were covered with hair, and that she had ass's hoofs instead of feet. To discover if this were true, Solomon built a marvellous palace with a glass floor, beneath which was water supplied with fish and other sea animals swimming therein. He sat on his throne in the midst of the palace and called Bilqīs to him. When she came to the glass floor she tucked up her dress in order to wade through the apparent water, and Solomon saw that, sure enough, her legs were hairy. It is a satisfactory proof of the royal prophet's sense of propriety that, as soon as he had acquired the necessary information, he discreetly looked away, and informed Bilqīs that it was only glass, not water. He also introduced the employment of dipilatories as a consequence of what he saw.

Mr. Tawney refers me to Ralston's *Tibetan Tales* (pp. 360 ff.) for a similar story. There was an ivory-carver who carved some rice grains out of ivory and

asked his friend's wife to cook them and serve them up to him. But his friend, who was a painter, served *him* out as follows:—

"He said to his wife, 'Good wife, the water is salt. He must bring in fresh water; the rice will then get cooked.' The wife said to the ivory-carver, 'fetch us fresh water.' Now the painter had painted a picture of a pond hard by with a dead dog's body beside it. The ivory-carver took a water-jug and went towards the place where he imagined there was a pond. When he saw the dead dog he held his nose and then tried to get the water. But he only smashed his jug, and came to the conclusion that he had been fooled."

This story differs from the other two in that there is no mention of the deception being aided by the use of glass. In some respects it recalls the story of Zeuxis and Parrhasius.

Anyhow, the two stories of the Mahābhārata and the Qur'ān agree so closely in the main details that they probably had a common origin, and it would be an interesting task to trace this out, and decide whether their country of birth was India, Arabia, or elsewhere.

G. A. G.

CAMBERLEY.

March 5, 1913.

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

The tale of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon is current at the present day in Palestine, and an old Saracenic bath-house near the Bāb el Asbāt, or "Gate of the Tribes", in the eastern wall of Jerusalem is pointed out as the scene of the incident. This building was demolished in 1906 (J. E. Hanauer, *Folk-lore of the Holy Land*, 1907, pp. 97 et seqq.). Tales of walking into a place supposed to be full of water are common. It is a common gibe against the Julāhas or weavers of Northern India that one of them tried to swim in a linseed field, supposing

it to be a river (W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, iii, 1896, 71; J. Christian, *Behar Proverbs*, 1891, p. 137, who refers to the story of the Herules). In Muhammadan folk-lore it appears in the story of "The Kazi and the Bhang-eater, who believed the square in the moonlight to be a river" (Sir R. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, 1893, xi, 14 et seqq.). In Europe the Breton tale "How the jaquens Journeyed to Paris" (P. Sébillot, *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, i, 243, 1880-2) is an exact parallel.

W. CROOKE.

THE USE OF ROMAN CHARACTERS FOR ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

Mr. Hanson in his note on this subject in our last number seems to confuse two distinct things, viz. (1) transliteration of languages already possessing an alphabet of their own, and (2) reduction to writing of such as do not. The first operation, besides involving as serious difficulties as the second, superadds to them the delicate question whether we should strictly follow the written symbols or allow ourselves to be influenced by the actual sounds when the two conflict, as they usually do in modern languages. As a matter of fact Mr. Grant Brown's recommendation of the International Phonetic Association's system necessarily implies the abandonment of the written in favour of the spoken standard. Its applicability, therefore, is primarily to modern languages, and not, as Mr. Hanson suggests, to ancient ones.

But in either case we have to tackle the problem of adapting an alphabet of twenty-six letters to the expression of something like double that amount of Oriental symbols or sounds, as the case may be. To do this there seem to be only four possible ways, viz. (1) to invent new letters, (2) to borrow letters from other alphabets, (3) to use

diacritical marks, or (4) to use digraphs. For all these devices there are plenty of precedents in the history of the Roman alphabet. To invent new letters is not as difficult as Mr. Hanson seems to suppose; the real difficulty is to get other people to accept them. Yet it has repeatedly been done. I need hardly recall the fact that the groups (1) C, G, (2) I, J, (3) U, V, W, each represent one original letter only. Similarly, the borrowing of letters from another alphabet is illustrated by the deliberate addition of Y and Z to the Roman alphabet from the Greek. Again, the use of diacritical marks is common in many European languages, e.g. (to mention the two most generally known) German and French. Apparently Frenchmen do not agree with Mr. Hanson that their accents make "a strange and blurred-looking page". These things seem to me purely matters of habit and taste, which it is hardly profitable to discuss.

But the use of digraphs, for which there are also numberless precedents, is distinctly more objectionable, by reason of their inherent ambiguity, than any of these other devices. If you write *sh*, how is anyone to know that it is to be pronounced as in *ship* and not as in *mishap* (as it ought to be)?¹ It is all very well to lay down a rule for one language and invent a spelling which will, more or less, serve its needs. But when we come to scientific comparative study, that sort of makeshift breaks down at once. And it is obviously desirable, even for everyday "practical" purposes, that all the languages of Burma (for instance) should be spelt on some one consistent principle. For this reason it is deplorable that when Burmese words came to be written in Roman characters, the lisped œ (which is historically an *s*) was not represented by some modification of *s* or *t*, or by the Greek θ or

¹ Moreover, after teaching your pupils that *s* is *s* and *h* is *h*, you have to upset them by adding the reservation that *sh* is ʃ . Why not write ʃ at once and be done with it?

the Anglo-Saxon equivalent letter. The rendering of ∞ by *th* is responsible for the phonetically impossible initial aspirates *hk*, *ht*, and *hp*, which disfigure the official orthography of the province. No doubt in an imperfect world it is often necessary to come to terms with "the man in the street"; but it is really a mistake to capitulate to him in such matters as these. It makes more trouble in the end. If Mr. Hanson seriously thinks that *chy* is plainer than *é* (which I suppose is the sound intended), I can only respectfully differ from his judgment on the point.

Of the Hunterian system I desire to speak with all due appreciation. It was a great improvement on the chaos that preceded it, and it still has its uses. But for really exact work it is inadequate, and the question to be answered is whether, when we have a clear field unencumbered by any previous lumber, as in writing down a hitherto unwritten language, it would not be the best policy in the long run to select from the very beginning, and even for "practical" purposes, a more precise, adaptable, and comprehensive system. Whether that should be the system of the International Phonetic Association or some other, I do not propose to discuss. Nor do I think it matters very much, provided the main canons of phonetic writing are adhered to. And of these, "one sound one symbol," reasonably interpreted, seems to be among the most essential. It may sometimes be convenient to have a special symbol for a frequently used compound sound (as the *é* above), but it is always objectionable to represent a simple sound by a compound symbol of which both the component parts are separately used for other purposes.

With all deference to Mr. Hanson, whose point of view is obviously entitled to serious consideration, I venture to think that the real obstacle in the path of progress is the innate conservatism of the teachers rather than the difficulty of imparting a new and comprehensive alphabet

to the pupils. The former are grounded in our English spelling; the latter know nothing about spelling of any kind, and therefore have nothing to unlearn. It would really be easier for them to learn an alphabet of fifty letters, each used consistently for one sound, than one of twenty-six wherein ever so many groups of two or three are liable to have some purely arbitrary value attached to them. That is our unfortunate case in English, and until phonetics are carefully taught in our schools it is probable that we shall suffer from all the consequential disabilities whenever we set out to write down a new language. The vocabularies compiled by English explorers are a stumbling-block to every scholar who attempts to use them for scientific purposes, because they are almost always full of undesigned ambiguities. That is only a small part of the price we are paying for our "historical" spelling and our neglect of phonetics; and for my part I think we owe Mr. Grant Brown our thanks for his attempt to stir us up.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE TAKOPA TAMIL INSCRIPTION

Dr. E. Hultzsch has deserved the sincerest thanks of all who are interested in archæological research in Siām by his very able decipherment and translation (published in the April number of this Journal) of the hitherto puzzling Tamil inscription in the Takōpa district, which proves the existence, as early as the eighth or ninth century of our era, of a settlement of Tamil Vaiṣṇavas in that part of the Malay Peninsula.

In this Journal for 1904, pp. 244-5, I pointed out how the sandstone slab on which the inscription appears was found in the middle of a former bed of the Takōpa River, and how three hours by boat further upstream sundry remains of ancient shrines and old statues of deities had

been discovered by the late Mr. H. W. Bourke at the foot of a hill still known as *Khāu P'hrah Nārāi* (i.e. "Hill of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu"); while local tradition has it that another old shrine formerly stood on the top of the same hill.

Such being the case, it seems very probable that one of those shrines represents the temple of Viṣṇu alluded to in the inscription as erected by the Tamil traders, who have recorded the fact on the stone slab in question, and that the slab itself has been carried down by floods to its present site.

G. E. GERINI.

CISANO (ALBENGA).
May 7, 1913.

TI-MA-SA

In Colonel Gurdon's very interesting and suggestive paper on "The Origin of the Āhoms", which appeared in the April number of this Journal (pp. 283-7), I notice one point with which I regret I am unable to agree, and that is the alleged identity of *Timāsa* with C'hieng Mai or Zimmé. It would be highly desirable to see set forth the grounds upon which that identification rests, for no such name as *Timāsa* has ever been, to my knowledge, applied to C'hieng Mai or to any of the neighbouring Lāu districts, nor does it occur in any of the local chronicles I have had the opportunity to examine. It is, on the other hand, in Burma, and more especially towards the far outlying Asam borders, that we meet similar toponyms, as I am going to show.

On the lower portion of the right side of Plate B reproduced in the illustration facing p. 283 of this Journal, the characters 底馬撒宣慰司, *Ti-ma-sa Hsüan-wei-sz*, can easily enough be made out, and mean "Chieftainship of *Ti-ma-sa*" (or *Di-ma-sa* as the first three characters are pronounced in some parts of China).

Now, it is known that since their direct interference with Burma and Lāos in the last quarter of the thirteenth

century, the Chinese began to apportion the countries brought under their influence into *Hsüan-wei-sz* or large administrative circles,¹ over which they appointed *Hsüan-wei-shih* or "Comforters" in the persons of native chiefs, upon whom they bestowed seals and warrants, along with regular investitures. In or about 1450 there were already eight of such officials,² of whom five were in Shān-Burmese territory. The district in charge of the fifth of these is recorded by Mr. Parker as "*P'ing-mien Ma-sa* (doubtful)". I would venture to suggest that this name may be a clerical slip or misprint in the Chinese text Parker had before him, for *P'ing-mien* (and) *Ti-ma-sa*; for according to other sources a *P'ing-mien* (平緬) circle had already been formed as early as 1276.³ *Ma-sa* must thus refer to a distinct one (perhaps *Ti-ma-sa*), presumably established later on.⁴ At the same time, however, the Chinese records mention a *Ti-ma* district, granted in 1450 by imperial decree to the Muh Pang (Sēn-wī) chief,⁵ and this undoubtedly is the territory of the present *Ti-ma* village in North Sēn-wī and on the left bank of the Nam Ti (lat. 23° 48' N., long. 98° 3' E.).⁶

¹ C. Imbault-Huart enumerates six of these (four in Burma and two in Lāos) at the beginning of the Chinese Ming Dynasty, i.e. on or soon after 1368 A.D. (see the *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, p. 142, n. 2); and E. H. Parker mentions seven in 1384 (see the *China Review*, xx, p. 394), of which four are in Burma.

² According to E. H. Parker's *Burma* (Rangoon, 1893), p. 60.

³ See BEFEO. ix, 669, where *P'ing-mien* is tentatively located by E. Huber on the Upper Shwē-li (Nam Mao River, here called Nam Yang). But was not this the territory of the Lung-ch'wan Prefecture established in 1383?

⁴ The only term *Ma-sa* that I know of in Burmese toponymy is the one occurring in the name of the Kwe Masa River, in East Meiktila (in about lat. 20° 50' N., long. 96° 30' E.), which joins the Myittha near Pyin Nyaung.

⁵ See the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. ii, vol. i, p. 193.

⁶ See op. cit., pt. ii, vols. i, p. 198, and iii, p. 302. The present *Ti-ma* circle includes forty villages and the *Ti-ma* plain which stretches across the valley of the Nam Ti. The name is presumably derived from this stream, the *Ti* (Nam Ti).

Further research into the Chinese historical literature of the period may enable us to solve the question as to whether the *Ti-ma* and *Ma-sa* districts just alluded to were in any way connected with the puzzling *Ti-ma-sa* now under consideration.

I am meanwhile strongly inclined to look for the location of the *Ti-ma-sa* chieftainship much further westward, towards the Assam border, for it is here that we find in its integrity the term *Ti-ma-sa*, or *Di-ma-sa*, employed (in the form *Dimāsa*) to designate the Hill Kachāri tribes, as well as their own language. That the term is pretty old can hardly be doubted, since it is (at least in part) traceable in several toponyms of some antiquity in this region; suffice to mention *Dimā-pur*, the original capital of the Kachāri rulers till 1536, when it was sacked by the Āhoms.¹ Whether in the Chinese

¹ Other presumably related toponyms occurring in historical accounts of Kachār and neighbourhood are—

- (1) Dima-ruā, the seat of a chief in the middle of the sixteenth century.
- (2) Dimuriā, the seat of a chief subdued in 1524.
- (3) Demera, a place named at about the same period. (See E. A. Gait's *Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa*, Shillong, 1895, pp. 19, 25, 40.)

"The name *Dimā* remains unexplained," remarked R. F. St. Andrew St. John in JRAS. 1897, p. 642.

Mr. Gait gives *Hidamba* or *Hiramba* as the literary name of Kachār (op. cit., pp. 26, 40); but I may quote on the other hand at least two authorities to show that, during at any rate the three centuries before last, that land was commonly known to the neighbouring nations (the Burmese in particular) as *Lima*, evidently a corrupted form of *Dimā* (whether this was meant for its historical capital *Dimā-pur* or for the hill tracts peopled by *Dimāsa* tribes). In fact, De Barros (dec. iii, lib. ii, ch. 5, p. 162; and dec. iv, lib. ix, ch. 1, p. 452, of the Lisbon edition of 1777) terms it *Brema Lima* (a designation so far, to my belief, unidentified), which seems to imply that it was then, or was believed to be, a Burmese possession, like his *Brema Ova* (Ava), etc.

Again, in a Siamese translation of a chronicle of Pegu and Burma, I find it stated that in 1826 the following north-western dependencies of Burma were ceded to the English, namely: (1) Arakan, (2) *Vesālī* (Assam, with perhaps also Jaintyā, see below), (3) *Kasē* (Manipur), (4) *Alima* (evidently De Barros' *Brema Lima*, i.e. Kachār). Burmese scholars should be able to check this list in the local annals and find what is the exact native spelling of the last toponym, transcribed in the

plaque referred to above we have to take *Dimasa* as the name of a district (conformably to what I have suggested), or else have to interpret the inscription alluded to as meaning "chieftainship of the Dimāsa (tribes)", is a question I prefer to leave to local scholars to decide. My contention is that in one way or the other *Ti-ma-sa* most likely refers to the whilom Kachār State.

There is, I should wish to point out, a circumstance which seems to throw some sidelight on this question.

It is known that in 1406 Yung-lê (otherwise Yung-lo, i.e. the emperor Ch'êng Tsu) sent an embassy to Burma (which went to Ava) and another one to Pegu.¹ Such being the facts, is it not striking to notice that the metal plaque referred to above (which is, on its very evidence—see obverse of Plate A—a *Hsin-fu* or tally given as a warrant of identity to the chief of *Ti-ma-sa*) is dated the 5th year of Yung-lê (corresponding to A.D. 1407²), that is to say, just one year after the very one when Chinese embassies proceeded to Ava and Pegu? This synchronism suggests that some other mission may have been dispatched to Kachār also (whether at Dimā-pur or in the hill tracts), presumably at the instance of those chiefs then already threatened by the Āhoms. The latter already had (1384) conquered and annexed Sylhet, which ominous event may

form *Alima* in the Siamese translation. In the treaty of Yandabo (February 24, 1826), as printed in Crawford's *Embassy to Ava* (London, 1829, pp. 20-1 of Appendix), *Ak-ka-bat* is the term employed in the Burmese version to denote Kachār, while *Vesāli* is taken to mean Jaintiā (cf. also p. 490 of the same work). The former requires explanation and, if wrongly transcribed, correction. No sign is to be found of it, nor of anything resembling *Alima*, in Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary or other works of reference on Burma.

¹ Cf. BEFEO. ix, p. 652, footnote.

² Not 1408 as stated on p. 285 of this Journal, unless the month (the number of which is illegible on the reproduction of the obverse of Plate A) was the eleventh or twelfth, in which case the date would fall in January or February, 1408. Careful reference to the metal plaque may enable one to decipher the number of the month as well as the day, and thereby to determine the precise date of that interesting document.

have determined the Kachāris to sue for Chinese protection. However it be, it looks pretty certain that the date of the plaque marks the time of establishment of the chieftainship of *Ti-ma-sa*. This would eventually explain how a little later, that is, in about 1450, we find mentioned for the first time a *Ma-sa* circle, always assuming that this name is a mere slip for *Ti-ma-sa* as supposed above.

The circumstances relative to the discovery of the plaque in question, (1) at Jorhāt, that is in Assamese territory (Sibsāgar district), and (2) in the hands of a descendant of an Āhom rāja, are other points worth considering, for they tend to confirm our proposed identification of *Ti-ma-sa* (Dimāsa) with Kachār, while they permit of arguing, with some probability of hitting the mark, how the plaque happened to get there. It is just possible that it came into the hands of the Āhom rulers in the course of their conquest either of Dimā-pur in 1536, or of Maibang (the later Kachāri capital in the hills) in 1706.

Thus, the alleged identity of *Ti-ma-sa* with C'hieng Mai becomes all the more improbable. I might add furthermore that neither the C'hieng Mai chronicles nor those of the neighbouring Lāu states ever breathe a word as to any past connexion with the Āhoms or, for that matter, even with any Thai-Shān principality lying to the westward of the Ērāvati River.

G. E. GERINI.

CISANO (ALBENGA).

May 6, 1913.

THE CAVES OF A THOUSAND BUDDHAS

Dr. E. Denison Ross, *ante*, p. 434, suggests that the presence, in the walled-up library, of documents belonging to the fourteenth century and later in no way militates against the view that it was closed up in the early part of the eleventh century. Speaking not at all as an expert, but merely as a common juryman, I venture to question this conclusion.

The MS. which bears the date A.D. 1350 came out of one of the bundles classed by the priest as containing "miscellaneous rubbish" (*Ruins of Desert Kathay*, ii, 178), but which Sir A. Stein recognized to be of "special value" (p. 182). The irregular shape and fastening of these bundles had caused the priest to put them on the top of the rest when he re-arranged the contents of the repository (pp. 182-3); it follows that they formed part of the original contents, and were not imported by the priest from other caves. In these bundles, besides Indian and Tibetan scripts, "Uigur MSS. also cropped up" (p. 186), and one of these is the MS. in question, dated A.H. 1350, represented on plate No. 192, and marked "4".

Dr. E. Denison Ross' statement that this MS. belongs to the "Mongol period" must be conceded; but he, in turn, must admit, on Sir A. Stein's narrative, that it came out of one of the "compact bundles" piled in the walled-up library, and not from the "loose documents, etc.", the product of other caves.

Nor would it be easy to locate these in the hidden repository. For the state of things there must be regarded at the date of Sir A. Stein's visit, not at that of M. Pelliot's visit a year later, and what Sir A. Stein depicts (p. 172) is "a solid mass of MSS. bundles . . . filling close on 500 cubic feet. The area left clear within the room was just sufficient for two people to stand in"—a small area for "loose documents" to spread over.

The priest's statement that he discovered the walled-up repository in 1900 may perhaps be held corroborated by the wooden inscription, treating that as an entry made in the course of the priest's business, for it was, assuredly, not one made against his pecuniary interest. But proof that the walling-up dated back some ten centuries is harder to find. The fact which weighed with Sir A. Stein (p. 187), and which is adduced too by Dr. E. Denison Ross, was that the great majority of the forthcoming dated

documents belonged to the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, whilst only a few approached its end, "and none extended beyond the reign of the Emperor Chên-Tsung (A.D. 998-1022)." This last statement Sir A. Stein would now, without doubt, reconsider, and had he, in his necessarily hurried examination of the MSS., come across such a date as that detected by Dr. E. Denison Ross, his first conclusion might well have been different.

In an Eastern tale, anterior even to the walling up, the bailee of a bag of money, long since deposited in his keeping, substituted therein silver for gold. But some of the silver proved to be of later date than the deposit, and the Kādi held the bailee liable for gold (Baihaqi, *Maḥāsīn wa Masāwi*, 144). The Kādi's reasons are not given, but his decision was based, presumably, rather on the presence of coins of adequately recent date than on the presence of the earlier ones, although these may have been the first to issue from the bag.

H. F. AMEDROZ.

WESTERN MANICHÆISM AND TURFAN DISCOVERIES

I accept with gratitude Dr. Denison Ross's corrections of the mistakes noted by him (JRAS. 1913, p. 436), such as the proper title of the Vicomte d'Ollone, the spelling of his own name, and the correct initials of Professor F. W. K. Müller. I am particularly obliged to him for pointing out that M. Pelliot's mission was distinct from that of M. d'Ollone, as I ought to have seen from the notice in the BEFEO. I do not, however, agree with him in regard to Bar Khôni. M. Pognon says, on p. 5 of the *Coupes de Khouabir*, that "Theodore Bar Khouni" was the nephew of the Nestorian patriarch Iwannis, who about 893 A.D. named him Bishop of Lachoum. This was on the authority of Assemani, but in his second appendix M. Pognon corrects this and says

that he thinks Assemani had misled him. This was because he discovered after writing the first part of his book a MS. of the *Scholia* bearing, in the middle of the ninth book, a statement in Syriac which he translates: "With the help of the Lord, this book called *Book of Scholia*, compiled by Theodore, Doctor of the country of Kachkar, was finished in the year 1103 of Alexander," which corresponds to 792 of our era. He further says that he cannot explain why such a statement should have been inserted in the middle rather than at the end of the book, and that he has found it in none of the other MSS. of the *Book of Scholia* with which he tried to check it. He therefore thinks it is almost certain that Theodore Bar Khôni and Theodore Bishop of Lachoum were not, as Assemani assumed, one and the same person; and he continues: "Theodore Bar Khouni lived at the end of the eighth century, and perhaps at the beginning of the ninth; he was born in the country of Kachkar, where there must have been spoken a dialect much resembling Mandaïte, and nothing proves that he was ever bishop."

Whatever we may think of the last sentence—and in the view I took of it I have the support of M. Cumont, who, in his *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, pt. i, speaks of the author of the *Scholia* as "Theodore bar Khôni, évêque nestorien de Kashkar"—it seems to me probable that the Kachkar or Kashkar in which Bar Khôni was born or taught was Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan. The Nestorians at this very time (i.e. from 782 to 820) were ordaining bishops for China itself (see Neander, *Church History*, Eng. ed., v, pp. 122, 123), and the Singan-fu inscription corresponds to the first of these dates. Moreover, we know from the recent expeditions that Nestorian Christians, Manichæans, and Buddhists were living together in the oases of Chinese Turkestan at a date which may be earlier than this, but is not likely to be much later. On the other hand, there

is no record, that I know of, of any place in Babylonia likely to be called "Kaskar" at this period. The name Cascar in connexion with Manichæism does indeed appear in the *Acta Archelai*, now generally supposed to have been composed by one Hegemonius in the fifth century. He makes Archelaus, whose own existence is much doubted, bishop of a place called in the Latin translation "Carchar, a city of Mesopotamia" (not Babylonia), which seems to have been written by Photius and other late writers *Καρχάρων*, but by Cyril of Jerusalem and Socrates *Κασχάρων*, and which is by some thought to be Carrhæ or Harran. But it is very difficult to see why this last name should have been written Kaskar at the end of the eighth century, when Greek had long since ceased to be spoken in Western Asia, and why a teacher who lived there should have spoken of it as his "country". Unless, therefore, Dr. Denison Ross has other information about Kaskar in Babylonia I shall continue to believe that Bar Khôni's bishopric, if he had one, or his birthplace if he had not, is more likely to have been Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan than anywhere else.

F. LEGGE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT. Facsimile leaves, Nāgari transcript, Romanised transliteration and English translation with notes, and Sanskrit and English Indexes. Edited by Dr. A. F. R. HOERNLE. Published by the Archæological Survey of India, 1893-1912.

The acquisition by Lieutenant (now Major-General) Bower of this MS. at Kuchar, in Eastern Turkistan, early in 1890, was one of the romantic incidents of Oriental archæology. He placed it before the Bengal Asiatic Society towards the close of that year, and Dr. Hoernle took it in hand and made its nature and contents known in April, 1891. It aroused at once, throughout Europe, keen interest in the literary possibilities of Central Asia, which was once distinguished for its Buddhist activity, and formed the medium of communication between India and China in all matters Buddhistic. Through the interest shown by Sir C. A. Elliott, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Government of India undertook in 1892 that the MS. should be published with facsimile reproductions of the leaves, a transliteration, translation, and full critical apparatus by Dr. Hoernle. Accordingly Dr. Hoernle published the entire MS., with the complete text and a translation of the seven parts of which it consists, in instalments during the years 1893-7. He retired from India early in 1899, and the remainder of the work was deferred through his other duties and the necessity of appraising it in the light of the fresh materials that had been and were being discovered meanwhile in Central Asia.

Stimulated by this discovery, Consuls and residents in Central Asia had acquired other MSS. during the years

1892-5, and expeditions were sent out from Russia, India, Germany, France, and Japan, which secured many literary remains from that region during the years 1898-1909. Much of this fresh material was placed in Dr. Hoernle's hands, and the study of it required time. He next published the Sanskrit Index (containing a complete vocabulary) to this MS. in 1908, and a revised translation of its medical portions in parts i-iii in 1909. Finally, the Introduction, extending to ninety-five pages, was finished last year, and the whole work is now presented complete.

The editing of this MS. has been a very difficult undertaking, because it deals with medical and cognate matters which had been studied very little before, and employs a host of technical and special terms and names, the correct import of which had not been elucidated. He has spared no pains to clear up all these difficulties.

Beginning with the provenance of this MS., he discusses all the information, and shows, with the aid of a sketch-map, diagrams, and photographs, that there can be no doubt it was really dug out of a ruined stūpa at Qum Turā, near Kuchar, in February, 1890, by the Turki who sold it to Lieutenant Bower a few days afterwards, while the provenance of the Weber, Macartney, and Petrovski MSS., with which this MS. had been mistakenly confused, was different.

It is written on birch-bark, and Dr. Hoernle shows by a discussion of the use of birch-bark, palm-leaves, and paper in India and the countries on the north, that birch-bark was used only in the north-west of India. The characters are all of the Gupta script, and the forms of all the letters and other features of the script are exhibited in five tables. During the fourth to the seventh century the Gupta script showed two distinct types, a southern and a northern, marked off approximately by a line running in a north-easterly direction between latitude

22° and 24°. He points out how the characters for *m* differentiated the two types and constituted the best criterion for detecting them, while variations in the forms of the letters *e* (initial), *y*, *ru*, and *rū*, and to a certain extent of *ī* (initial), also distinguished them, all these peculiarities being illustrated by reproductions of the forms. The northern type, moreover, displayed two varieties, an eastern and a western, which were divided approximately by longitude 81°, and which are best distinguished by the characters for *ṣ* and *s*. These criteria serve to indicate the region from which came the hands that wrote the different parts of the MS. Further, the western variety possessed two forms of *ś*, which, though not characteristic of any particular area or time, yet had this distinction, that they were never used by the same writer indiscriminately, for each writer used one or the other consistently. By these means Dr. Hoernle shows that the MS. was the work of four different hands.

As regards the time when it was written, he points out as specially significant the changes through which the character for *y* passed during those centuries, these constituting one of the best criteria for determining the age of writings in the Gupta script. They are fully and very clearly explained, with reproductions of their different shapes and remarks on the ways in which vowel marks affected their use; and definite chronological conclusions are drawn that go far to fix with reasonable certainty the age of such writings. Hence he infers that this MS. must have been written in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D.

Parts i-iii, he finds, were written by one hand, part iv by another, parts v and vii by a third, and part vi by a fourth. The scribes of parts i-iii and v-vii must have been natives of India who had migrated to Kuchar and were no doubt missionary Buddhist monks, the scribe

of parts i-iii having come from the northern, and the two scribes of parts v-vii from the southern, limit of the northern area of the Gupta script. Their use of birch-bark indicates that they migrated there more immediately from Kashmir or Udyāna, since the use of that bark was, according to all available evidence, limited to North-Western India. Parts i-iii, v, and vii were written about the same time and passed into the hands of the scribe of part iv, who was probably a native of Eastern Turkistan or perhaps of China, since it was apparently written with a brush rather than with a reed-pen. Part vi was written last of all, to replace the damage which part vii had meanwhile suffered. It seems that the ultimate owner of the whole was Yaśamitra, that he was a Buddhist monk of repute, and that the stūpa in which the MS. was found was built in his honour.

Part i consists of two tracts, the first of which treats of garlic, and the second of miscellaneous matters, such as digestion, medical formulæ, and cosmetic preparations. Part ii is a copy of the *Nāvanītaka*, a handbook of medical prescriptions compiled without any definite plan, of which the last two chapters are missing. Part iii is an ancient formulary, apparently a fragment of a larger work. Parts iv and v treat of cubomancy, *pāśakakevalī*, the telling of fortunes by the throws of a die (or perhaps three dice), which was of elongated shape bearing only the numbers 1-4 on its four sides. Parts vi and vii contain different portions of the same *sūtra* or *dhāraṇī*, which was a charm against snake-bite and other evils.

The author of the *Nāvanītaka* is not known, for the colophon at the end of part ii is missing. It is, as Dr. Hoernle shows, based on and quotes from earlier medical treatises, which are sometimes mentioned but more often left unnamed. Those mentioned are various minor works, many of which are attributed to half mythical personages, but those unnamed and most freely

quoted from are the standard medical treatises of those times, namely the compendia compiled from the tantras and kalpas composed by Agniveśa, Bheḍa, Harita, Jātūkarna, Kṣārapāṇi, and Parāśara, the six distinguished pupils of the famous physician Punarvasu Ātreya, who is said to have taught medicine at Taxila about the time of Buddha in the sixth century B.C. Of these only two have come down to us, the *Caraka-saṁhitā* compiled by Caraka, a physician of Kashmir, which professes to give Agniveśa's version of Ātreya's teaching, and the *Bheḍa-saṁhitā* of unknown authorship, which professes to give Bheḍa's version. Dr. Hoernle shows by a comparison of a number of medical formulæ that those two works and the *Suśruta-saṁhitā* are the authorities most freely drawn from. The *Āyurveda-sāstra* or *Saṁhitā* of Suśruta is really the composition of two authors, the earlier portion of Suśruta the elder, who lived probably in the sixth century B.C., and the later portion, the *Uttara Tantra*, compiled about the time of Kaniṣka according to tradition, so that the completed treatise dates from about the period of the *Caraka-saṁhitā* and somewhat prior to the *Bheḍa-saṁhitā*, which quotes from it. But chronological results can be drawn with reasonable probability from the *Caraka-saṁhitā* only, for Caraka is said to have been physician to Kaniṣka; and, accepting the view that Kaniṣka flourished in the middle of the first century B.C., Dr. Hoernle assigns the *Nāvanītaka* to the second century A.D. provisionally. Dr. Hoernle discusses some of the medical prescriptions, and his researches here and in his "Medicine of Ancient India" have done much to elucidate Indian medicine. There is no uniform principle of arrangement; some are mentioned according to the form of the medicament, some according to their purpose, and some according to the kind of patients. Some are specifics, but others are pronounced good for a number of ailments, and others

again, such as the "pepper formula" which he examines, demand a long course of compliance.

The MS. is written in a mixture of literary and popular Sanskrit, which has been sometimes called "mixed" Sanskrit for want of a better term. The course which Vedic Sanskrit took in post-Vedic ages is briefly stated; it was developed by grammarians and brahmans into Sanskrit proper, and was modified popularly into the Prakrits which had their literary side in Buddhism and Jainism. The prestige of Sanskrit, however, induced the Buddhist writers to cultivate it, and (he says) "ultimately they fully succeeded in their endeavours; but at first their efforts were attended with but partial success, differing according to the amount of literary knowledge they possessed. It is this earlier period of literary endeavour which, as will be shown in the sequel, is reflected in the several treatises of the Bower manuscript".

This is no doubt true of Buddhist writings, but it hardly seems to explain the similar occurrence of Prakritisms in Hindu writings, such as the Purāṇas; and these medical treatises appear to have been Hindu rather than Buddhist compilations. A further explanation may be suggested, namely, that while Sanskrit was the language of brahmanic books in those ages, a high-class Prakrit would have been the language used in the polite literature; that a great deal of the secular literature was probably written in such Prakrit; that afterwards, when the spoken tongue diverged more and more from Sanskrit through political vicissitudes, that literary Prakrit became unintelligible, while Sanskrit remained the only polished language of Hinduism; that the secular literature would have had then to be Sanskritized as the only way in which it could be preserved useful—a process which was not difficult because that literary Prakrit was not far from Sanskrit, and yet which was not completely carried out, especially in poetry where the metre had to be

safeguarded, with the result that Prakritisms remained much embedded here and there in the Sanskrit.

However this be, Dr. Hoernle gives lists of most of the Prakritisms, if not of all, dealing with them under the heads of phonology, contractions, sandhi, nominal and verbal inflexions, stem-formation, gender, and syntax, and points out words which occur in both their Sanskrit and their Prakrit forms. These peculiarities will throw much light on the study of "mixed" Sanskrit.

The thanks of all scholars are due to Dr. Hoernle on the successful accomplishment of this long and arduous work, which has occupied him during twenty-one years, for it presents them with a complete facsimile of the text, and a full, thorough, and clear elucidation of the script, language, composition, age, contents, and all the other questions that the MS. raises. We must add that to Mrs. Hoernle's aid is due the preparation of the admirable English index which completes the usefulness of the work, and acknowledge the generous patronage of the Government of India and its Archæological Department for the superb manner in which the text itself and all these labours have been rendered available.

F. E. PARGITER.

THE INDIAN THEATRE: a brief survey of the Sanskrit Drama. By E. P. HORRWITZ. 8vo. London, Glasgow, and Bombay: Blackie and Son, 1912.

Mr. Horrwitz, as he explains in his preface, endeavours "to touch the very soul of the old Sanskrit plays"; and he adds with commendable candour that "this could not always be done without sacrificing technical details, and making free with the original texts. The dramatic plot is often paraphrased and presented in a modern garb, in order to attract the modern mind". It is not clear to us

how the method of the book is to be reconciled to its purpose, how an admittedly garbled narrative of the plot of a play, couched in a florid style of inferior journalese, will help the reader to "touch the very soul" of the play. But the British public is not critical, and will probably take in all seriousness the first chapter, which is entitled "In the Court Theatre of Ujain, 1,400 years ago", and describes the first representation of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* before King "Vikrama" with the detailed precision of a special correspondent to a provincial newspaper, not even omitting "the crimson liveries and peach-coloured waistbands of the black slaves who serve refreshments", and the "handsome ruby and diamond clasp; the letters U and V", which hold together the folds of the curtain and are "daintily interlaced in the time-hallowed *nāgari* or urban script" (a somewhat remarkable circumstance, which should give our palæographers pause). Mr. Horowitz's knowledge, as evinced in this chapter and in some other parts of his book, is like that of Mr. Weller, "extensive and peculiar"—especially the latter.

L. D. B.

LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA IN THE AGE OF THE MANTRAS.

By P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M.A. pp. x, 140.
Madras, 1912.

This is an excellent little work; I have read it with pleasure and surprise; pleasure, because it is so good; surprise, to find an Indian gentleman so thoroughly a master of the critical method, and so well acquainted with the works of modern anthropologists. The author, who is Principal of a College at Vizagapatam founded by the munificence of Mrs. A. V. Narasingha Rao, starts with the assumption that the sociological history of India can be best treated by Indian students trained in the critical methods of the West, since they are in closer touch with

the daily life of the people than Europeans are. And the period which he has chosen is social life in the Vedic age, or, as he prefers to call it, the age of the Mantras. He presents us with a picture, fully authenticated by references, of the life of a primitive people. The Aryas, as they called themselves, dwelt between the Sarasvati and the Upper Ganges. They were not ignorant of agriculture, but their wealth consisted in their flocks and herds. Pasture lands and water, women and kine, were the occasion of their wars. The rich dwelt in wooden houses, the poor in circular wattled huts daubed with mud, and the villages were defended by stockades. These Aryas had their Brahmans and priests, their exorcists, sorcerers, medicine men, their artisans and traders. The king was consecrated and all-powerful, he levied heavy contributions, and under him were various subordinate chiefs, including the village headman. Hunting, chariot racing, and gambling were the diversions of the nobles. Marriage alliances were formed by negotiation, and some of the old Vedic marriage rites survive to the present day; but the Aryas did not hesitate to make captured women their concubines or slaves; and the widow of the elder often passed to the younger brother. So far we have analogous practices and an analogous mode of life among primitive folk all the world over, as well as in modern India. Three things, however, sharply distinguished these Aryas from the neighbouring Dasyus; they were notable for the cult of Agni, the constitution of the family, and the immense development of the sacrificial system. The first and last have always attracted attention, and are fully dealt with by our author. But although our author notes the peculiar constitution of the Arya family system, he merely notes it with a passing remark, nor has it usually received the consideration it deserves. For it is not only entirely unlike the Dravidian and other aboriginal conceptions of the family, it is the chief criterion at the

present day of the stage of Hinduism any section of the community has reached; while in itself it has a wider interest as a special variety of the patriarchal system which received its most characteristic expression among the Romans. It is that bequest of the ancient Aryas to India which time has least modified.

So much for the general contents of the book. It will be seen that the author is entirely free from any illusions about a golden age. He also protests against the pessimism of the later philosophers. He shows by ample quotations that the Rishis freely indulged in sensual pleasures, even of a doubtful character, and enjoyed life to the full. But the idea which underlies the work, and gives it its originality, is the importance attached by the author to the aboriginal (which he practically assumes to be the Dravidian) elements. The Dasyus, he says, had a civilization not inferior to the Aryan; they were equally rich in horses and cattle; they had cities, castles, chariots, arms; but they were enemies of Agni. "According to Indian tradition Dasyu and Arya have been understood respectively as enemies and advocates of the fire-cult. The distinction indicated by Arya and Dasyu was purely a difference of cult, and not of race or culture." The influence of the Dravidian element is sensibly reflected in the grammar as well as in the vocabulary of the language (p. 6). On the other hand he emphasizes and enlarges the gulf between the Aryas on the Sarasvati and the long-headed fair-skinned races of Europe. He allows only Indra, Agni, and Dyaus to be of non-Indian origin; the other gods and goddesses were all evolved in India; while not only Śiva and Krishna, but also Varuna, Rudra, Twashti (a minor god after all), and Aditi were originally Dravidian divinities (p. 123). Vishnu, Śiva, and their mother Aditi "were popular gods even before the Vedas were composed" (p. 126). He elsewhere extols the

antiquity and the greatness of the Dravidian civilization. Now, although I am far from agreeing with the author in some of his details, I consider his view true in the main for the latest stage of Aryo-Vedic culture. The Aryas who lived between the Sarasvati and the Ganges were the creators of all that has ever since been accounted distinctive of India. And they were able to do this work because they were a very mixed race, mixed not only in blood but in fundamental beliefs and practices. The whole history of India has ever since consisted in the gradual and progressive blending of the dissimilar elements, the Aryan genius contributing the guiding spirit and the form of this mixed civilization, while the aboriginal element has contributed its contents.

Whether the aboriginal folk of Northern India were ever Dravidians is of course a much disputed question. But the author is right in maintaining that the Dravidians had a great and distinctive civilization of their own, in no material respect inferior to the Aryan, and in touch with the civilization of Babylonia at an early date, probably as early as the eighth century B.C.¹ In the early centuries of the Christian era the Dravidians were the chief traders with Roman Egypt, and the sea trade with the West has always been in their hands. For more than a millennium they have produced the great majority of notable Indian thinkers, reformers, and poets. Less exposed than the peoples of the North to war and foreign invasion, they have had greater opportunities of developing their own special genius.

So far I am in general agreement with the author. But his picture can be accepted only if we refer it to the

¹ The author would carry it back to immemorial antiquity; but see my paper on the "Early Commerce of Babylon with India", JRAS. 1898, pp. 241 ff. Meyer and Speck do not allow that any maritime commerce existed before the time of Darius Hystaspes. This, of course, has nothing to do with the question of a prehistoric migration or other racial connexion.

latest stage of Vedic culture, the stage when it had already developed the germs of its future history. The author admits that some Vedic hymns and mantras are older than others, but he argues that the bulk of them must belong to one and the same period, which he hypothetically puts at 1200 B.C. He therefore takes his materials indiscriminately from the Atharva as much as from the Rik. This wealth of material gives the picture a fullness it could not otherwise have, but it robs it of all historical perspective; there is no attempt to trace the process by which the intrusive Aryas who crossed the Hindu Kush, driving out the earlier settlers before them, became the comparatively unwarlike Aryas whose settlements extended along the foot of the Himalayas. This transition stage occupied many centuries—centuries during which Northern India was, if not in the stone, at least in the copper, age. The art of smelting iron spread very slowly eastwards from Mesopotamia and the Caucasus; it came to India only in the latest Vedic period. The Vedic hymns, whatever the date of their composition, contain survivals of this earlier period. How far there may be materials for a picture of the transition, I am not competent to say. The author does not make the attempt, and this defect I take to be the chief blot upon the work.

Both at the commencement and in the course of his work the author has touched on some of the more general problems of anthropology. He treats them judiciously, and his knowledge is fairly up to date. With regard to some of them, e.g. with regard to the Aryan kings of Mitani, I have given my own version elsewhere. But with regard to such questions which are still *sub lite* general agreement cannot be expected; and I hail with pleasure the contributions of a competent Indian anthropologist to questions so large and so important in the eyes of students of primitive man.

J. KENNEDY.

PANJABI MANUAL AND GRAMMAR : a Guide to the Colloquial Panjabi of the Northern Panjab. By the Rev. THOMAS F. CUMMINGS, B.A., and the Rev. T. GRAHAME BAILEY, B.D., M.R.A.S.

As the subsidiary title intimates, this work does not describe the Standard Panjābī of the Māñjh familiar to us from the works of Carey and Newton. It deals particularly with that form of Panjābī spoken north of Lahore, between the Rāwī and the Jehlam, extending also over the whole of the district of Lahore, and even across the Satlaj into Firōzpur. Further north, across the Jehlam, we find, instead of Panjābī, the Pōthwārī dialect of Lahndā. In the *Languages of India* (p. 65) I have pointed out how the ancestor of Lahndā must once have covered the whole of the Panjāb, and how a wave of speakers of the language of the Madhyadēśa—the parent of Hindōstānī—spread over that region from the East, the force of its influence gradually spending itself as it progressed westwards. In the Central Panjāb the language of the Māñjh shows more of midland than of western influence; further west and north, across the Rāwī, the Lahndā influence is much stronger, and finally, at about 74° East longitude we may look upon Lahndā as definitely established. The Northern Panjābī dealt with in the work under review represents this intermediate language, neither pure Panjābī nor pure Lahndā. When written it is generally found recorded in the Persian alphabet, not in the Gurmukhī employed for the Panjābī of the Māñjh.

The work is divided into two parts. The first—the Manual—written conjointly by the two authors, teaches the language on the “direct system”, i.e. by means of lessons consisting of conversations between the teacher and the pupil in the colloquial form of speech. The conversations are excellent, the subject-matters selected are those which will ordinarily be met with in intercourse

with Panjābī, and the sentences are graduated in difficulty from the simplest statements of fact to longer sentences involving subordinate clauses of varying complexity. Given a good teacher, there is no doubt that this system is the best for learning to know and speak correctly a language, but for self-instruction it would be of little use without a guide in the shape of a formal grammar. This is supplied by Mr. Grahame Bailey in part ii, and it is this portion of the book which most appeals to the European student.

Mr. Bailey's accuracy and scholarship are well known through his *Languages of the Northern Himalayas*, published as one of our monographs, and this Grammar is not the first essay that he has made towards the elucidation of Northern Panjābī. In 1904 the Government of the Panjāb issued his Grammar of the dialect of Wazirābād. Northern Panjābī is spoken in Wazirābād, and that Grammar, therefore, gave him experience for preparing the present work. This contains much that is new, and all comes with the stamp of authority from one who is intimately acquainted with the spoken language of the people. Perhaps the most interesting fact is the discovery of the existence of tones, such as exist nowadays in Indo-Chinese languages, and as used to exist many centuries ago in the Vedic language spoken in the Panjāb. When the letter *h* or an aspirated consonant follows the accented syllable of a word, the *h* or aspiration is not sounded, but the accented syllable is pronounced with a high tone. Thus the words *lāh*, bring down, *kāhlā*, speedy, and *bāgg̃hī*, a dog-cart, are pronounced *lā'*, *kā'la*, and *bāgg'ī*, with the accented syllable on a higher musical note than the rest of the word. Similarly, *sōhma*, beautiful, is pronounced with a high tone on the *sō'*, but in *sōnā*, gold, without the *h*, the two syllables have the same tone. On the other hand, when *h* or aspiration precedes an accented syllable it is sounded something like the Arabic

letter 'ain, while the syllable itself is enunciated on a low tone. Moreover, in such cases, an aspirated sonant is usually pronounced as a surd, so that *bhrā*, a brother, is pronounced *pr'ā*, on a low tone. Similarly, *ḍahāi*, the price of placing, is sounded *ḍ'āi*, but *ḍhāi*, two and a half, becomes *ṭ'āi*, because *ḍh* is an aspirated sonant.

Northern Panjābī agrees with Lahndā in the free use of pronominal suffixes. Such suffixes are also occasionally met with in Standard Panjābī, but have not hitherto been recognized in their proper character. Thus the pronominal suffix *jē* is explained by Newton (Grammar, p. 33) as a variant of *hai* or *han*, he is, they are. But it is really a pronominal suffix of the 2nd person plural, often used in the highly elliptical sense "I say to you". Thus, Northern Panjābī, *ākḥṇā kī sā-jē*, what was there to be said by you, or, Standard Panjābī, (elliptically) *inā bēimānā asādī pat guāi-jē*, (I say to you) these faithless ones have destroyed our honour. Such suffixes form a regular feature of both Lahndā and Northern Panjābī, and are very fully treated by Mr. Bailey. Space will not permit me to refer to further points of agreement between these two languages, beyond mentioning the fact that while there are traces of the Lahndā organic passive, the active future is built on partly the same lines as in Standard Panjābī and partly on an entirely original system, with the curious suffix *dā*, as in *dassāgā* or *dassādā*, I shall show.

The work is throughout written in the Roman character. The system of transliteration is rigidly carried out, and I am glad to see that *anunāsika* is represented by *~*, not by the misleading *ñ* or *n* so common in elementary Grammars of Indian languages.

The book can be heartily recommended to students of language as a thesaurus of idiom, and also as a clear and thorough exposition of the grammatical facts of a little-known but important form of speech, and

Messrs. Cummings and Bailey can be heartily congratulated on the accomplishment of a difficult task with a success rarely attained in the preparation of books of this description.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

March 29, 1913.

A PRACTICAL BENGALI GRAMMAR. By W. S. MILNE, I.C.S. pp. xvi, 561. Published by the author, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, 1913. 10s.

It is a significant fact that though there are many grammars of the Bengali language in English and in the vernacular, none have hitherto quite met the needs of foreign students. Among Indian languages, Bengali is very much what French is in Europe. It abounds, as Sir George Grierson has pointed out, in what Indians call *tatsamas*, and Frenchmen "*mots d'origine savante*". To spell these correctly, it is necessary to master the Sanskrit rules of *sandhi* and *samāsa* as an artificial exercise, artificial because the phonetic facts of the modern language no longer correspond with the theories of Sanskrit grammarians. On the other hand, Bengali is even richer in expressive but elusive idioms, comparatively easy of comprehension for the most part, but difficult to classify, and more difficult still to use with the skill and precision of a native. Vernacular grammars, as might be expected, deal chiefly with the formal Sanskritic element in the language, and are apt to take the picturesque idioms of the modern speech for granted. Grammars by Englishmen strive to explain these idioms, strive to help students in the acquisition of the supple tongue found in current light literature and in the speech of the streets. But there is only one way to do justice to the popular language, and that is by supplying abundant examples of popular idioms and phrases. Mr. Milne had the good fortune, during the four years in which he was

the manager of the Tagore estate, to meet Bengalis of all classes in familiar talk. He had to conduct correspondence in Bengali, and thus acquired a more than merely literary knowledge of the language. He must be frankly congratulated on a really remarkable achievement. He has made full use of such standard authorities as the well-known *Vyākaraṇ* of Mahāmopādhāy Prasanna Candra Vidyāratna, and has given a clear and easily intelligible account of Bengali grammar as it is interpreted by Bengalis themselves. But the chief justification for Mr. Milne's title is in the copious and interesting collection of modern idioms, by far the completest anthology of popular phraseology yet printed. It would be quite impossible to examine all these in detail, but an example may be given of the thoroughness with which Mr. Milne treats them. There are some remarkable idioms in which the suffix *-ke* (dative or accusative) plays a part (pp. 296 et seq.). For instance, the expression *Suśil-ke dāś tākā dītē haibe* may mean one of two things: "ten rupees must be given to Suśil," or "Suśil must pay ten rupees". In the latter instance, in what case is *Suśil-ke*? Bengali grammarians get over the difficulty by saying that *Suśil-ke* is the subject of the verb, which, logically, it is. Mr. Milne, somewhat dubiously, suggests that this is a parallel to the Latin *me ire necesse est*. Perhaps he may find a clue in the fact that the verb *haran* has come to mean "to become". If, then, the infinitive *dite* be taken as a verbal noun, then the construction might be "the giving of ten rupees has befallen Suśil". So *āmāke yāite haibek* means "I must go", and perhaps the literal sense is "going will befall me". Perhaps this may explain, in some measure, such highly idiomatic expressions as *talchan chele-velār saī-ke mane paḍila*, "then she remembered the friend of her youth." *Mane paḍā* would be equivalent to remembrance, and the sentence might be, more or less literally, "then coming-to-mind befel the friend of her

youth." In verbs like this the presence of a noun seems to be felt so that, in some cases, the object is put in the genitive as an alternative to the objective case. The most interesting instance is that cited on p. 299 where the causal of *dekhan*, "to see," is used reflexively. Here we get the construction *candra-ke choṭa dekhāiteche*, "the moon shows small," "moon" being in the objective form. Apparently the observer is in the speaker's mind as the seer. A variant is the quasi-passive form, as in *candra-ke ujḡval dekhā yāiteche*, "the moon is seen bright." In this case we seem, as Mr. Milne says, to arrive at the point of taking *dekhā* as a verbal noun, and not as a participle, as in the corresponding construction in Hindi. But explanations of such idioms in foreign tongues matter little; the student has to learn to *use* them, and in this and many other instances Mr. Milne supplies an abundance of examples, which his reader is at liberty to analyse as he will. In this connexion it may be noted that on p. 293 Mr. Milne gives an excellent explanation of the use of the verbal noun, which in Bengali has come to be used much as the infinitive is used in such French phrases as "le rire", "le savoir".

Mr. Milne's book is full of interesting and valuable information, not the least useful being the excellent notes in chapter xxii on the idiomatic uses of particles and other words. Several of these are very elusive and difficult to render, for instance *ta* or *to* as an expletive. Sometimes, if the suggestion may be allowed, it has the sense of "you see", or "don't you see?"

But a detailed discussion of Mr. Milne's crowded pages reminds one of a pregnant sentence cited by him: *pūrvve āmi ei bhāṣā anek-tā jānitām, kintū se sakal bhaliyā giyāchi*. If this be the case with any old resident of Bengal, no better means of refreshing his memory could be found than Mr. Milne's excellent treasury of idiomatic phrases.

If I may make one criticism, it is that Mr. Milne's fashion of transliterating is not quite up-to-date. When it is a question of providing equivalents for Bengali letters it is obviously convenient to use the script familiar to readers of this Journal. For a record of the actual pronunciation, it is perhaps best to use the characters of the I.P.A. or some similar phonetic script. *Bakko* or *bakyo* as representing the sound of *vākya*; *jogyotā* or *ioggota* for *yogyatā* are obviously useless to readers unprovided with a teacher. There are even more serious objections to *nyajjyo* for *nyāyya* and *dhairjyo* for *dhairyya*. But this is an objection of little practical importance, since students of Bengali are not likely to learn pronunciation by eye. There are many matters in Mr. Milne's book which invite and would repay discussion, not in a spirit of criticism, but because he himself calls attention to idioms which have not hitherto been analysed. Perhaps an opportunity may occur for returning to some of these. In the meanwhile, it is a pleasure to say that here we have at last a full and authoritative guide to the most difficult and interesting feature in modern Bengali—its very varied and expressive idioms.

J. D. A.

MONUMENTAL JAVA. By J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A.

The author has presented us with a very interesting and readable treatise on the numerous archæological remains in the island of Java. Since everyone looks at a subject from his own point of view, and since it is very evident that Mr. Scheltema is not only an archæologist but a poet—a combination, be it said, of great value to the world—he has allowed himself considerable latitude in dealing with the romance of the island's history, and in depicting the extreme beauty of its scenery and surroundings. Every page teems with vivid word-painting, and much of the description reads as if it were

poetry translated into prose. Here is a passage (p. 91) in which the writer speaks of the veneration paid by women of all classes to the statue called "Loro Jonggrang" at Prambanan—"As the exhalations of the incense rise to the dying rays of the sun and mix with the scent of the *Kembangan telon*, the flowers of sacrifice, *melati*, *kananya* and *kantil*, the sighing of the trees in the evening breeze repeats the lessons taught by an ancient inscription found near the temples of Prambanan." Another, anent a visit to the cluster of temples called Chandi Sewa—"By the time we reach the thousand temples, Surya, the sun-god, has driven his fiery carriage to the zenith of his daily course through the air, and the fire-eyed *rakshasas*, who guard the enclosure of holiness, two for each of the four entrances, stretch their gigantic limbs with dreadful menace in the warm brilliancy of indefinite space, tangible terror . . . Behind them reigns the stillness of a tropical noon, subduing heaven and earth to silent but intensely passionate day-dreams." Let no one quarrel with the author for this style of description; his enthusiasm is a just and well-deserved tribute to the charm and fascination of this beautiful land, while his description of the monolithic monster with his threatening aspect and "fiery" eyes is admirably just. The ordinary Indian *dvārapāla* guarding the gates of temples, stiff and sleepy as he always seems, compares most unfavourably with the wild and savage Javanese *rākshasa*. A photograph of the monolith is given at p. 191, while another, from the position in which it was taken, perhaps almost better, may be seen opposite p. 422 of the J.R.A.S. for April, 1906.

But for the readers of this Journal it is necessary to close our eyes to the glamour, and confine ourselves to the history and archæology of the subject.

Very little is known as to the period when Hindu settlers arrived in the island, but it is clear that they

were there before the fifth century A.D., early in which Fah Hien records that he found Brahmanism already established, while Buddhism was slowly making its way. The temples are all constructed after Indian, and apparently Southern Indian, models, with, especially in the east, a strong admixture of an art either indigenous or Cambodian in origin; but it is not too much to say that in the matter of their sculpture, notably in the bas-reliefs representing the Buddhist *jātakas* and the scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, there is a freedom and boldness infinitely superior to anything to be seen in all the length and breadth of India. The nearest approach to these, perhaps, is to be found in the best period of the sculptures at Amarāvati; and if anyone should desire to compare the two styles he may very well take as an example the relief at Boro Budur, representing a shipwreck, of which an admirable illustration is given at p. 259, and compare the Javanese treatment of the subject with that of the ship-relief at the Amarāvati tope.

Mr. Scheltema does not, so far as can be gathered, definitely fix any date for the construction of the enormous mass of the Boro Budur temple-dagoba, but he states (p. 210) that there are reasons for believing that the Chandi Mendoot temple was built shortly after the former, namely between A.D. 778 and 928, or Saka 700-850. If so we might assign a date about or perhaps a little earlier than A.D. 750 for Boro Budur. This was certainly the opinion of Dr. Brandes. If we are to be guided solely by the style of the architecture and by clues obtained from certain features in the sculpture we should be led to assume that the structure belongs to a period early in the seventh century, since in many respects it closely resembles parts of the great rock-cut group south of Madras known as "The seven pagodas" and other Brahmanical temples of the same date. The Menangkābu inscription in Sumatra (A.D. 656), which states that

a Javanese sovereign, a follower of the Buddha, had already erected a seven-storied vihāra, also seems to lend strength to this opinion, since no other remains exist in the least answering to this description. But in reply to this Dr. Brandes pointed out to the present writer when visiting the remains in his company that some of the scroll-work was evidently Chālukyan in origin and not earlier than the ninth century, while it is permissible to conjecture that the style of a Javanese monument at that period might have been taken from originals in India which were erected a couple of centuries earlier. The exact date, therefore, is not very easy to fix.

The Prambanan group of temples is remarkable as showing how Mahāyānist Buddhism assimilated all the elements of Brahmanism. In themselves the temples summon worshippers to the shrines of the Trimūrti, Śiva predominating, but yet over all is seen the attempt to convince the devotee that the Brahmanical deities were in reality none other than Bōdhisattvas.

"The most beautiful, for many reasons also the most remarkable temple in East Java and, with the exception of the Boro Budur, the largest in the whole island" is Chandi Panataram, near Blitar (p. 164). It was apparently constructed in the fourteenth century; at least the date Śaka 1242 (A.D. 1320) appears engraved on one of the *rākshasas*. The sculptures of the great detached basement are amongst the most beautiful in the world, and the Rāmāyāna frieze compares favourably with that at Prambanan.

Mr. Scheltema is to be congratulated for having produced a remarkably interesting book, and one illustrated with exceptionally good reproductions from photographs. His vignette headings to chapters, also, are useful and instructive, being examples of Javanese chandi ornament and conventional treatment of scenery, mountains, trees. The study of this ornament in all its

development was a favourite recreation of the late, much lamented, Dr. Brandes, who had projected the publication of an exhaustive work on the subject.

R. SEWELL.

RENWARD BRANDSTETTERS MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR INDONESISCHEN SPRACHFORSCHUNG. X. Der Artikel des Indonesischen verglichen mit dem des Indogermanischen. Luzern: E. Haag, 1913.

In the above-named monograph the learned author discusses the articles, definite, indefinite, etc. (for other kinds exist) of no less than forty-four Indonesian languages, and (by way of appendix) a Polynesian one, viz. Samoan. He also compares the various uses of the article in the Indonesian and Indo-European families, thereby introducing to our notice many curious analogies in these two unconnected sets of languages. The whole work is characterized by almost encyclopædic learning and sound scholarly judgment. But the subject-matter hardly lends itself to a succinct summing-up. The various forms of the article in use in Indonesian languages are very numerous, and cannot be brought under any one head. Several of them appear to have been originally demonstratives, some others are evidently connected with the numeral "one". Some languages display great complexity in their use of these words, and there is much that cannot as yet be explained. Very strange, for instance, are the inflected articles of the Kupang dialect, where the plural is formed by adding *s* to the singular. This simple device, with which we are so familiar in our own family of languages, strikes one as entirely out of place in the Indonesian one.

But there are many other peculiarities elsewhere, and perhaps the most remarkable thing about the whole subject is the diversity disclosed by the inquiry. It would seem as though the several sub-groups of the Indonesian family had each chosen its own line of

development in this matter, though retaining traces of an older system which was presumably common to all of them originally. Apparently the most tangible relics of this former state of things are the personal articles *si* and *i* and the honorific *ra*. That is a relatively small historical background as compared with the large number of differences that now exist; and the result of Dr. Brandstetter's comprehensive research, while establishing certain general principles of much interest, is mainly to throw a good deal of new light on the various systems in actual use. In this respect it will undoubtedly prove of material assistance to students of the individual languages concerned.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE BURNEY PAPERS. Vol. I, Parts I-IV; Vol. II, Parts I-VI; Vol. III, Part I. Vajirañāṇa National Library, Bangkok, 1910-12.

The National Library of Siam has done well to print this collection of historical material. It comprises a large number of despatches, reports, and other pieces judiciously selected from the records of the India Office, which cover the interesting and important years 1822-33. They are chiefly concerned with the relations between Siam and Great Britain, through the medium of the East India Company during that period. As these relations directly affected the fortunes of the Malay Peninsula and those southern parts of Burma which became British territory after our first Burma war, they naturally have a special interest for students of the history of those regions as well. A great portion of the correspondence printed in these volumes is dated from Penang, and the influence of the local Government of the Straits Settlements (at that time under India) repeatedly made itself felt. Unfortunately it was unable to impose its views on Calcutta and London, where other considerations had to

be taken into account. Hence the vacillating and incoherent course of the policy of the Company in relation to the States of the Malay Peninsula, which was to be a source of much trouble later on, and the after-effects of which have only recently been removed by a diplomatic deal between Siam and ourselves.

The position was indeed a difficult one and full of inherent inconsistencies. We were in Penang by virtue of a grant from the Sultan of Kēdah, made in full expectation that he was gaining a firm ally in the Company. Yet the moment we had gone into possession we found that he was, at any rate nominally, a feudatory of Siam, and as the Company had carefully guarded itself from making an expressly worded defensive alliance with him, it was enabled to crawl out of its moral responsibility to its grantor while retaining the grant. Later on, when Siam had recovered its strength and was encroaching on the independent states of the Peninsula, and thus threatening to undermine the sources of our local trade, the Penang Government felt bound to have its say, and in the end these pretensions were checked. But nothing was done to save Kēdah from a barbarous and treacherous aggression on the part of its titular overlord, whose undoubted historic rights could hardly be said to justify his outrageous method of enforcing them. At that moment, if Calcutta had allowed Penang a free hand, there is no doubt that the horrors of the Siamese invasion could have been prevented by a word from us. But that word was not allowed to be spoken and the atrocities took their course, incidentally adding a large fugitive population to our territory of Province Wellesley, which has flourished exceedingly ever since. All the sympathies of the Penang Government and the community generally were, it must be understood, unreservedly with the victims of this attack, many of whom were personally well known and popular in the island. But the Company, with its

Burmese troubles on hand, was not prepared to run the risk of a Siamese war as well, and the local Government was not allowed to move a step. Even at this distance of time it is difficult to read these papers without feeling some indignation at the frigidly calculating and pusillanimous policy of the authorities at headquarters.

When things in Burma had settled down it was deemed advisable to come to some arrangement with Siam. Hence the mission of Captain Burney, after whom this collection of papers has been named. It was hoped that trade and diplomatic relations with Siam would be put upon a better footing, and that some of the mischief and wrong done in the Malay Peninsula might be undone and redressed. As regards the former part of the objects of his mission, Captain Burney met with considerable success, and his treaty paved the way to that closer intimacy between the two nations which has developed in such a satisfactory manner in more recent times. To that extent the mission was a great event in history, and its general results were destined to be of great ultimate profit and advantage, not merely to us but also to Siam and to all the nations that entered into relations with her, either in the way of commerce or diplomacy. But the Penang Government was bitterly disappointed. Practically nothing was done to improve the evils of the local situation, and the treaty for many years only stereotyped a state of things which caused friction all round and poisoned an open wound. Ultimately the course of events did what the treaty had left undone, restoring to Kēdah its native dynasty and eventually bringing both that state and several others from the sphere of Siamese protection into the British one. But if they were handicapped for nearly a century by a *status* in which they could not expect much assistance from either side, these states have Captain Burney and his treaty to thank for it. No doubt it was not his fault; he probably did his best under the then existing

circumstances, but the upshot (so far as these states were concerned) was stagnation, tempered by the consoling reflection that neither King Log nor King Stork could interfere with them very much, each having tied the other's hands. And that may have been something to be thankful for, after all, from the point of view of those who were less concerned with progress than with being left alone to live their lives in their own way.

This collection of papers contains much interesting information on many matters besides those to which I have alluded. It is so voluminous that I cannot pretend to have read through it all, and can only hope to have given a fair idea of some of the leading topics with which it deals. I need make no apology to the enlightened State of Siam of to-day for my adverse criticism on the Siam of a century ago; they are two very different entities, and much of the difference is attributable to the efforts of the diplomatist whose proceedings are so fully chronicled in these pages. Were there nothing else, the very publication of these historical materials would be evidence of the broad-minded attitude of the present Siamese administration, and its example in this particular might well be more extensively followed in some of our own dependencies. For whatever the errors of the past, nothing but good can come of honestly letting the light of day fall upon its records.

I have noticed few mistakes in the printing, except in some Malay words and titles with which Bangkok editors and printers are apparently not quite familiar. In all other respects these volumes do credit to the local press. But why should documents of such great public interest be marked "Printed for private circulation"? It is rather a mystery to me, but as the Royal Asiatic Society has been favoured with them, I presume that this superscription cannot have been intended to be taken quite literally. We may perhaps infer from a prefatory

note that it merely emphasizes the fact that the work was published primarily for circulation to subscribers. The series is not yet finished and the promised Index will add greatly to its practical usefulness, but it has seemed to me worth while to take the present opportunity of saying a few words in commendation of it without waiting for its eventual completion.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE TEMPLE OF DENDÛR. By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.
Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Les Temples
Immergés de la Nubie. Le Caire, 1911.

Mr. Aylward M. Blackman has performed very well indeed the work set him of recording the inscriptions of the Temple of Dendûr in Lower Nubia for the Service des Antiquités of Egypt, under the direction of Sir Gaston Maspero. His results are published in a handsome volume of Sir Gaston Maspero's series entitled *Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie*, with full advantage of fine format, spacious arrangement, broad margins, and large type. It is true that English always looks odd printed in French type, with its long lean faces, its *l*'s serif'd in the middle, and its straight-tailed *y*'s, but we have got used to this type in Egyptian official publications printed at the Imprimerie Nationale of Cairo, and it gives a very distinctive appearance to the Cairene Egyptological books. Mr. Blackman's volume stands with the best of these. He has said all that could be said about the Temple of Dendûr. There was much to do in the copying of the inscriptions, but there was not much to say about them. One can tell all there is to be told of importance about Dendûr in a very few sentences. Nevertheless, what little there is to tell is unusually interesting for an Egyptian temple, not to speak of a Nubian one.

The little sanctuary of Dendûr was not dedicated primarily to any of the high gods of the Egyptian pantheon, though most of these were contemplar with the chief dedicatees. These were two local demigods, Petisis and Pihor, who were saints or santons, sheykhs, as a modern Egyptian would say, and as Mr. Blackman calls them,¹ rather than gods. In one inscription Petisis is called the *šai* or "agathodaemon" of Dendûr. They had been actual men and were the sons of Qupar, probably a local chief. From the way in which they are mentioned in the Dendûr inscriptions it is evident that they owed their worship to the fact that they had been drowned in the Nile, carried away by the waters of Hapi. Death by drowning in the sacred river was regarded as conferring holiness on the drowned, who were spoken of as the "praised" ones, *hasie*. But I would note that many persons must have been drowned in the Nile every year, and they did not all become demigods, or even "sheykhs". To be worshipped after death one must have been worshipful (*hery*) in the old sense, in life, and we cannot doubt that Qupar was an important chief of the Dendûr district, both of whose sons had been carried away by the river and drowned; the two young chiefs would then be accorded special semi-divine honours. Pihor seems to have been associated more with the village of Qurteh, not far off, than with Dendûr; probably he was chief (*p-hery*) of Qurteh.

¹ Commenting on a title given to one of these "sheykhs", which would appear to describe him as "the Dweller in the Underworld", a dead person or Osiris of power in Hades, Mr. Blackman compares the expression *ihwân-na min taht el-ard*, "our brothers beneath the earth," which he says is often used by the fellahin in speaking of sheykhs (p. 83, n. 4). But I do not see that in the mouth of a modern fellah this need mean anything more than it would mean in that of a modern European; it simply denotes those who are buried in the cemetery. The old Nubian regarded Pihor as a very potent Osiris and god of the Underworld; there can be nothing of this in the very natural expression *ihwân-na min taht el-ard*.

Their temple may have been built not very long after their deaths, but the present building is not the original one. It is a new creation of the reign of Augustus, and no trace of the old temple remains. Probably this was Ptolemaic, as the names of the sons of Qupar do not allow us to date them at any rate before the Saïte period.

The temple is small, with its shrine backing against the low rock-cliffs of the river bank, and with a pylon in front standing on a stone quay platform. Its walls are covered with the usual coarsely executed relief sculpture of the period, carved on the blocks of soft Nubian sandstone of which the building is composed. Mr. Blackman has catalogued these reliefs, has noted the number of the appearances of the various gods, and has described the various headdresses in which appears the conventional Pharaoh who does duty for Cæsar Augustus. He also notes the peculiarities of the inscriptions, consisting chiefly in misspellings and so forth. "Autokrator," the title of Augustus, the stonecutters could spell aright only once; in every other case it is misspelled. Mr. J. Dixon, who assisted Mr. Blackman in his work, has drawn some of these late hieroglyphs for us (plate cxiii). They are of the usual clumsy Ptolemaic fashion, but, as Mr. Blackman observes, "some of the animal signs, especially the birds, have a certain rude vigour." The lions, however, are very mild poodles indeed.

Mr. Blackman has made it clear that Dendûr is the Tutzis of the ancients, and that the appellation "Enthûre", formerly supposed to be the old name of Dendûr, is a mistake. Petisis, then, is not the Agathodaimon of "Enthûre", but of Tutzis. This reading is confirmed by an interesting demotic graffito in the temple, which has been translated for Mr. Blackman by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith.

Mr. Dixon gives a copy of the well-known Coptic inscription in the temple which commemorates the "raising of the cross" here by the monk Abraham at

the command of the Nubian king Eirpanome, when Joseph was exarch of Talmis (Kalābsha) and Theodorus bishop of Philæ (A.D. 577). This is a monument of the Christianizing of the Nubians, who in after years preserved their faith so stoutly long after Egypt had largely fallen away to Islām, as stoutly as they had preserved their Paganism long after Egypt had become Christian.

Messrs. Blackman and Dixon finished their work with an examination of the scanty remains of a smaller temple near by, at Ajtāla or Abu Hor, which has a ruined quay terrace before it, now, since the heightening of the Aswān dam, completely submerged. On this account the few remains of the temple (the door and a few displaced blocks) were in 1910, a year after the work of Messrs. Blackman and Dixon, transported by Sir G. Maspero to Cairo, where they have been set up in the Museum. The building was of Roman date, and a Greek inscription found in it shows that in Roman times the place was called Paptoulis.

It remains only to say that this monograph is very fully illustrated by photographs, most of them well reproduced, and by Mr. Dixon's drawings. A plan of Dendûr is given; previously the old one of Grau (*Antiquités de la Nubie*, pl. 23) had been the best. The whole book is a very creditable piece of work.

H. R. HALL.

S. EPHRAIM'S PROSE REFUTATIONS OF MANI, MARCION,
AND BARDAISAN. By C. W. MITCHELL, M.A. Vol. I.
Text and Translation Society.

We must first congratulate Mr. Mitchell heartily on the success of his patient and thorough labour on a palimpsest in the British Museum. It is no small matter to have restored an early treatise by an important writer which has lain hidden for centuries under other writing, itself ancient.

And the discovery of this polemic against Manichæism appears at an opportune time, when light is being thrown on the tenets of that religion by the discoveries of Mr. von Le Coq in Turfan. The doctrines refuted in the first of the discourses discovered by Mr. Mitchell, viz. the Second Discourse to Hypatius, are those described by Theodore Bar Khoni in M. Pognon's *Coupes de Khouabir*, and the mention of Great Ban, one of the second Triad created by the Father of Majesty to repel the assaults of Darkness, has hitherto only been found in that book; here the name occurs repeatedly. Other doctrines, such as the attraction of Light for Darkness, the refilling and emptying of the Moon with light, etc., are better known as characteristically Manichæan. These and others S. Ephraim dissects with the cold steel of common sense.

The expressions *Zaddiqā*, *Zaddiqatha*, pp. xliii, 13, xciii, penult., support Professor Browne's interpretation of the term *Zindiq* for Manichæan (*Literary History of Persia*). Another interesting point is the occurrence of two allusions to or quotations from the "Hymn of the Soul", thus lending support to Professor Bevan's theory of the Bardesanian origin of that curious poem.

The translation is unusually clear and careful, especially considering the difficulty of the subject-matter and of the passages where not even Mr. Mitchell's ingenuity and patience have been able to elicit a clear text.

I venture to offer a few suggestions. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ, p. xci, 12, not "who cut off hope", but "who despaired"; it is a usual Syriac idiom. ܕܠܚܒܐ, pp. cii, 14, and cxv, 22, read "staggers or reels"; "perturbed" hardly conveys the idea of the results of drunkenness. ܕܠܥܠܐ, p. lxxxiv, *infra*, and f., has the meaning "appearance" as well as that of "colour", and the former meaning is more appropriate here. Perhaps "aboriginal" for "native", as stronger and clearer, p. lxiii, 16.

We await with much interest the continuance of Mr. Mitchell's work, and in especial the remarks and notes promised in his concluding volume.

SKETCH OF HEBREW GRAMMAR. By HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D. 8vo; pp. 95. London: University of London Press, 1913. 5s.

It will be generally agreed that if a grammar, and especially a short grammar, is to prove useful and to hold its own among a host of grammars, it must fulfil the following conditions: It must be clear. It must be precise and withal complete. The principal rules of inflexion and syntax must be given. Details as far as possible should be omitted. Exceptions here and there when they are too important to be ignored should be mentioned and paradigms clearly drawn, and, above all, facts and citations must be absolutely reliable. Such a grammar may be an abstract from a larger compilation and prepared for the use of the tyro, but that would certainly diminish very considerably the scientific value of such a short grammar. It would leave matters precisely where they were before this abstract was made. It must keep abreast with the latest results of philological investigation, and the author must be able to sum them up in a thoroughly scientific manner. It must also contain, I hold, therefore some original views of the author, for the book would gain very considerably by such original views, especially on doubtful points.

If such conditions be necessary for every grammar they are still more so an essential condition for an Hebrew grammar, for one might state without fear of contradiction that scarcely any language has been subjected to so many theories and so many grammatical expositions as the Hebrew language, and yet there is no finality. Thus

far all the grammars have been dealing with the Hebrew language as preserved in the Massoretic text of the Bible and encased within one system of pronunciation. I have not the slightest doubt, however, that from very ancient times there were many and different forms of pronunciation of the Hebrew. The so-called Babylonian or superlinear system of vocalization goes a long way to prove this fact, which moreover is represented to this very day by the difference of pronunciation still existing between Eastern and Western Jews or in Europe between Sephardim and Ashkenazim. An examination of fragments found in the Genizah as well as MSS. written for popular use independent of the rigid tradition of the Biblical text has still more convinced me of this fact. But a Hebrew grammar cannot take cognisance of these differences if it is to be useful. It has to deal with the Bible as found among us, and in that respect Dr. Hirschfeld's small grammar, which he modestly calls a *Sketch of the Hebrew Grammar*, fulfils all the conditions laid down.

We have here within seventy pages a concise, clear, comprehensive exposition of all the leading facts and of all the guiding principles of Hebrew grammar sketched by a practised hand and a profound Semitic scholar.

Though Dr. Hirschfeld bases his book on Gesenius *Lehrgebäude* (*Lehrgebände* is a printing mistake) and accepts Barth's views on the formation of the nouns in preference to Lagarde, he none the less has his own original views. He adds also the results of his own investigations and thus presents to the students an advanced stage of Hebrew grammar, and yet in simple language, lucid, brief, and reliable. Here and there one can see the influence which Arabic has exercised upon his views, for apparently he finds in the Arabic more archaic forms in the inflexion than preserved in Hebrew; a debatable point, but the author is entitled to his own

views, as he does not press them upon us. Add to this the trained eye of the teacher, who through long experience has learned to know what is essential and what may be considered as accidental, he makes his book of practical utility for the beginner, as well as for the one who has already mastered some elements of Hebrew.

Especially noteworthy are the choice of examples and of roots for the conjugation of verbs. Some derivations like those of **אשכל** from **אשך** (p. 49), cf. **נבעל** or **כרמל** or **גלול** from **געל**, hitherto taken from **גלל** (p. 48), are worthy of consideration, for they are as novel as they seem to be true.

The Index to the Biblical passages with which this sketch concludes, as well as the handy size and the beautiful printing, makes welcome its appearance, for it is answering a necessity felt especially by teachers and by beginners.

M. GASTER.

BACTRIA: THE HISTORY OF A FORGOTTEN EMPIRE. By
H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S. Probsthain's Oriental
Series.

Bactria played many parts in the ancient history of Asia. It was the home of the prehistoric Aryas; and the Achæmenids, the Macedonians, Kushans, White Huns, Turks, and Chinese were successively its masters. For some of them it formed the boundary of their empire; it was the seat of empire for the rest. It was a country of settled agricultural Iranians, and also of semi-Aryanized nomads of various stocks, whom Mr. Rawlinson calls the Bactrian chivalry, but whom Q. Curtius calls robbers. All the nomads of the Central Asian steppes from the Caspian Sea to the Gobi Desert were, with a few insignificant exceptions, mounted men and archers. Thus Bactria denoted a country rather than a nationality, and late classical writers, like Ammianus Marcellinus, do not

hesitate to designate by the word Bactrian tribes of foreign origin like the Tochari. Under the Achæmenids and Macedonians Bactria formed the bulwark of civilization against the hordes of the steppes. Later it came into the possession of some of these hordes; the Kushan kings of Bactria extended their dominion to the borders of Armenia, and from Bactria Sacæ, Kushans, and White Huns, with a multitude of other barbarians, poured at various times into Media, Seistan, and India. But Bactria owes its importance chiefly to the part it played in the history of ancient Asiatic civilization. The Zoroastrian religion was here elaborated, and here it received its final form. The trade from Northern Asia in furs and other materials passed through the country, and to this was added, about the commencement of the Christian era, the trade in Chinese silks. The Iranian Bactrians were born merchants, and made their appearance not only in Babylon and Seleucia, but in the marts of Syria and Egypt; and Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians travelled to Bactria for the silk trade. Moreover, Bactria became a home for all persecuted peoples and sects. Christians, especially Christian heretics, like the followers of Bardaisan, Nestorians, Mazdakites, Manichæans, found a refuge there, and spread throughout Central Asia some knowledge of letters and of art. Nor did Bactria remain unaffected by the civilization of the Chinese; it became the meeting-ground of various influences which spread their ramifications in many directions. To write a history of Bactria is an arduous task; to write it in detail with our present materials is impossible.

Mr. Rawlinson has not attempted this task. He has confined himself to the history of the Greco-Bactrian and Greco-Indian kingdoms. An introductory chapter on the physical aspect of the country, and another on the rule of the Achæmenids in Bactria and India, preface the work. These are perhaps the poorest chapters in the book.

When Mr. Rawlinson comes to deal with the Greeks he improves greatly, and the chapter on Alexander's conquests is among the best. It would, however, have been well to have given a fuller account of the colonies of Greeks and invalided Macedonians Alexander settled in Bactria. The mutiny of the Greek garrison at Bactra, their flight across Asia, and the unhappy fate of the survivors, is a romantic piece of history; and the revolt of the Greek colonists upon Alexander's death throws an instructive light on Alexander's policy, and the relations of the Macedonians to the Greeks. From Alexander Mr. Rawlinson passes to Diodotus and the establishment of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The campaign of Antiochus III, the invasion of India by the Greco-Bactrians, and the wars between the rival houses of Demetrius and Eucratides follow in due order, and we finally lose ourselves in the shady confusion of the Greco-Indian kingdom. The whole of this period of history is still in the crucible; there are few fixed points regarding which there is any general consensus; and, if Mr. Rawlinson does nothing to clear up the obscurity, he gives his own version of the history in a readable form. His work is primarily meant for the general reader; it is intelligent and scholarly; and the work answers the purpose for which it was intended. The author has studied Strabo and Q. Curtius and Justin at first hand, and there are not many actual slips. The worst is perhaps one on p. 12, n. 7, where he appears to confound Isidore, the famous Bishop of Seville, with Isidore of Charax, who lived six hundred years earlier. A bibliography is appended to each chapter. It is perhaps due to the poverty of Indian libraries that he has omitted such valuable works as M. Sylvain Lévi's *Quid de Græcis*, etc., and the third volume of Droysen's *Geschichte d. Hellenismus*.

J. K.

HUNAIN IBN ISHĀK UND SEINE SCHULE. By Dr. GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄSSER. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913.

This work is a minute and technical examination of certain Arabic versions of medical works of Hippocrates and Galen made by Hunain b. Ishāk and his followers. It is by no means light reading; and to appreciate it requires much special knowledge. Following, then, the example of the examination candidate who, anxious that no part of his sum of learning should be lost, said that before dealing with a question on the binomial theorem it might be well to explain fully the working of the common pump, I may say that Dr. Bergsträsser's review of the *Irshād al-Arīb*, vols. i-iii (ZDMG., vol. lxxv, p. 797, 1911), was assuredly good, for it has brought on him in these pages (JRAS., 1911, p. 813) what amounts to a positive command from Professor Goldziher to treat likewise the remaining vols. v and vi of that work—and vol. vi will shortly appear; and besides, the British Museum authorities have thought fit to bind a copy of his review with vol. iii, in the belief that it will continue of value even after the work has been completed by the analytical index announced by its editor.

Assuming, therefore, *Hunain* to be on an equal level, that level must be a high one. This work, too, partakes largely of the nature of a review: some of its pages contain criticism of Max Simon's *Sieben Bücher Anatomie des Galen*, etc.; in others the question is discussed whether the language of that text is rightly to be described as vulgar, i.e. unclassical. The work seems most searching and thorough in character, and it is apparent that Professor Fischer's method is being carried on by his pupil.

One name occurs on p. 9 which is familiar, that of Hilāl al-Ṣābi. Dr. Bergsträsser considers a certain passage to indicate that a work by Hunain was dedicated to some member of this family, and not, as suggested by Cheikhō, to Hilāl b. Abi Hilāl al-Himṣi (*Fihrist*, 244, 267). The

word preceding "Hilāl" may conceivably represent "Ibrāhīm"—not the statesman of that name, whose birth was later than Hunain's death, but possibly his grandfather Ibrāhīm b. Zahrūn al-Harrānī (Kiftī, *Hukamā*, 79), who died A.H. 309, and was therefore Hunain's contemporary.

I may take the opportunity of giving a fragment of information on the statesman's lost work, the *Kitāb al-Tājī*—see *Irshād al-Arib*, i, 325, l. 5, and 333, l. 13, where the latter passage is given by Yākūt on the authority of Hilāl al-Šābi, the grandson. That passage appears also almost verbatim in the account of Ibrāhīm's release from prison in A.H. 371 by 'Aḍud al-Daula, in the *Dhail* to the *Tajārīb al-Umam* by Abu Shujā', d. A.H. 488 (Wüst. Gesch., No. 227), to a copy of which I have had access.¹ Abu Shujā' goes on to say that the *Kitāb al-Tājī* was worthy of its author; that its termination coincided with that of the *Tajārīb* (viz. 'Aḍud al-Daula's fatal illness in A.H. 369), some of the phrases used being similar; but that the work being accessible could speak for itself, for a blood horse was recognized at sight.² Time's vicissitudes have turned these last words to irony, for all that is known of the contents of the *Tājī* rests on its author's own statement that it was a "tissue of folly and falsehood" (*Irshād*, i, 325), a statement possibly justified on the

¹ Wüstenfeld dates the author's death A.H. 513: it should be A.H. 488, see Ibn al-Athīr, x, 171, Ibn Khall., de Sl. transl., iii, 288, and Dhahabī, B.M. Or. 50, 214*, where he says of himself that he had entered on office without an enemy, and had left it without a friend.

² وهو (يعنى الكتاب الذى سمّاه التاجى فى الدولة الديلمية) كتاب بديع التصريف حسن التصنيف فان ابا اسحق كان من فرسان البلاغة الذين لا تكتبوا مراكبهم ولا تنبوا مضاربهم . ووجدنا اخره موافقاً لآخر كتاب تجارب الأمم حتى ان بعض الالفاظ تشابه فى خاتمتها وانتهى القولان فى التاريخ بهما الى اميد واحد . والكتاب موجود يعنى تأمله عن الإخبار عنه : ان الجواز عيه قرأه .

assumption that he had been lately engaged on his sovereign's pedigree. This, according to Ibn al-Athir, viii, 197, was traced from the poor fisherman Buwaih, alternatively, up to Shāpūr Dhu-l-Aktāf or, more modestly, to Yazdajird. Ibn al-Athir prefers the former, not on the ground of intrinsic merit, but by reason of its high authority, Ibn Mākūlā (d. A.H. 487, Brock. i, 354). The Yazdajird pedigree he ascribes to Abu 'Ali Miskawaih, but no mention of it occurs in the *Tajārib*, neither in the notice of the Buwaihids' rise as told in the recently appeared vol. v at p. 433 (see the Summary of Contents, p. xlv), nor, so far as I know, in the concluding vol. vi. This is one of many passages which suggest the possibility that another and fuller recension of the *Tajārib* was drawn on by later historians.

In conclusion, Dr. Bergsträsser may note that vol. v of the *Tajārib* is ready for review, and that his surmise when dealing with vol. i (ZDMG., vol. lxv, at p. 618) that, unlike that volume, vol. v might prove to contain matter not present in Tabari is fully justified.

H. F. A.

OBITUARY NOTICE

THOMAS HENRY THORNTON, C.S.I.

SINCE the last issue of this Journal the Asiatic Society has had to deplore the loss of one of its Vice-Presidents, Mr. Thomas Henry Thornton, C.S.I., who died at Bath on March 10, 1913.

Thornton was born in 1832, so that his life had been a long one; and it had been not only long but full and honourable. The son of a man of some distinction as a journalist, who had served on the staff of the *Times*, he was educated at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford, of which College, after taking honours in Classics and Modern History, he became a Fellow. This was in 1855, when the Indian Civil Service was being thrown open to competition, and Thornton was one of the first batch of "competition wallahs". Among the twenty who were selected from more than a hundred candidates there were several who did well in India, and one whose career was somewhat closely connected with Thornton's, namely, Charles Aitchison, who passed sixth on the list, Thornton coming out tenth. Both were sent to the Punjab, both did good service in the Mutiny, and both held for a time—Aitchison for an unusually long time—the post of Foreign Secretary. It was my good fortune when a young man to serve under them in turn as an Attaché in the Foreign Office, and to know them both well.

Thornton's service in the Mutiny won him considerable reputation. There is not space to describe it at length, but Lord Roberts, in his *Forty-one Years in India*, has given an account of one stirring incident which afforded Thornton an opportunity of showing marked courage

and devotion to duty. He was serving under George Ricketts, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, when the native regiments at Jullundur and Philour, to the number of 3,000 men, broke into mutiny and marched for Delhi, the few British officers in Philour being compelled to retire to the Fort. I quote the following passage from Lord Roberts: "Ricketts had with him at that time an assistant named Thornton, who had gone to Philour to lodge some money in the Treasury. This officer had started to ride back to Ludhiana, when he suddenly became aware of what had happened, and how perilous was the position. Had he consulted his own safety he would have returned and taken refuge in the Fort, instead of which he galloped on, having to pass close by the Mutineers, until he reached the bridge of boats [over the Sutlej], which, with admirable coolness and presence of mind, he cut behind him, then, hurrying on, he informed Ricketts of what had taken place; and that the rebels might shortly be expected to attempt the passage of the river." This unselfish action on Thornton's part delayed the advance of the rebels on Ludhiana, and enabled Ricketts to make a gallant attempt to bar their passage across the river. The attempt failed, but, as Lord Roberts shows, it might well have been successful if others had done their duty as energetically as Ricketts and Thornton.

Only seven years later, while still a young man of 32, Thornton was appointed to the responsible post of Secretary to the Punjab Government, and this post he held for twelve years, until 1876, when Charles Aitchison, who was now Foreign Secretary, having taken furlough, Thornton was selected to act for him. It was at this time that I made Thornton's acquaintance, and a pleasanter chief to serve under I could not have had. A hard worker himself, and appreciative of hard work in others, he encouraged his officers to do their best; and off duty

his kindness and sense of humour made him a general favourite. He and his under-secretary, Frederick Henvey, were on the best of terms, and were both good friends to the juniors in the office — irreverent juniors, who habitually spoke of their chief as "Tommy".

In 1876 and 1877 Thornton presided over the arrangements for the Delhi assemblage, when Lord Lytton proclaimed the assumption by the Queen of the Imperial title. It was a fine pageant, a fitting celebration of a great act of State, and Thornton deserved much credit for its success, as did his under-secretary Henvey. For this and other services Thornton was made a Companion of the Star of India, by no means an excessive recognition of more than twenty years' distinguished work.

But both Aitchison and Thornton were Punjab officers, and pupils of John Lawrence, to whose foreign policy Lord Lytton was strongly opposed. Early in 1878, therefore, Aitchison was induced to go to Burma as Chief Commissioner, and Thornton was not chosen to fill his place, the Foreign Secretaryship going to Alfred Lyall. Thornton became a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court and a member of the Legislative Council, from which positions he retired in 1881, having then completed twenty-five years' service in India.

Thornton's Indian career was not as successful as those of some of his contemporaries. He did not rise to the highest post in his province, and he left the service without a handle to his name. Yet a man who not only has shown courage and resource in time of war, but has been a Chief Court Judge and Acting Foreign Secretary, and filled both places with credit, has a good record.

Nor was this the sum of Thornton's lifework. He was still when he retired a comparatively young man, and more than thirty years were to pass before the end. During that time he was prominent in many lines of activity, and of help to others. His long secretariat

training had given him a ready pen, and he published two notable books. Sir Robert Sandeman, also a Punjab officer, and gifted with a real genius for dealing with the wild tribes of the North-West Frontier, found in the former Punjab Secretary an understanding and sympathetic biographer. Thornton's experience of the Indian Foreign Office and Political Department enabled him to give a competent and interesting account of the life of Sir Richard Meade, one of the steadiest and soundest of the old school of political officer. Thornton also wrote some excellent review articles and other papers. Besides his literary work, he was for many years an energetic and popular Chairman of the Wandsworth Bench of Justices, and he was connected with several societies and charitable institutions. Of late the infirmities of age had grown upon him, and prevented him from attending as often as he used to do the meetings of such bodies; but to the end his face was a familiar one in the rooms of the Asiatic Society, where I last saw him, and among his colleagues he was regarded with much respect. Many, indeed, looked upon "Tommy Thornton" with real affection, for his extreme kindness of heart, his unvarying courtesy of manner, and his pleasant humour made him a large number of friends. If not a great man, he was a thoroughly good and capable one, an admirable type of the men by whom the work of the race is being carried on all over the world—men whose upright, honourable lives are a credit and a material gain to their country. And when an Englishman is gathered to his fathers no better thing can be said of him.

H. M. DURAND.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April-June, 1913)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

April 8, 1913.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Har Pratap Singh Kunwar.
Mr. W. Sheldon Ridge.
Rev. G. A. Wilder.

Four nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. Blagden read a paper on "Abdul Kadir of Malacca and his Writings".

A discussion followed, in which Sir Charles Lyall, Mr. A. G. Ellis, and Professor Hagopian took part.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 6, 1913, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mrs. Hervey.
Srimati Parvatibai Powar.
Srimant Sadashiva Rao Powar.
Mr. Gauri Shankar.

Five nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

The Secretary then read the Annual Report.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1912-13

The Council regret to report the recent loss of a distinguished Honorary Member of the Society, Count

Angelo de Gubernatis, and of an Honorary Vice-President, Dr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I. During the year 1912 itself the Society lost the following ten members by death:—

Mr. H. J. Allen.	The Maharaja Sriram Chandra
The Right Hon. the Earl of	Bhanj Deo, of Mourbanj.
Crawford and Balcarres.	Dr. Arthur Pfungst.
Mrs. Brian Hodgson.	Mr. M. J. Walhouse.
Professor H. W. Hogg.	Sir Raymond West.
Mr. Henry Morris.	Mr. F. C. Whitehouse.

Also the following twenty members by retirement:—

Mr. A. Costa.	Dr. Munna Lal.
Sir A. F. D. Cunningham.	Rev. Donald MacGillivray.
Mrs. B. E. Dutton.	Mr. C. J. Marzetti.
Mr. A. Finn.	Mr. Maung Thein Maung.
Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta,	Rev. W. Sutton Page.
K.C.S.I.	Lieut.-Col. G. S. A. Ranking.
Mr. Halil Halid.	Mr. Rustomji Faridoonji.
Sultan Saiyid Saadat Hosain	Mr. F. B. Shawe.
Shah.	Sir Everard F. Im Thurn,
Mr. W. J. Harding King.	K.C.M.G., C.B.
Mr. B. L. Kundanani.	Mr. N. P. Vaid.
Mr. Bihari Lal.	

Under Rule 25 (d) the following twenty-five persons cease to be members:—

Mr. S. Abu-Ali.	H.E. M. Hassib Bey.
Rai Girdhari Lal Agarwala.	Rai Bahadur Kaliprasanna
Mr. S. Ramanath Aiyar.	Vidyasagar.
Mr. S. Ibni-Ali.	Mr. Q. Abdul Latief.
Thekkay Kuruppath Kalyani	Syed Abu Muhammad Mahfuz.
Amma.	Mr. Gokul Chand Narang.
Mr. S. A. Aziz.	Mr. K. G. Gopala Pillai.
Mrs. Nolini Banerji.	Mr. Lawrence Pillay.
Babu Charu Chandra Bose.	Nawab Saadjung Bahadur.
Mr. T. N. Chadha.	Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastri.
Mr. J. N. Das.	Mr. M. Ba Thein.
The Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E.	Mr. Sukadeva Prasad Varma.
Babu Kedar Nath Dutt.	Mr. J. P. C. Williams.
Professor Basant Lal Gupta.	

Three persons who were elected as members—Mrs. Coralinn Danniels, Mr. Habibur Rahman Khan, and Mr. Donald H. E. Sunder—have not taken up election.

Mr. Alfred W. Domingo's resignation, received early in 1912, has been cancelled at his request, and sixty-seven new Ordinary Members have been elected :—

Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar.	Rev. B. M. Jones.
Mr. J. S. Alexander, I.C.S.	Dr. D. van Hinloopen
Mr. T. M. Alexander.	Labberton.
H.E. Yacoub Artin Pasha.	Professor Lootfi Levonian.
Mr. J. T. O. Barnard, C.I.E.	Rev. C. T. Lipshytz.
Professor Hira Lal Basu.	Rai Saheb Srikrishna Mahapatra.
Mr. A. Walton Battersby.	Mr. John P. Mead, jun.
Mr. Ram Rakha Mal Bhandari.	Mr. Kolatheri Sankara Menon,
Mr. Shambhu Dayal Bhatnagar.	M.A.
Babu Jyotischandra Bhattacharya.	Mr. Radhakumud Mookerji.
Babu Arun Chandra Chatterjea.	Munshi Mohammad Muin-uddin.
Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee.	Pandit Sundar Narayan
Babu Surendra Narayan Chaudhari.	Mushran.
Mr. Gerard L. M. Clauson.	Mr. Rajani Nath Nandi.
Mr. Godfrey F.S. Collins, I.C.S.	Mr. J. H. Oldham, M.A.
Mr. K. A. C. Creswell.	Mr. W. J. Perry.
Mr. Jonathan David Deane.	Rev. G. E. Phillips, M.A.
Professor Rama Deva.	Captain B. E. A. Pritchard.
Moulvi Muhammad Din.	Rev. W. C. B. Purser, M.A.
Mr. A. S. Fulton.	Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, of
Babu Manomohan Ganguly.	Dighapatiya.
Rev. A. S. Geden.	Professor G. R. T. Ross, M.A.,
Mr. H. Gipperich.	I.E.S.
Rev. Percival Gough.	Dr. Ashutosh Roy.
Babu Jogendra Nath Gupta.	Mr. Jotindranath Samaddar.
Mr. Suresh Chandra Gupta, M.A.	Mr. R. N. Samaddar.
Mr. Newton Henry Harding.	Babu Girija Prasanna Sanyal,
Mr. John Hilditch.	M.A.
Moulvi Wahed Hosain.	Mahamahopadhyaya G. Pandit
	Har Narain Shastri.
	Rev. W. Sherratt.

Sirdar Arjan Singh.
Sirdar Darshan Singh.
Dr. O. Strauss.
Babu Lal Sud.
Mr. Gholam Tahoor.
Mr. Mohan Lall Tannan.
Mr. R. L. Turner.
Mr. Raza Ali Wahshat.

Rev. C. T. H. Walker, M.A.
War Office, Far Eastern Sub-
section (Major C. A. L.
Yate).
Dr. Alfred Westharp.
Major Horace Hayman Wilson.
Mr. R. O. Winstedt.
Mr. Tan Tiang Yew.

The total number of members has thus increased by ten.

On the receipt side of the accounts there is nothing of any importance to be noted. The increase in members' subscriptions is only £15, and in Journal subscriptions £12.

The expenditure has been unusually heavy owing to extraordinary items, namely, repairs to the house under the old lease and legal expenses in connexion with the new lease, which amounted to just £242: a great part of this was defrayed by a donation of £100, received for the purpose during 1911 from Mr. Walter Morrison.

The accounts also include the payment of one quarter's rent now increased by £115 a year. But against this increase in rent the Society has gained some decided advantages by renewing its tenancy for another seven years; for the landlords at their own expense installed electric light throughout the house and entirely relaid the floors of the Libraries with fire-proof flooring, besides carrying out other necessary alterations.

To Mr. A. H. Wilson, the Honorary Solicitor, the Society is much indebted; for, without his advice and assistance, the negotiations with the landlords' solicitors would not have run to so successful a conclusion. The Council propose that a cordial vote of thanks to him be passed.

A great improvement for the General Meetings has also been obtained, by enlarging the opening between the two Libraries.

The Society is no worse off, notwithstanding all the expense incurred; an investment of £500 was made in 1912, out of the accumulated balances of the past few years, in South Australian Government $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ Inscribed Stock, and the Council has lately authorized an additional investment of £300 in New Zealand 4% Stock.

The Journal has appeared regularly, as usual, and has kept up fully its reputation for scholarly work.

During the year the Council accepted for publication a work from Dr. Gaster entitled *El-Asatir, or the Samaritan Apocalypse of Moses*, published for the first time with an English translation and notes, and it is expected that this will appear before the end of the current year in the Monograph Series. To the Monographs there has also been added Mr. Le Strange's translation of the *Description of the Province of Fārs* by Ibn al-Balkhī, which appeared in a series of three articles in the Journal of 1912.

In the Oriental Translation Fund Series the second volume of the translation of Jahangir's autobiography, by the late Mr. Rogers, edited by Mr. Beveridge, is in course of printing, and will be published within the year.

The Triennial Gold Medal of the Society for the year 1912 was awarded to Mr. J. F. Fleet in recognition of his distinguished services to Oriental Scholarship, especially in Indian Epigraphy and Historical Research. The Medal was presented by Lord Minto at the Anniversary Meeting.

The Public Schools' Gold Medal for 1911-12 was won by Mr. H. F. A. Keating, of Eton College, for his essay on Lord Lawrence, and the Medal was presented by Lord Harris on June 18.

The conditions and scope of the School Medal Trust have received the careful consideration of the Council during the year, and it was decided to throw open the competition to all Public Schools which should wish to join in it. When this competition was originally

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	248	17	0	927	5	6
Resident Members—79 at £3 3s.	...	...	...	...	...	
Non-Resident Members—											
7 at £1 1s.	...	...	...	...	...		7	7	0		
363 at £1 10s.	...	...	...	...	...	544	10	0			
Advance Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	...	41	9	0			
Arrears received	...	...	...	...	...	15	10	0			
Non-Resident Compounders—2 at £23 12s. 6d., and 1 completed at £18 12s. 6d.	...	...	...	...	...	65	17	6			
Part Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	...	3	15	0			
						927	5	6			
RENTS RECEIVED	...	...	...	...	...				175	7	1
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE	...	...	...	...	...				210	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT	...	...	...	...	...				348	16	3
Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	...	241	10	0			
Additional copies sold	...	...	...	...	...	75	2	0			
Sale of Pamphlets	...	...	...	...	...	15	6	0			
Advertisements	...	...	...	...	...	16	4	3			
Sale of Index	...	...	...	...	...	0	14	0			
						348	16	3			
DIVIDENDS	...	...	...	...	...				60	14	1
New South Wales 4 per cent Stock	...	...	...	...	...	30	4	8			
Midland 2½ per cent Debenture Stock	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0			
South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	4			
Local Loans Stock...	...	...	...	...	...	13	12	8			
Income Tax refunded, three years to 1912	...	...	...	...	...	6	16	5			
						60	14	1			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS	...	...	...	...	...				24	9	0
Lloyds Bank, Limited	...	...	...	...	...	21	14	6			
Post Office Savings Bank	...	...	...	...	...	2	14	6			
						24	9	0			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS	...	...	...	...	...				8	9	1
									1,755	1	0
Balance as at January 1, 1912	...	...	...	...	...				1,146	3	0
									£2,901	4	0

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock.
 £212 8s. Midland Railway 2½ per cent Debenture Stock.
 £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.
 £664 16s. 2d. South Australian Government 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1912.

PAYMENTS.									
						£	s.	d.	£ s. d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT	...	...	...	...	...				696 6 3
Rent	...	...	...	...	...	278	15	0	
Legal expenses in connexion with renewal of lease	...	...	...	...	...	41	5	0	
Insurance (including fire insurance on library £10,000)	...	...	...	...	...	12	19	8	
Repairs	...	...	...	...	...	182	11	5	
Lighting, Heating, and Water	...	...	...	...	...	33	17	6	
Furniture	...	...	...	...	...	18	7	0	
Other expenditure	...	...	...	...	...	28	10	8	
						696	6	3	
SALARIES AND WAGES	...	...	...	...	...				304 3 2
PRINTING AND STATIONERY	...	...	...	...	...				40 8 9
LIBRARY	...	...	...	...	...				26 6 1
New Books	...	...	...	...	...	19	14	4	
Binding	...	...	...	...	...	6	11	9	
						26	6	1	
JOURNAL ACCOUNT	...	...	...	...	...				539 17 6
Printing	...	...	...	...	...	451	14	0	
Illustrations	...	...	...	...	...	40	16	0	
Postage	...	...	...	...	...	47	7	6	
						539	17	6	
DONATION TO PALI DICTIONARY	...	...	...	...	...				10 10 0
POSTAGE	...	...	...	...	...				35 12 7
AUDITOR'S FEE	...	...	...	...	...				5 5 0
PURCHASE OF £512 15s. 4d. SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 3½ PER CENT INSCRIBED STOCK.									500 0 0
									2,158 9 4
BALANCE as at December 31, 1912, being cash at Bankers and in hand	...	...	...	...	...				742 14 8
Lloyds Bank, Limited	...	...	...	...	...	587	4	2	
Post Office Savings Bank	...	...	...	...	...	163	12	11	
Petty Cash	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	1	
Postage	...	...	...	...	...	1	11	6	
						742	14	8	
									£2,901 4 0

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

{ A. BERRIEDALE KEITH,
 for the Council.
 W. CREWDSON,
 for the Society.
 N.E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
 Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, *Hon. Treasurer.* LONDON, February 24, 1913.

SPECIAL FUNDS.			
RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.		1912.	
1912.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. Balance	316 1 1	...
Dec. 31. Sales	87 2 3	Vols. VII and XIII, Binding ...
Interest	3 17 6	Vol. XX, Printing, etc. ...
			Vol. XXI, Printing ...
			Vol. XXI, Binding ...
			Balance carried to Summary ...
		<u>£407 0 10</u>	131 7 10
			<u>275 13 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			139 11 0
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			52 19 10
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			1 1 0
			<u>3 6 6</u>
			4 7 6
			<u>61 4 6</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			Balance carried to Summary ...
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>
			<u>£139 11 0</u>
			<u>£52 19 10</u>
			<u>£65 12 0</u>
			<u>£407 0 10</u>

SUMMARY.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND
MONOGRAPH FUND

275 13 0
139 11 0
52 19 10
61 4 6
£529 8 4

Lloyds Bank Deposit Account ...
Do. Current Account ...

336 12 6
192 15 10
£529 8 4

FUNDS—£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent
Irredeemable B Stock (Prize Publication Fund).

J. KENNEDY, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the { A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
W. CREWDSON, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

February 24, 1913.

MEDAL FUND.

1912.
Jan. 1. Balance ...
Dec. 31. Dividends ...
Interest ...

£ s. d.
43 18 8
9 15 0
0 15 6
£54 9 2

1912.
Dec. 31.

£ s. d.
Cost of Medal ...
Sundry expenses ...
Balance at Bank ...
£54 9 2

FUNDS—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent
Irredeemable A Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

Jan. 1. Balance ...
Dec. 31. Dividends ...
Donation, A. N. W. ...
Interest ...

26 18 0
19 7 4
0 1 8
0 11 0
£46 18 0

Dec. 31.
Cost of Medal ...
Cost of Prizes and Binding, etc...
Balance at Bank ...

5 0 0
16 9 11
21 9 11
25 8 1
£46 18 0

FUNDS—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent
Irredeemable B Stock, £645 11s. 2d.

A. N. WOLLASTON.
January 1, 1913.

J. KENNEDY, *Hon. Treasurer.* LONDON, February 24, 1913.

{ A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
W. CREWDSON, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor.

We have examined the above accounts with the vouchers and have verified the Investments above described, and we hereby certify that the said accounts are true and correct.

established, in 1902, it was limited to seven public schools,—Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Westminster, and Winchester; and, besides the Gold Medal of the value of £5, a book prize of the value of £2 was given for the essay, sent in by each of these schools, which was adjudged by the Head Master of the school to be the best of those submitted to him. Later on, under modified regulations, five more schools were added,—Glenalmond, King's College School, Marlborough, Perse, and Shrewsbury; and the conditions were altered so that the schools themselves should defray the cost of the book prizes, the Trust Funds being too limited to pay for more than the original number. Under the new regulations, which have been accepted by twenty-nine schools, the medal is thrown open to general competition, but the book prizes are only given at the Society's expense to the original seven schools (should they compete). No prize has to be provided by the schools, but it is in the discretion of the Society to give a prize in exceptional circumstances for an essay of special merit. The large response and the interest taken in the proposal by the Head Masters of so many schools give every reason for hoping that the competition will be even more productive of good results in the future than it has been in the past.

The Annual Dinner was not held in 1912, because very few members were able to notify their intention of being present at it. It is hoped, however, that the dinner fixed for May 5 in this year will have the usual success.

The customary Statement of Accounts is appended. The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to the Auditors—Mr. Crewdson, Dr. Keith, and Mr. Waterhouse.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1913-14 are as follows :—

Under Rule 31 Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington

retire from their respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rules 31-32 the following Ordinary Members of Council retire :—

Mr. Guest,
Professor Macdonell,
Mr. Sewell ;

and

Dr. Keith

has resigned in consequence of inability to attend.

The Council recommend in their stead :—

Mr. W. Crewdson, J.P., F.S.A.,
Mr. Longworth Dames, I.C.S. (ret.),
Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E.,
Professor Rapson, M.A.

Under Rule 81

Mr. Crewdson,
Mr. Macleod,
Mr. Waterhouse

are nominated Auditors for the ensuing year.

MR. HOPKINS : I rise to propose that the Report and Accounts for 1912, as presented, be passed. These documents appear to show our Society in a normal, healthy, and in all but one respect, which I am about to refer to, a satisfactory condition.

It will be considered, I am sure, by all those present very satisfactory that by the renewal of our lease we are safe in our Albemarle Street home for another period of seven years. We can also see and feel for ourselves the marked improvements to our comfort and the security of our library gained by the repairs effected during the past year.

Then the work of the Society on the literary side, in the furtherance of learning and research, remains, I believe I may safely say, fully up to its previous high standard. We seem to have no difficulty in finding material suitable

for its pages, and able to pass the scrutiny of judges both competent and critical.

And lastly our finances have been most prudently and skilfully cared for during a year of necessarily abnormal expenditure, and we have been able to invest savings amounting to a sum which will shortly reach £800, a result which is in no small degree due to the zeal and efficiency of our Secretary.

And this brings me to the one point in the Society's outlook which, to me at least, is not so reassuring as could be wished, and that is our future financial position. You will all have noticed that our rent has been raised by £115 a year. Now, while our permanent expenditure has thus risen with a bump, our income does not increase in anything like the same proportion. And it seems more than ever necessary that it should be increased. But how can this be done? Well, of course, there are societies, charities, and public bodies which are fortunate enough to receive from time to time large bequests or donations. There are still in this country men who are both very rich and very generous. And even there are some rare and strange spirits who are ready to endow scientific research. But, somehow, I think we all feel our Society will not profit in that particular way. No beneficent and wealth-bringing bolt from the blue will come hurtling down in Albemarle Street, or if it does it will not, I fear, strike No. 22. Putting aside, then, all hope of help from the unearned windfall, there remains only the way of increased income from increased membership subscriptions, and it is with respect to that that I venture to throw out a suggestion. It is a suggestion based upon my recollection of the way in which many years ago I became a member of this Society, and I feel confident that what occurred then may with a little trouble and arrangement be repeated again and again. I suggest, then, that a large source of possible and

suitable members can be tapped in the class constituting the Civil Services of the Crown posted in Japan, China, Hong-Kong, the Straits Settlements, and Ceylon in the following manner. A short statement of the work, aims, and advantages of the Royal Asiatic Society might be drawn up, and with the consent of the Foreign Office and Colonial Office, which I feel sure would not be refused, might be forwarded to His Majesty's Ministers in Tokio and Peking, and to the Governors of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong-Kong, with the request that it might be issued in the form of a circular, with covering dispatch, to the members of the Services under the control of those particular Ministers and Governors.

That is the suggestion which I venture to make, and in conclusion to ask your support to the motion that the Report and Accounts be duly passed.

DR. F. W. THOMAS: It is customary on these occasions for the Report to be seconded by someone representing the general body of the Society, and I willingly undertake this duty, because I cordially agree that the thanks of the Society are due in full measure to the Council and officers and Secretary for the admirable manner in which its affairs have been managed during the past year. The year does not appear to have been in any respect cataclysmatic; it is rather marked by continual steady progress in all directions. In regard to the accounts, certain exceptional expenditure has required to be met, as Mr. Hopkins has pointed out. The outstanding feature of the balance-sheet to the outsider would no doubt be the purchase of £500 worth of South Australian Government $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Inscribed Stock, following upon an investment of £150 more or less in the same stock last year, and to be followed by a further investment already decided upon. It is no doubt gratifying to have this proof that the finances are in a very flourishing condition, and that it is possible definitely to lay aside large sums

and to carry on no less effectively the work of the Society. One only speculates a little upon the ultimate destination of these now considerable amounts. The savings of the Society seem to amount already to over £2,000; and apparently those sums are unengaged, as there is no object, so far as I am aware, to which they are definitely destined to be applied.

With respect to the decrease of the resident members of the Society, I must say I do not feel that this is a phenomenon which need be regarded with excessive pessimism. If we are to a certain extent neglected by the British public, I don't think we need suppose that there is anything marked or special in this neglect. It is merely a part of that magnificent indifference to all things human and divine which seems to characterize the English public—for I bring no charge against any part of these Islands to which I do not myself belong. Although this phenomenon is not a gratifying one, I do not think it ought to be regarded too tragically. One should not overlook the fact that any great extension of our membership might have the effect of consequences to the character of our publications which might not be altogether gratifying. As regards the Journal, it will be generally agreed that during the past year it has fully maintained its high character as a journal of literary research. We have published about 1,100 pages of original research covering all branches of Asiatic study, and about 200 pages of reviews—a special feature of our Journal—covering the same wide area. This suffices to show that the Society commands both within and without its own membership the services and contributions of competent experts on practically the whole range of Oriental learning.

Last night at the dinner something was said about the special character of this Society as compared with other institutions,—its definite abstention from politics enabling

it to obtain the services of eminent persons with whom it could not otherwise hope to be connected. It occurred to me to inquire whether one would consider also the distinction between us and kindred societies on the Continent. If we turn to their journals, we shall find that the German Society is a little more grammatical and technical than ours, but on the whole the subjects are similar and the manner of treatment likewise. The French Journal is even more closely on the same lines as our own. Nevertheless, I do feel our Society has one special feature in the fact that it does not deal with Oriental studies merely in the abstract, merely as we should deal with the literature of Greece and Rome and Egypt; since we have a strong living connexion with the East and a large part of our membership consists of Indians. I think that there are distinct advantages in this fact, and that also duties are imposed by it. The founders of this Society conceived it their duty to study the arts and sciences of Asia partly with a view to conferring great benefit on the peoples of the East. I feel that the fact that so many capable scholars are rising amongst the natives of India, and writing articles and books more or less on the level of the best European scholarship, is to be warmly welcomed. The other day I received a book that has just been published at Leiden by a young Malay student who has been studying under the professors there. I understand that this publication is of a very high scientific character, and certainly the author himself, when I happened to meet him last year, produced on me a most favourable impression. This prosecution of literary study by Easterns seems to me a ground for satisfaction on the part of this Society, and one which might be further exploited.

In this connexion I may mention that we have in Europe a number of Government Scholars,—gentlemen who come to Europe with scholarships from the Government

of India for Sanscritic and other Oriental studies. They proceed, some of them, to English Universities, but the majority to Continental Universities. I have had the pleasure of knowing a number of these gentlemen, and I have conceived a very high respect for their attainments and for the spirit in which they are conducting their studies. I think similar impressions would be received from communications from their professors. The small point which I raise is whether this Society is doing anything, or can do anything, to place facilities in the way of these Government Scholars or to help them in any manner.

Speaking for the Society, I wish to express its complete confidence in the management of its affairs, its thanks to the Council and officers, and in very great measure to Miss Hughes for the most competent, zealous, and entirely satisfactory manner in which the affairs of the Society are carried on.

THE PRESIDENT: With reference to the remarks we have heard upon the membership, we must remember that if Civil Servants on retiring from India usually lived in the Metropolis it would perhaps be easier to recruit the resident membership. But it is well-known that the greater number of them do not live in the Metropolis and prefer to live in the country. That is the difficulty. Further, there is no chance for this Society to make itself popular. Our studies are those of *savants*, and so long as we keep up that character I am afraid our recruiting-ground will not be very large. Dr. Thomas has said that the indifference of the British public to our studies does not greatly disquiet him. There are, however, occasions on which one really feels rather humiliated. Recently we have had at the Imperial Institute a series of most brilliant lectures given by M. Foucher, delivered in the most admirable form, the form of which our French friends have the secret, partly

didactic, partly conversational, and always lively. On this occasion one might have thought that people would give up for one day "rag-time" or whatever the melody is called. (Laughter.) The public will have to be more educated to respond to such intellectual treats.

Dr. Thomas has also alluded to the possibility of our doing something for the holders of Oriental scholarships sent to Europe by the Government of India. That is an idea which I think the Council will do well to consider. A certain number of the young Indians attend meetings of the East India Association. I think it would be very desirable that they should attend our meetings. I have just heard that quite lately at the University of Leiden a native of Java, a student in the Faculty of Arts, took an honours' degree in Indian languages. He is the first Javanese who has taken that degree with signal success, and he speaks Dutch quite fluently. The degree was conferred upon him *cum laude*, which means that he was specially distinguished. His success will give a great stimulus to his friends in Java to come to Europe to do likewise. I can give you another instance of how East and West are now constantly influencing each other. Another Javanese student, also belonging to the higher classes, asked the Dutch Government to allow him to serve in the Dutch Army while he was in Holland. It appears that his underlying motive was to obtain the right to wear the Dutch uniform, so that on his return to Java he would not be obliged to sit on the floor in the presence of a native chief, but would be able to stand in his capacity as an Officer in the Dutch Army. I mention these facts as showing how evolution in the East is running on modern lines, and in support of what Dr. Thomas has said that we must look in the future more and more for the co-operation of Orientals.

Since our last meeting a further step has been taken to advance the project for a School of Oriental Languages

in London by the publication of the Haldane Report on the University of London. That Report, apart from the controversies it raises, is a most remarkable document, both for the suggestions it contains and for the scholarly manner in which they are expressed. It adopts the views we have advocated. The Oriental School is to be immediately incorporated in the University, viz. in the reformed University. The Commission accept the view that the School must be a department of the University, and allied, of course, to the Faculty of Arts. The Professors of the University and King's Colleges will, I suppose, be taken into the School, which will have its headquarters in Finsbury Circus. As is generally the case in England, the scheme makes slow progress, but I trust that the Committee, of which Sir Charles Lyall is a member, will soon issue its report, so that the School may be started. We were also able to approach the Board of Education with regard to the Indian Museum. The importance of the subject is recognized, and we shall continue to urge the improvements which are needed if we are to discharge our duty as a great Indian Power.

To turn to our own more immediate concerns, the last year has been one of importance to the Society inasmuch as it has seen the renewal of the lease in the house where we have been lodged for the last forty-five years. Had we been wealthy enough to take a large house with a great deal more accommodation we should have done well to move elsewhere, but with the limited funds at our disposal it seemed advisable to remain where we are for at least another seven years. Rents being so high in this neighbourhood, we could not afford a much larger house, and the cost of removal and refurnishing would alone have swallowed up all the savings which for the last few years we have been gradually putting by in view of a possible removal. With these savings we have, as the Report tells you, paid all the necessary

costs of the new lease, renewal of furniture, and other things. In addition to this we have also been able to invest £800, a valuable asset for any similar contingency in the future. I would like to repeat how much we are indebted to Mr. A. H. Wilson, our Honorary Solicitor, for his unfailing kindness and help, which we owe not so much perhaps to our own deserts as to his continuous interest in the Indian Empire and the studies which his grandfather did so much to foster. I am delighted to see that we have again, in Mr. Wilson's nephew, a Horace Hayman Wilson among our members. It would be well if all Anglo-Indian families felt bound to enrol one member at least in the Royal Asiatic Society.

The teaching of history, and especially of Indian history, has always been a matter of great importance, and I am very glad that the Council can record such a satisfactory response to the throwing open of the School Medal Competition to Public Schools generally. The new schools will enter into the competition for the first time next year, and we look forward with interest to the result. This year the medal has been awarded to Mr. Martin, of Merchant Taylors' School, for his essay on "Dupleix". The medal will be presented on June 10 by Lord Sydenham, who has just returned from his Governorship of Bombay.

We have during the year lost through death a number of members who have been closely associated for many years with the Society, and who took part in different departments of our work. Their loss will be deeply felt and deplored. The most recent loss, among those who closely identified themselves with the work of the Society, is that of our late Hon. Vice-President, Dr. Thornton. He joined the Society on retirement from the Indian Civil Service in 1882, and almost immediately joined the Council. For nearly thirty years he untiringly served the Society, and it was only in 1910 when he felt the

infirmities of age impairing his usefulness that he resigned from active participation in the Society's work. Another recent loss we have to deplore is that of one of our distinguished Honorary Members, Count Angelo de Gubernatis, an indefatigable worker in the cause of Oriental studies and one of wide interests and knowledge, but more particularly devoted to the branches of Indian learning. The vacancy among our list of thirty Honorary Members has been filled by the selection of Leone Caetani, Prince of Teano.

During the year the Journal has maintained its high standing. Two works are in progress for the Oriental Translation Fund. This Fund is self-supporting, its capital consists only of the proceeds from the sale of the books published. There is a steady demand for the books, which enables us to produce one volume every year.

In conclusion, I am sure you will all agree with me that our best thanks are due to our indefatigable Secretary, Miss Hughes, for the manner in which she discharges her onerous duties and contributes to the success of our endeavours in the field of our varied activities.

June 10, 1913.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The President deplored the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Sir Robert Douglas, Honorary Vice-President of the Society, and a resolution conveying the sympathy of the Society with the relatives was passed.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. S. Azharuddin Ahmad.

Mr. Upendra Krishna Banerjea.

Rev. C. W. Mitchell.

Dr. Johannes Nobel.

Thakur Jessrajsinghji Seesodia.

Four nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The President announced that Leone Caetani, Prince of Teano, had been admitted an Hon. Member of the Society.

Mr. F. W. Thomas opened a discussion on the date of Kanishka.

After Professor Rapson and Mr. Fleet had spoken the discussion was adjourned until June 24.

PRESENTATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS' MEDAL

June 10, 1913

At the conclusion of the above meeting the presentation of the Public Schools' Medal to S. P. Martin, of Merchant Taylors' School, was made by the Right Hon. Lord Sydenham, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.

THE PRESIDENT: I have very great pleasure in welcoming you here to-day to this annual ceremony, which is always very interesting. You are probably aware that the Society has altered the conditions of the Medal. The competition was originally limited to seven public schools—Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Westminster, and Winchester—and, besides the Gold Medal, a book prize of the value of £2 was given for the essay sent in by each of those schools adjudged by the head master of the school to be the best submitted to him. Later on five more schools were added, but under new regulations which have been accepted by twenty-nine schools, the Medal is thrown open to general competition, book prizes being only given at the Society's expense to the original seven schools should they compete. No prize has to be provided by the school, but it is in our discretion to give a prize in exceptional circumstances for an essay of special merit. The interest taken in the matter by so many public schools has been most gratifying, and we hope that the competition will be even more productive of good results in the future than it has been

in the past. We may well congratulate Sir Arthur Wollaston, who did so much to bring this competition into being, on its usefulness and extension. (Cheers.) I need hardly say that the Society provides this Medal because it attaches great importance to the study of Indian history in our public schools. We have had in London this spring a remarkable indication of the research and diligence which the study of history now involves in the proceedings of the recent Historical Congress, which brought here all the most brilliant historians on the Continent of Europe, and at which papers were read which will be of lasting value, and which will, I hope, soon be published. In that Congress one of the sections related to India, and in it members of our Society read papers which have been very much appreciated.

The essay on Dupleix to which the Medal has been given is very interesting, and I congratulate Mr. Martin and his parents, and more especially the school of which he is the representative, Merchant Taylors', because this is the third time that it has secured the Medal. (Loud cheers.) This fact shows the influence exercised by Dr. Nairn in giving proper stimulus to the study of Indian history. The essay deals with a most interesting epoch in the history of the struggle for supremacy in India. Dupleix was a very brilliant personality, and it is often held that a great mistake was made by the French Government in recalling him at a critical moment. But we ought not to forget that he had to grapple with great difficulties, the only powerful man assisting him was Colonel De Bussy, and it is doubtful whether he gave assistance to Dupleix in the most loyal manner. Nor can we forget that we on our side had such great and resourceful leaders as Lawrence and Clive. Above all, there was the decisive factor that we had the superiority at sea. French statesmen were well aware of this, and probably that was one reason why they decided to recall

Dupleix. Even supposing he had been more successful, and had been able to establish himself in the interior of the country, sooner or later the superiority of our fleet would have made it impossible for him to maintain himself there. That has always been our position in modern times, and that is our position now—we depend upon the superiority of our fleet. That fact is becoming generally understood by the public, and whatever differences there may be on many subjects, on that subject we have a national creed and a national faith to which we cling.

I am fortunate in now being able to ask Lord Sydenham—(cheers)—to present this Medal. He comes to us with the latest information about India, and more especially about the Bombay Presidency, and we are glad to welcome him back in our midst after five and a half strenuous years of Governorship. (Cheers.) I think we can all congratulate him on the success of his efforts in various directions to promote the progress and prosperity of the great province committed to his charge. And we fully appreciate his kindness in so readily accepting our invitation to be with us this afternoon. I congratulate Mr. Martin that he will receive the Medal at the hands of so distinguished an Indian administrator. I do not know what the future career of Mr. Martin may be, but if some day he becomes a member of the Indian Civil Service, then I can only hope he will enter that Service through the Bombay gate. (Laughter and cheers.)

LORD SYDENHAM, who was received with applause, said: I am very glad to be permitted to play a part in this interesting and important ceremony. Coming back fresh from India, as Lord Reay has said, after five and a half years of strenuous work filled with absorbing interests, it is impossible not to be struck with the general apathy in regard to Indian affairs which appears to prevail in this country. There is no part of the

Empire which is so supremely important as India. There is no part of the Empire which entails upon us such tremendous and such direct responsibilities. There is no part which is even comparably fascinating, or of which the problems are so many, so varied, and so enthralling. If, therefore, apathy does exist even in quarters where it would not be expected, the cause can only be ignorance, which in such matters may be dangerous.

More than seventy years ago Macaulay wrote that "Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma and who strangled Atahualpa"; but, as he went on to point out, few, "even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds," then knew the salient facts of the wonderful story of the consolidation of British rule in India. As he justly added, "It might have been expected that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated in a few years one of the greatest empires in the world." In these days when the "immense ocean" has been easily bridged, when hourly telegrams are possible, and when most of us have some family connexion with India, it might certainly have been expected that Indian affairs would be followed with the closest attention and that every Briton would be brought to feel that on him lies some share of the responsibility for the welfare of His Majesty's Indian subjects. (Cheers.)

I cannot tell whether every schoolboy to-day is familiar with the victories of Cortez, but I am convinced that very few schoolboys know anything of the circumstances which led to the rise of the British Dominion, of the great world forces which combined to confer upon us islanders from across the seas a sovereignty which none of the Asiatic conquerors of India ever attained, or of the great men who took advantage of those forces, with the result of an achievement unparalleled in history.

In a Convocation address delivered in Bombay in February last I attempted very briefly to sketch the course of events which led, by an inexorable sequence, to the establishment of British rule in India. The break-up of the Moghul power, which became complete soon after the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, left India in a state of helpless chaos. The people, in Sir Alfred Lyall's words, "were becoming a masterless multitude prepared to acquiesce in the assumption of authority by any one who could show himself able to discharge the most elementary functions of Government in the preservation of life and property." Such was the internal situation which made it inevitable that, should any vigorous Western Power acquire a firm foothold in the Peninsula, dominion must result.

But one condition was vital. The intruding Western Power must be able to assert and to hold the command of the sea, and this condition Great Britain alone could fulfil. I hope that at least every British schoolboy knows that India is a gift of the sea, and that if in the series of great naval contests between 1756 and 1815 the British Navy, sorely strained in the War of American Independence, had gone under, India would have passed into other hands. I hope still more that every British schoolboy and every British politician understands that, if we permit ourselves to lose our heritage of the sea, India will fall into anarchy darker and deeper than that which followed the death of Aurungzeb until some other Western Power re-establishes peace and order. (Cheers.)

But there was still another condition to be fulfilled in the eighteenth century, when a communication between England and India might be more than nine months in transit. The Western Power which was to replace the shattered empire of the Moghuls must be able to count upon men on the spot able to grasp the complexities of the situation, men of cool judgment, men who dared to

accept responsibility and to act. Great Britain was happily so provided, and among the greatest of the men who laid deep the foundations of British dominion in India was Clive. We rightly regard the rout of Suraja Dowlah's forces at Plassey as a real turning-point in history, because it gave to the British the mastery of Bengal, from which they could dominate the vast plains and the great waterways that stretch north-westward for 1,200 miles towards the Indus and the Hindu Kush. Bengal had been governed by foreigners for centuries, but never before had the great north-eastern gate of India been held by a Power which came by and drew its strength from across the sea.

That was the new condition which changed the destinies of India, bringing with it an era of stable government which no previous conquerors had proved able to construct. Surely every British schoolboy should know something of the life and times of Clive.

I hope I have made it clear why I regard this little ceremony as important, and why I warmly congratulate the Royal Asiatic Society on the means they have taken, and have lately extended, to arouse interest in Anglo-Indian history in our public schools. I am convinced that it is only by acquiring some knowledge of this history that full realization of the responsibilities of Great Britain towards India can be attained. And such knowledge is as necessary for Indians themselves. I was often struck by the travesties of history presented to Indian readers—travesties in which facts were suppressed or distorted to suit political purposes. From such teaching nothing but harm can result, and one of the things that I tried to do was to secure a compulsory course of Indian History and Indian Polity in the curriculum of the University of Bombay. The more the Indian and the British peoples understand the period of history which they share and the principles on which India is now governed, the deeper will

be their mutual respect and their sense of need of each other upon which true co-operation depends. (Cheers.)

But there are other considerations which add increasingly to the importance of the work of the Royal Asiatic Society, and to the significance of this annual gathering. I am afraid that there are signs of a growing reluctance among our young men to enter upon Indian careers at a time when India has need of the keenest brains and the largest hearts—this combination being essential—that Great Britain can supply. In some measure this may be due to a certain want of sympathy with the men who are doing splendid work in India and to a tendency to criticize them without light or knowledge. All who have seen the work of the great public services with the fine Civil Service at their head—the work which is transforming India and opening out possibilities of future nationhood—all who completely realize the conditions of self-sacrifice in which that work is carried on, cannot fail to be struck with admiration. To my mind there is no nobler career than that which India offers to our and her young men—no career which brings greater opportunities of doing practical and visible good within the compass of their working lives.

Surely it needs only the wide diffusion of true knowledge of the needs of India, of the singular attractiveness of her loyal people, and of the vivid interests historic, natural, social, and religious in which she abounds, to draw the best of our young men to that ancient and ever fascinating land. More than forty-three years have passed since I volunteered for service in India, because even then I felt the call of the East, and though the Fates decreed that I was not to see India till late in life, I firmly believe that I was right in 1870.

Mr. Martin, I have given away many prizes in my life, but never with greater pleasure than the Medal which I have been asked to present to you. I congratulate you

warmly on this success, which must have cost you much time and study. I also congratulate Merchant Taylors' School on having for the third time carried away this Medal. I hope this means that the institution, which has the distinction of having contributed to the early education of Clive, takes special interest in the history of India.

I have read your essay on "Dupleix in India" with much interest. I think you have clearly brought out the leading incidents in a wonderful career, and grasped the main characteristics of a complex personality. You have also realized the pathos of a life inspired by immense ambitions, marked by great successes, and ending in total and hopeless failure. I am not sure that the dream of Indian Empire did not visit the early Portuguese conquerors; but you are right in saying that Dupleix was the first to see clearly the way by which Imperial power could be won. By the irony of fate he pointed out to his rivals the path which they were to follow, and was the pioneer to their success. Unquestionably Dupleix impressed upon the princes and peoples of Southern India an idea of the strength of a European nation which they had never before acquired. And when the cause of France was lost, so much the greater was the prestige of the rival nation which supplanted her. Dupleix will always remain among the great names of French history, and if his countrymen failed at the time to recognize the grandeur of his projects and the magnitude of his achievements, in later years they gave his name to a ship of war. We have no Clive in our Navy List.

In handing you this Medal, Mr. Martin, may I express the hope that your incursions into a most important period of history will lead you farther? I trust that you have felt something of the fascination of that wonderful land which I have left with deep regrets. I should like to think that you might turn your thoughts towards an

Indian career. But wherever fate may lead you, I cordially wish you success and happiness.

THE REV. DR. ARBUTHNOT NAIRN expressed the hearty thanks of Merchant Taylors' School for the honour conferred upon it in receiving this award for the third time, and also those of his pupil Martin. As Martin was about to proceed to Trinity College, Cambridge, with a scholarship in history, there was reason to hope that his incursions into history would be continued. Dr. Nairn spoke appreciatively of the work of a colleague of his in preparing boys for the competition since the Medal was instituted, remarking that it was largely due to his assiduity and to his love of knowledge that the school had won the Medal three times. With respect to the contrast which they had heard that afternoon between the English boys' knowledge of Cortez and of Clive, he might say from the experience of his own schooldays that, while boys were ready to read the Indian history of the last 150 years, they found the tangled history of Hindu and Mahommedan dynasties in earlier times far from palatable. Speaking with all modesty, he could say that the boys of Merchant Taylors' required very little stimulus to be interested in the last 150 years of British Indian history. It was now recognized much more clearly than in an earlier generation how closely the history of England and that of India in modern times were interwoven. He thought he would not be travelling outside his small brief if he said something of the new scheme for the Medal. He had read that scheme carefully, and having considered its bearing upon Merchant Taylors' he wished to say it had his heartiest approval. He was sure that his school would be as eager as ever under the new conditions to take part in this competition. With the wider opening of the competition no single school could hope to win so often in the future as Merchant Taylors' had been fortunate enough to win while the number of schools was so limited.

But at Merchant Taylors' they would always remember that their school was associated with the names of men of distinction in Indian administration from the time of Clive to our own day. He need only mention among the later instances of distinction Sir Philip Hutchins, the late lamented Dr. Thomas Thornton, Mr. Hailey, who had been appointed at an exceptionally early age to take charge of the Imperial province of Delhi; and also Bishop Copleston, who had recently retired from the office of Metropolitan of India and Ceylon. The number of boys who had taken part in the competition in his school was most gratifying. Though no one would wish to prescribe the career of one who was only now entering upon a University course—perhaps the most formative period of his life—he was sure that Martin had not failed to be impressed very deeply by the proceedings of that afternoon, and that hereafter he might be expected to weigh the question of adopting an Indian career.

MR. WINTLE, Master of Merchant Taylors' Company, also expressed his gratification at the success of the school for the third time. He said that the indifference in respect to India to which Lord Sydenham had referred was to be deplored, but for his own part he had many close personal ties with that ancient land.

THE PRESIDENT moved a cordial vote of thanks to Lord Sydenham for presenting the Medal and to Lady Sydenham for her presence. (Cheers.) He might tell Lord Sydenham that they of the Royal Asiatic Society were certainly not indifferent to Indian history, whatever the period might be. Only that afternoon they had listened to a very lively controversy as to the date of Kanishka, and so numerous were the arguments that the discussion had to be adjourned. He had been told by one gentleman present that he was delighted with the controversy, because it indicated that the problem of Kanishka was insoluble. Throughout his long life he

had always enjoyed those controversies which did not lead to a definite result and in which both parties were about equal in controversy. (Laughter.) They were all grateful to Lord Sydenham for presenting the Medal and for his admirable speech.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. Bd. LXVII, Heft i.

Nobel (J.). Indologische Studien.

Mahler (Ed.). Das Fischsymbol auf ägyptischen Denkmälern.

Jolly (J.). Arthaśāstra und Dharmasāstra.

Heft ii.

Grohmann (A.). Die im Äthiopischen erhaltenen Visionen Apa Schenute's von Atriipe.

Weissbach (F. H.). Zur Kritik der Achämenideninschriften.

Speyer (J. S.). Ein altjavanischer mahāyānistischer Katechismus.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Série XI, Tome I, No. i.

Amélineau (E.). Un chapitre difficile du Livre des Pyramides.

Chavannes (E.) et P. Pelliot. Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine traduit et annoté.

III. JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XXIII, No. lxvi.

Modi (J. J.). An Iranian Precursor of Dante and an Irish Precursor of Dante.

Rawlinson (H. G.). Foreign Influence in the Civilization of Ancient India, 900 B.C.—400 A.D.

Govindāchārya Svāmin. Ramayaṇa and Temples.

IV. RIVISTI DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. IV, Fasc. iv.

- Ballini (A.). Ekkārasamaṃ Aṅgam Vivāgasuṃyam.
 Belloni-Filippi (F.). La novella della Brāhmaṇa e dell'icneumone.
 Griffini (E.). Lista dei MSS. Arabi, nuovo fondo, della Bib. Ambrosiana di Milano.
 Capomazza (I.). Un testo bileno.

V. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.

Tome XII, Nos. vii-viii.

- Cadière (L.). Documents relatifs à l'époque de Gia Long.
 Finot (L.). Les Origines de la colonisation indienne en indochine.
 Przyluski (J.). Les formes pronominales de l'annamite.
 Chochod (L.). Les philtres et les talismans d'amour à Huè.
 Coëdes (G.). Deux inscriptions du Champa.
 Duroiselle (Ch.). Inventaire des Inscriptions pâlies, sanskrites Moï et Pyu de Birmanie.

VI. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. XXXIII, Pt. i.

- Barton (G. A.). Recent Researches in the Sumerian Calendar.
 Prince (J. Dyneley). A Political Hymn to Shamash.
 Ogden (E. S.). Some notes on the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet.
 Vanderburgh (F. A.). Three Babylonian Tablets, Prince Collection, Columbia University.
 Mercer (S. A. B.). The Oath in Cuneiform Inscriptions.
 Jacobi (H.). On Māyāvāda.
 Hopkins (E. W.). Sanskrit Kabāiras or Kubāiros and Greek Kabeiros.
 Negelein (J. v.). Arthāvaprāyascittāni.

VII. TRANSACTIONS OF THE KOREAN BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. IV, Pts. i-ii.

Komatsu (Midori). The Old People and the New Government.

Gale (Rev. J. S.). The Korean Alphabet.

Yamagata (I.). Japanese-Korean Relations after the Japanese Invasion of Korea in the sixteenth century.

Gillett (P. L.). The Village Gilds of Old Korea.

Ichihara (M.). Coinage of Old Korea.

VIII. DER ISLAM. Bd. IV, Heft i-ii.

Horten (M.). Religion und Philosophie im Islam.

Wiedemann (E.). Ein Instrument das die Bewegung von Sonne und Mond darstellt nach al-Birūnī.

Ruska (J.). Kazwinistudien.

Jacob (G.). 'Agīb ed-din 'al wa-iz bei Ibn Dānījāl.

Strothmann (R.). *Analecta hæretica*.

Bell (H. I.). Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum.

Hofmeier (K. W.). Beiträge zur Arabischen Papyrusforschung.

IX. THE QUEST. Vol. IV, No. iii.

Nicholson (R. A.). The Essence of Sūfism.

Cranmer-Byng (L.). The Mystical Philosophy of Ancient China.

X. ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. N.S. Vol. I, No. ii.

Abdul (Baha). On the Importance of Divine Civilization.

Anderson (J. D.). The Legend of Sati.

Waddell (L. A.). Nestorian Christian Charms and their archaic elements and affinities.

XI. JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. I, No. ii.

MacLagan (E. D.). The Earliest English Visitors to the Punjab, 1585-1628.

Maclagan (E. D.). Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in the Punjab, 1641.

Vogel (J. Ph.). A Græco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Lahore Museum.

—— Historical Rhymes and Proverbs of the Punjab.

Husain (P. M.). Coronations of Muhammadan Sovereigns.

XII. EPIGRAPHIA INDICA. Vol. X, Pt. viii.

Sewell (R.). Dates of Pandya Kings.

Sastri (H. Krishna). Danavulupada Pillar Inscription of Srivijaya.

XIII. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLII, Pt. dxxvii-iii.

Tessitori (L. P.). The Ramacharitamansa and the Ramayana.

Shamasastry (R.). The Adityas.

Bühler (G.). Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry.

Nariman (G. K.). Peregrinations of Indian Buddhists in Burma and the Sunda Islands.

Tessitori (L. P.). Paramajotistotra.

Iyengar (P. T. S.). The Pronunciation of Sanskrit.

Hariprasad Sastri. Santideva.

XIV. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
Vol. XL.

Reischauer (Rev. A. K.). Buddhist Gold Nuggets.

Asaji (N.) & Rev. J. C. Pringle. Lectures delivered in the presence of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

Anesaki (M.). Buddhist Ethics and Morality.

Otto (Rev. R.). Parallelisms in the Development of Religion, East and West.

XV. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. III, No. ii.

Malter (H.). Saadia Studies.

Mordell (P.). Origin of Letters and Numerals in Sefer Yesirah.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- Avalon, A. & E.** Hymns to the Goddess. Translated from the Sanskrit. 8vo. *London*, 1913. *From the Publishers.*
- Aziz Jung, Nawab.** Asif al-Lughat. Vols. v, vi. 8vo. *Haidarabad*, A.H. 1330. *From the India Office.*
- BHĀRADVĀJA.** Bhāradvājīya Gṛhyasūtra. The Domestic Ritual according to the School of Bhāradvāja. Edited by Henriette J. W. Salomons. 8vo. *Leyden*, 1913. *From the Publishers.*
- Bharucha, Ervad S. D.** Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis. Pt. iii : Mainyōi Khard. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1912. *From the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties.*
- **Pahlavī-Pāzend English Glossary.** 8vo. [*Bombay*], 1912. *From the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties.*
- BIBLE.** The Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. Edited . . . by R. H. Charles and others. 2 vols. 4to. *Oxford*, 1913. *From the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.*
- BRITISH MUSEUM.** Supplementary Catalogue of Hindi Books acquired 1893-1912. By J. F. Blumhardt. 4to. *London*, 1913. *From the Trustees.*
- CHINA : BLUE BOOK, No. 1, 1912.** Correspondence respecting the Affairs of China. Translated by Ch'ên Kuo-Ch'üan. 8vo. [*Shanghai*, 1913 ?] *From the Author.*
- Cieza de Leon, Pedro de.** The War of Quito, etc. Translated and edited by Sir C. R. Markham. Hakluyt Society. Ser. II, vol. xxxi. 8vo. *London*, 1913. *From the India Office.*

- Clerk, F. V.** Manual of the Lawngwaw or Māru Language.
8vo. *Rangoon*, 1911. *From Captain R. N. Abbay, I.A.*
- Deromps, M.** Vingt-cinq Récits du Mauvais Génie traduits de l'Hindi. 8vo. *Paris*, 1913. *From the Publisher.*
- Dhabhar, Ervad B. N.** Pahlavi Texts Series. No. 1, Nāmākīhā-i Mānūshchīhar; No. 2, Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādīstān-i Dīnik. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1912-13.
From the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties.
- Elwin, E. F.** India and the Indians. 8vo. *London*, 1913.
From the Publisher.
- Fathy, M.** Doctrine Musulmane de l'Abus des Droits. 8vo. *Lyon and Paris*, 1913. *From the Publishers.*
- FAUNA OF BRITISH INDIA. Hymenoptera. Vol. iii: Ichneumonones Deltoidei. By C. Morley. 8vo. *London*, 1913.
From the India Office.
- Foster, W.** English Factories in India, 1642-5. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1913.
From the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.
- Gowan, H. H.** An Outline History of China. Part i. 8vo. *Boston*, 1913. *From the Publishers.*
- Havell, E. B.** Indian Architecture. 8vo. *London*, 1913.
From the Publisher.
- Hirschfeld, H.** Sketch of Hebrew Grammar. 8vo. *London*, 1913.
From the University of London Press.
- HORÆ SEMITICÆ. No. X: Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv. Vol. iv: Acts, etc. Edited and translated by Margaret D. Gibson. 8vo. *Cambridge*, 1913. *From the Editor.*
- INDIA: CENSUS REPORTS, 1911. Vol. iv: Baluchistan. Fol. *Calcutta*, 1913. *From the Government of India.*
- Jastrow, M.** Die Religion Babyioniens und Assyriens. Lief. xx-xxi. 8vo. *Giessen*, 1912. *From the Publisher.*

JĀTAKA, or Stories of the Buddha's former Births. Index volume. *From the Cambridge University Press.*

Jehangir, S., & F. S. Jehangir Taléyarkhan. Princes and Chiefs of India. 3 vols. Fol. *London, 1903.*
From F. S. Jehangir Taléyarkhan.

KASHMIR SERIES OF TEXTS AND STUDIES. Edited by J. C. Chatterji. Vol. i, Shiva Sūtra Vimarshini of Vasu Gupta; vol. iii, Pratyabhijñā Hridaya of Kṣhemarāja. 8vo. *Srinagar, 1911.* *From the Editor.*

Kern, H. Verspreide Geschriften. Deel. i.
From the Kon. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië.

EL-KHAZREJÍ. History of the Resúlí Dynasty of Yemen. Text, part i. Edited by Muḥammad 'Asal. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. iii, 4. *From the Trustees.*

Laufer, Berthold. Descriptive Account of the Collection of Chinese, Tibetan, etc., Books in the Newberry Library. 8vo. *Chicago, [1913].* *From the Author.*

—— Development of Ancestral Images in China. Pamphlet. 8vo. [*Cleveland, 1913.*] *From the Author.*

—— Dokumente der Indischen Kunst. Heft i: Malerei. Das Citralakshana. 8vo. *Leipzig, 1913.* *From the Publisher.*

LOLIMBARĀJA. Vaidyajīvana-Vaidyāvatamsa. Edited by K. G. Devāsrayī. Sm. 8vo. [1908 ?] *From the Editor.*

MADHAVĀCHĀRYA. Sankshepasamkarajaya. Edited by K. G. Devāsrayī. 8vo. *Bombay, 1899.* *From the Editor.*

MADIGĀN-I-HAZĀR DĀDISTĀN (Part ii), or Social Code of the Parsees in Sassanian Times. Facsimile by Ervad T. D. Anklesaria. 4to. *Bombay, 1912.*

From the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties.

MADRAS: GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MSS. LIBRARY. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. Vols. xiv and xv. By M. Rangacharya. 8vo. *Madras*, 1912-13.

From the Madras Government.

MAHĀNIRVĀNA TANTRA. Tantra of the Great Liberation. Translated from the Sanskrit by Arthur Avalon. 8vo. *London*, 1913.

From the Publishers.

Meyer, Ed. Chronologie Egyptienne. Traduit par A. Moret. 8vo. *Paris*, 1913.

From the Musée Guimet.

Miller, W. The Ottoman Empire. 8vo. *Cambridge*, 1913.

From the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

Modi, J. J. Anthropological Papers. 8vo. *Bombay*, [1912?].

From the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet

Funds and Properties.

NAGARI PRACHARINI SABHA, BENARES. First Triennial Report on the Search for Hindi MSS. for 1906-8. By Syam Sundar Das. 8vo. *Allahabad*, 1912.

From the U.P. Government.

NUBIA: ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORT for 1908-9. By C. M. Firth. 2 vols. 8vo. *Cairo*, 1912.

From the Ministry of Finance, Egypt.

PALI TEXT SOCIETY. The Sutta-Nipāta. New edition. By Dines Andersen & Helmer Smith. 8vo. *London*, 1913.

Purchased.

Pettigrew, Rev. W. Mainpuri (Mitei) Grammar. 8vo. *Allahabad*, 1912.

From the Chief Commissioner, Assam.

Puini, Carlo. La Vecchia Cina. 8vo. [*Firenze?*], 1913.

From the Publisher.

Pullé, F. L., and others. La Metrica degli Indi. 8vo. *Firenze*, 1912.

From Signor Francesco L. Pullé.

Pullé, G. *Historia Mongalorum; il viaggio di F. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine ai Tartari.* 8vo. *Firenze*, 1913.

From Signor Francesco L. Pullé.

RĀMACANDRA. *Hariscandra il virtuoso (Satyahariscandra).*
Prima versione dall' originale per cura di Mario Vallauri.
8vo. [*Firenze* ?], 1913. *From the Publisher.*

RATAN DEVI. *Thirty Songs from the Panjab and Kashmir; with Introduction and Translations by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.* 4to. *London*, 1913.

From Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Scheltema, J. F. *Monumental Java.* 8vo. *London*, 1912.

From the Publisher.

Sell, Canon E. *Life of Muḥammad.* 8vo. *London*, 1913.

From the Christian Literature Society for India.

SUBANDHU. *Vāsavadatta.* Translated by Louis H. Gray.
Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. viii. 8vo.
New York, 1913. *From the Columbia University Press.*

Wacha, D. E. *Premchund Roychund.* 8vo. *Bombay*, 1913.

From the Author.

Wensinck, A. J. *Legends of Eastern Saints.* Vol. ii: *Legend of Hilaria.* 8vo. *Leiden*, 1913.

From the University of Leyde.

ZEB-UN-NISSA. *Diwan*, first fifty ghazals rendered from the Persian by Magan Lal and J. D. Westbrook. 8vo. *London*, 1913.

From the Publisher.





JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1913

XXIII

SUMERIAN AND GEORGIAN: A STUDY IN
COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

By M. TSERETHELI

PREFACE

SINCE Sumerian studies began Assyriologists and other philologists have tried to compare Sumerian with some known language or group of languages, and thus to solve definitely the important problem of the origin of the primitive civilization of Chaldæa. That the Sumerian race and Sumerian language really existed, and Sumerian was spoken in Babylonia in the most remote epoch, that this language was neither Aryan nor Semitic but an agglutinative language—these are facts now established by the researches of earlier and modern Assyriologists and recognized even officially by science. J. Halévy's theory, denying the very existence of the Sumerians and their language, has now no followers among serious scientists, and the study of Sumerian is based upon such methods and facts that the appearance of another Halévy raising anew "the Sumerian question", and bringing some new arguments in order to support his theory, seems, if not impossible, at least very improbable.

I shall not criticize here the attempts made by Assyriologists to compare Sumerian with other known languages.

Having no knowledge of Turanian languages I cannot review the brilliant theories of J. Oppert, F. Lenormant, and other earlier and modern "Turanists", nor can I judge of the scientific value of the latest attempt made by Galgóczy ("Sumerisch - grammatische Miszellen," ZA., April, 1911) to compare Sumerian with Hungarian. And if I venture to compare Sumerian with Georgian and the Georgian group of languages, it is because the Turanism of Sumerian has been seriously and violently criticized by the most authoritative philologists. Then the theory defended lately by Dr. Stephen Langdon that Sumerian was an Indo-European language has been also declared improbable by L. W. King (*A History of Sumer and Akkad*, 1910, p. 54), and the author of this theory himself has renounced it, and in his new *Sumerian Grammar* (Paris, 1911) is of quite another opinion than that he set forth in *Babyloniaca*, i, pp. 225 ff.; ii, pp. 99 ff. Nor shall I even enumerate all the authors who have tried to compare Sumerian with various other languages, for their works are well known to Assyriologists.

Now, though authoritative Assyriologists, such as L. W. King and Stephen Langdon himself, discourage any further attempt to compare Sumerian with other languages "until the phonetic elements of the language are firmly established" (L. W. King, op. cit., p. 55), and allege that the futility of any attempt to compare it with Aryan, Semitic, Caucasian, or Turanian is at once apparent (S. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, Preface), I should like to give some proofs of my affirmation that if Sumerian has any relation with any known languages of the world it is with Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian, which form (together with other languages not yet scientifically investigated) a separate, special group of tongues which I call "Georgian", as their linguistic unity is already an established fact. Designedly I refrain from using the term "Caucasian" often employed by

European philologists, as well as the terms "South Caucasian", "North Caucasian", etc. These adjectives would only be justified were the linguistic unity of the Caucasus incontestably established.

The first attempt to compare Georgian with Sumerian was made by F. Hommel in 1884 in ZK. i. But he did not compare Sumerian directly with Georgian; he endeavoured to discover some relation between Sumerian and Turanian and then between Sumero-Turanian and Vannic, Hittite, Elamite, Neo-Susian, and Kossæan, with which Georgian and Basque have a remarkable likeness, especially in the structure of the verb. Through all this he claimed to prove the existence of an ancient race related to the Turanians, at one time inhabiting all Western Asia and the greater part of Southern Europe, and now represented by the Georgians in Asia and the Basques in Europe. Traces of the influence exercised by their speech upon the languages of the Aryan population of Europe are to be found in the Celtic languages, etc.

This article of F. Hommel has been criticized by Professor J. Javakhishvili of St. Petersburg ("Obzor Literaturny o proiskhozhdenii Gruzinskavo iazyka," Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction, 1908) from the Georgian point of view, and attention has been drawn by him to many untenable points, and even to some material errors which Hommel made in comparing Georgian with the above-mentioned languages, e.g. *რა* *ra* does not mean in Georgian "this", but "what?" and thus it cannot be compared with the Neo-Susian *ra* (*turnan-ra* = he knows); for my part I may notice also that the Georgian relative pronoun *რამელი* *rameli*, corresponding to the Alarodian *aluš*, does not exist at all, but we have in Georgian *რომელი* (= *რომ-ელ-ი*) *romeli* = *rom-el-i* = which, which one, what, written and spoken with *ო* *o* and *ე* *e* and not

with \mathfrak{a} a and \mathfrak{i} i , and it is derived from \mathfrak{rom} rom = that, probably composed of two roots \mathfrak{r} r and \mathfrak{m} m , and seems to be quite different from the Alarodian $aluš$, etc. Nevertheless, Professor F. Hommel rendered great service to the comparative philology of the languages of the Cuneiform inscriptions by his comparisons of Georgian with Vannic (after F. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, i, pp. 117-64, 1871) and Neo-Susian, revealing some common features in the grammars of those languages (see *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift f. d. Orient*, 1884, No. 2; ZK. i, 1884; *Litterarisches Centralblatt*, 1890, No. 36; *Grundriss d. Geographie und Geschichte d. alten Orients*, Hälfte i, 1904, etc.). We shall analyse these comparisons of Hommel if we compare separately Georgian with Vannic and Susian.

My intention is to compare once again Sumerian with Georgian and with the languages of the Georgian group, and to compare them directly and methodically, and I think that what I have attempted is not altogether illusory. Certainly I must observe that I am not authorized at all to propose other renderings of Sumerian phonetic equivalents of the Cuneiform signs and of Sumerian words for the purpose of their comparison with Georgian. I accept the latest results of research in the domain of Sumeriology, and I ground my comparison upon the supposition that Sumerian was really of the same structure and form as it is now presented after the decipherment and transcription of Sumerian texts by contemporary Assyriologists, and that the Sumerian grammar was such as Assyriologists have been able to outline.

Thus, this work being rather a study in comparative philology than a purely Assyriological study, I have not followed the old grammars of Lenormant, Hommel, Haupt, etc., though I have taken into consideration the important discoveries made in the domain of Sumeriology by different

scholars during the second half of the nineteenth century and after (e.g. A. H. Sayce, "Accadian Phonology," published in the Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1877-8; F. Lenormant, *Etudes Accadiennes*, i, 1874, and *La Langue Primitive de la Chaldée*, etc., 1875; P. Haupt, "Ueber einen Dialect der Sumerischen Sprache," published in the Nachr. König. Ges. Wiss. G. A. Univ., Göttingen, 1880, No. 17; his *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, 1881, and *Die Sumerische Sprache*, Berlin, 1883; Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke*, München, 1894). Of special use I found F. H. Weissbach's *Die Sumerische Frage*, Leipzig, 1898; J. Oppert's important studies, "Etudes Sumériennes," published in *Journal Asiatique*, t. v, 1875, and other studies; C. Lehmann's *Šamašsumukin*, 1892; G. Bertin's article in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, i, on "the verbal incorporation in Accadian" (1886); etc. I followed strictly Thureau-Dangin's article, "Sur les préfixes du verbe Sumérien," published in ZA. xx; the "Syntaxe" of Stephen Langdon, published in the *Babyloniaca*, i, pp. 211-86, and especially the new *Sumerian Grammar* of the same author (Paris, 1911), this grammar being a compendium in which all the new discoveries in the domain of Sumerian grammar are criticized and systematically set forth. As to the Sumerian verb in particular, I cannot adopt Poebel's theory (ZA. xxi, pp. 216-36) since it is based upon arguments which do not seem to me to carry conviction. I think, besides, that this theory has been sufficiently criticized, and its improbability has been demonstrated by Langdon in ZA. xxiv, pp. 389-93. Nor can I wholly agree with the theory of Langdon himself about the nature of prefixes in the Sumerian verb. The theory of F. Thureau-Dangin, according to whom these prefixes are of pronominal origin, as F. Lenormant pointed out years ago, seems to me more probable (see Thureau-Dangin, ZA. xx).

As lexicons I have used R. Brünnow's "Classified List" and B. Meissner's *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, also J. D. Prince's *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*. In many cases I cannot agree with Prince's explanation of the fact that words with different meanings are written in Sumerian with the same Cuneiform signs. His theory endeavours, in many cases, to derive all such words from an original word or notion written originally with a determined Cuneiform sign, but, following this theory, the Sumerians must have proceeded in the formation of their words in such a purely logical way that even with a strict intention to derive logically one notion from another one can hardly arrive at the same conclusions as J. D. Prince supposes to have been the case in the development of Sumerian speech. I think that it was simply the phonetic likeness of words with different meanings which led in many cases the Sumerians to write these words with the same cuneiform signs, and assuming that the cursive cuneiform is derived from the more ancient pictorial system of writing, this explanation may be not illusory, since it must have been very hard for primitive man to express all his ideas and notions with different pictures. I give some illustrations of my opinion when I compare Sumerian words with Georgian.

In addition I have also used some important articles published in various Assyriological reviews and some monographs on new discoveries in the domain of Sumeriology. Of particular use to me was also C. Fossey's article "Les permutations des consonnes en Sumérien" (Hilprecht's Anniversary Volume, pp. 105-20); a very interesting picture of phonetic changes in Sumerian is given in that essay, the changes being analogous in Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian, where the same phonetic phenomena are to be observed in many cases. Finally, as a collection of Sumerian texts, I used of course Thureau-Dangin's "Die Sumerischen und

Akkadischen Königsinschriften", VAB. i, 1907, this being the best transliteration and translation of Sumerian texts of the classical period.

As to Georgian materials, I have used them freely. I have taken examples from ancient literary monuments as well as the living Georgian speech: the Bible, the translation of which into Georgian can be traced back to the fifth century A.D., the great "Georgian Chronicle" (abbr. GC.QMV. = Georgian Chronicle, Queen Mary's Variant), perhaps begun in the first centuries A.D. and continued by contemporaneous annalists until the fifteenth century and after; "The Man in the Panther's Skin," the great national poem of Georgia by Shota Rustaveli (abbr. Sh.R.), who lived in the twelfth century, translated into English by Miss Marjory S. Wardrop, RAS. Oriental Translation Fund, vol. xxi, 1912; and especially the handsome and learned publications of Old Georgian texts by Professor N. Marr of St. Petersburg, *Texty i Razyskaniia po Armiano - Gruzinskoi Philologii* (abbr. TR.), etc. I also used *Osnovnyiye Tablitsy k grammatike Drevne-Gruzinskago Jazyka* (abbr. OT.) by the same author, and his *Lazian Grammar* (abbr. LG.), the former published in 1908 and the latter in 1910. In Lazian we have no written ancient literary documents. As to Mingrelian and Svanian also, we have unfortunately no ancient literary documents written in these languages, but modern philologists have tried to outline their grammars and compose small lexicons. With the exception of J. O. Wardrop's "English-Svanetian Vocabulary" (JRAS. 1911) no lexicon or grammar of European linguists is of much use, being full of mistakes. For Mingrelian Professor A. Tsagareli's *Mingrelian Studies* may be mentioned; it is a treasure indeed for Georgian and Mingrelian phonetics. Some valuable materials have been furnished to me by my friends, to whom my cordial thanks are due. Many examples

I have quoted from the Georgian living speech, and I am well justified in doing this, because the Georgian language has not altered very much during fifteen centuries of literary development. There is no "Old Georgian" in the sense of "Old Greek", "Old Armenian", etc., and there is no "Old Georgian" in the sense of "Old German" or "Old French" preserved until our days in literary documents; modern Georgian is the same language, with the same words and general grammatical structure as Old Georgian, and the alteration which we can observe in its long development is of quite another kind than that we see in the development of Indo-European languages.

Finally, let me express here my sincere thanks to Mr. J. O. Wardrop for reading through the manuscript of this work and making many useful remarks concerning the Georgian side of the work, for rendering my English more English and for revising the proofs, and for having done in general what was necessary for the publication of this paper. Then to Professor Dr. H. Zimmern of Leipzig for reading through the manuscript of this work and for having made many useful remarks concerning its Assyriological side, and also to my honourable teacher Professor Dr. C. Bezold of Heidelberg and to Dr. Stephen Langdon of Oxford for their kind and useful advice.

Before beginning the direct comparison of Sumerian with Georgian it may be well to give here the Georgian alphabet with its Latin transcription by Professor Marr (OT., table i). The scientifically adopted transcription is absolutely necessary to avoid confusion in the right reading and phonetically right pronunciation of Georgian words and sounds. We give here the alphabet of "military" writing, so-called მხედრული *mqedruli*, to distinguish it from the ecclesiastical ხუცუბური *quburi*—

ა = a	ტ = t
ბ = b	ჰ = w
გ = g	ჟ = u
დ = d	ფ = φ
ე = e	ჟ = q
ვ = v	გ = ḡ (German "Tag")
ზ = z (French)	ყ = ħ (no equivalent in Indo-European and Semitic languages)
ყ = ey (ē)	შ = š
თ = θ (aspirate t)	ჩ = ç (English <i>ch</i>)
ი = i	ც = č (German <i>z</i>)
კ = k	ძ = ċ (Greek <i>ζ</i>)
ლ = l	წ = ĭ (<i>ts</i>)
მ = m	ჭ = ħ (<i>tsh</i>)
ნ = n	ხ = q̇ (German <i>ch</i>)
ო = o	ჯ = q̇ (emphatic <i>q̇</i>)
პ = p	რ = ḏ (English <i>j</i>)
ჟ = j (French)	ს = h
რ = r	ფ = oy
ს = s	

N.B. Georgian is written from left to right.

SUMERIAN AND GEORGIAN

PART I: GRAMMAR

I. POSTFIXES AND SUFFIXES

The Sumerian postfixes *ra*, *šú*, *da*, *ta* (with their variants) correspond both in form and meaning in very many cases to the Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and

Svanian case-endings and postpositions. It is quite easy to see, indeed, that some cases in Georgian are formed by adding a postposition to the noun. The postposition *დ* (აღ, და) *d* (*ad*, *da*) postfixed to the noun gives, for instance, the directive¹ case in Georgian. This *დ* *d* means "to", "for", "into", and thus ქალაქ-ად *qalaq-ad* = into the city, to the city, etc. I think also that the Georgian ablative case with ით(ა) *iθ(a)* is formed by adding the postposition თან *θan* = with, to the noun: დან-ით(ა) *dan-iθa* = with the knife, the ending ით(ა) *iθ(a)* being an abridged form of *θan*. The Mingrelian and Lazian directive case is formed evidently by adding the postposition შა *ša* to the noun: ქალაქ-ი-შა *qalaq-i-ša* = into the city, towards the city, unto the city; ობოზ-ი-შა *oqor-i-ša* = into the house. This Mingrelian-Lazian *ša*, Mingrelian also *šaq*, corresponds evidently to the Georgian ში *ši* = in, into, the full form of which is შიგ *šig* (also *šid*, *šina*); but in Georgian *ši*, etc., are employed as independent postpositions with the dative. Whether the Georgian genitive and dative case-endings are of postpositional origin is not certain. According to Professor N. Marr² the genitive and dative case-endings in Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, Svanian, and other languages of the same stem are the same elements as the prefixes of different conjugations and of verbal nouns: the Georgian words სი-გეჴა *si-tkva* = word, and სა-ქმე *sa-qme* = deed, have the prefixes *si* and *sa*, which are at the same time prefixes of the second and third conjugations, and case-endings of genitive

¹ I follow here the terminology of Marr.

² "Where the Svanian Declension is preserved": Bull. Acad. Sci. St. Petersburg, 1911.

si, resp. *is*, and dative *sa*, resp. *as*. The Mingrelian-Lazian prefixes *e*, resp. *i* of the second kind of verb and *o* of the third, without consonantal characteristics (full forms *ši*, *ša*, and *šo*), are the case-endings of genitive *iš*, resp. *eš* (> *ši*, resp. *še*), dative *aš*, resp. *oš* (> *ša*, *šo*). Svanian has lost its original case-endings, but the above-mentioned verbal prefixes are in Svanian ლი *li*, ლა *la*, and these *li*, *la* go back to the primitive *nī*, *na*, so that the primitive case-endings of genitive and dative in Svanian must have been *in*, *an* and then **il*, **al*. These primitive case-endings are preserved now in adverbial expressions, as ჯობ-ინ *jošg-in* = from behind, behind, *sgob-in* = from before, before, etc. Advancing in his analysis Professor Marr tries to reconstruct all possible declensions of the languages related to Georgian—

Kaşdo-Mosqian (Georgian). Tubal-Cainian (Mingrelian, Lazian)

Nom. [us]	Nom. [uš]
Gen. <i>is</i> (<i>si</i>)	Gen. <i>iš</i> (<i>eš</i>)
Dat. <i>as</i> (<i>sa</i>)	Dat. <i>aš</i> (<i>oš</i>)

Some unknown language.

Nom. [ur]
Gen. <i>ir</i>
Dat. <i>ar</i>

Svanian-Someqian (Svanian).

Nom. [un]
Gen. <i>in</i>
Dat. <i>an</i>

Some unknown language.

Nom. [um]
Gen. <i>im</i>
Dat. <i>am</i>

Some unknown language.

Nom. [uv]
Gen. <i>iv</i>
Dat. <i>av</i>

with possible variants *-si*, *-ši*, *-ri*, *-ni*, etc.

Svanian has lost its original case-endings, borrowing those of Georgian and Tubal-Cainian, but *n* is to be found in the language of the second tablet of Achæmenian Inscriptions, as Professor Marr pointed out in his paper read before the Russian Archæological Society, St. Petersburg, April 26 (old style), 1912, and *r*, I think, is to be identified with Sumerian *ra* dative and accusative.

Now, whether these case-endings are of postpositional or of pronominal origin is quite obscure, and perhaps further investigation may throw some light upon this interesting question.

But we must notice here that an exact identification of some Sumerian postpositions with a Georgian postposition or case-ending is very difficult as regards their common origin from one and the same word. Many hypotheses may be set forth, indeed, but most of them seem to be hazardous, and therefore let us simply draw up a table where those *ra*, *šú*, *da*, and *ta*-like case-endings appear in Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian, and then indicate what is their meaning and usage. The correspondence which we find in this respect between Georgian and Sumerian may be fortuitous, but it may be also a fact of importance. I leave it to more authoritative scholars to decide. I should like only to draw their attention to this interesting phenomenon.

GEORGIAN

Nom.	ღმერთ-ი	<i>ǵmerθ-i</i>	= the god
Gen.	ღმერთ-ის(ა)	<i>ǵmerθ-is(a)</i>	= of the god
Dat.	ღმერთ-ს(ა)	<i>ǵmerθ-s(a)</i>	= to the god
Dat. pron.	ღმერთ-მან	<i>ǵmerθ-man</i>	= the god
Abl.	ღმერთ-ით(ა)	<i>ǵmerθ-iθ(a)</i>	= with the god, by the god
Direct.	ღმერთ-ად(ა)	<i>ǵmerθ-ad(a)</i>	= towards the god, as the god

MINGRELIAN

Nom.	ღორონთ-ი	<i>ǵoronθ-i</i>	= the god
Nom. pron.	ღორონთ-ი-ქ	<i>ǵoronθ-i-q</i>	= the god(subject)
Gen.	ღორონთ-ი-ში	<i>ǵoronθ-i-ši</i>	= of the god
Dat. Georg.	ღორონთ-ი-ს	<i>ǵoronθ-i-s</i>	= to the god

Separative	ღორონთ-ი-შე	<i>ğoronθ-i-še</i>	= from the god
Abl.	ღორონთ-ით	<i>ğoronθ-iθ</i>	= with the god, by the god
Direct.	ღორონთ-ი-შა(ბ)	<i>ğoronθ-i-ša(ḡ)</i>	= towards the god

LAZIAN

Nom.	ღორმთ-ი	<i>ğormθ-i</i>	= the god
Nom. pron.	ღორმთ-ი-ჟ	<i>ğormθ-i-q</i>	= the god (subject)
Gen.	ღორმთ-ი-ში	<i>ğormθ-i-ši</i>	= of the god
Dat. Georg.	ღორმთ-ი-ს	<i>ğormθ-i-s</i>	= to the god
Separative	ღორმთ-ი-შე	<i>ğormθ-i-še</i>	= from the god
Abl.	ღორმთ-ი-თე	<i>ğormθ-i-θe</i>	= with the god, by the god
Direct.	ღორმთ-ი-შა	<i>ğormθ-i-ša</i>	= towards the god

SVANIAN

Nom.	ღერბათ	<i>ğerbaθ</i>	= the god
Gen.	ღერბათ-აშ	<i>ğerθ-aš</i>	= of the god
Dat. Georg.	ღერბეთ-ს	<i>ğerbeθ-s</i>	= to the god
Dat. pron.	ღერბეთ-ღ	<i>ğerbeθ-d</i>	= the god (with accus.)
Direct.	ღერბათ-თე	<i>ğerbaθ-θe</i>	= towards the god
Abl.	ღერბათ-ა-შუ	<i>ğerθ-a-šū</i>	= with the god, by the god

One can easily see by this table that some case-endings of these languages are very similar to the Sumerian postfixes, both in form and in meaning, and it seems to me quite probable that even the Georgian genitive ending *ის(ა)* *is(a)* and dative *სა (> ას)* *sa (> as)*, which correspond to the primitive Svanian *ní, na (in, an > *il, *al)* are related to Sumerian *ra*. To Sumerian *da* evidently corresponds Georgian *ad (da)* and to Sumerian *ta* the Georgian ablative case-ending *იθ(a)*. As to

Sumerian *šú*, it may correspond to the Mingrelian-Lazian separative case-ending *še*, to the Svanian ablative *šú*, and to the Mingrelian-Lazian directive *ša(q̄)*. That the Sumerian *šú* corresponds to those case-endings in form and in meaning is a fact, though the same cannot be said about their common origin from some primitive word. But one Georgian postposition to which Sumerian *šú* also corresponds exactly deserves attention in this respect: this is Georgian *ši*, abbreviated from *šig*, *šina*, *šigan*, dialectical *šid*, with the root *šg*, and probably the original word for the Mingrelian-Lazian directive case-ending *ša(q̄)*. The Georgian შიგ (*šig*) is the same word as the Sumerian *šab* = *šag* = the heart, the centre; it means "in", "inside", "in the interior", "in the middle"; from it is derived the Georgian adverb შუა *šua* = between, and an adjective also შუა *šua* = central; the root is *sg* > *šg* (*sq* > *šq*), and, indeed, in Lazian we have the substantive შჳა *šqa* = the middle (also "loins"), in Mingrelian, the same word with the same meaning "middle", and in Svanian სჳა *sqa* = in (suffix); ისჳა, სჳა, ისგა *isqa, sqa, isga* = inside; ლი-სგა *li-sga* = into, through, etc. Therefore it seems to me probable that the Sumerian *šab* = *šag* might be an original word from which the postfix *šú* is derived.¹

Let us now examine in detail the use of all these Sumerian postfixes and compare them with Georgian case-endings and postpositions.

A. Sumerian *ra*

According to the table on p. 793 the case-endings in one of some unknown languages of "Japhetic" origin

¹ Lehmann and Hommel (ZK. ii) derive *šú* from the classical *ku*; Professor H. Zimmern agrees with them. S. Langdon says that its origin is wholly obscure (*Sumerian Grammar*, p. 70).

(using the terminology of Professor Marr) may be *ir*, *ar*, corresponding to the Georgian ის *is*, ას *as*, Tubal-Cainian (Lazian-Mingrelian) იჲ, აჲ *iš*, *aš*, and Svanian primitive *in*, *an* (and borrowed from Georgian and Tubal-Cainian dative ს *s*, genitive აჲ *aš*). This unknown language seems to be Sumerian. And, indeed, in Sumerian *ra* is employed as inflexion of the dative and accusative. In Georgian the dative is also employed as accusative. Moreover, the Georgian dative is the accusative, and after some tenses of the verb the direct object appears in the dative: ვ-კლავ მხეც-სა *v-klav mxeθ-sa* = I am slaying a beast (but მო-ვ-კალ მხეც-ი *mo-v-kal mxeθ-i* = I have slain a beast). Thus, Sumerian *ad-da-ne-ne-ra in-na-ab-kallagi-ne*¹ = to their father they will pay, may be expressed in Georgian: მამებ-სა მათ-სა უზღეს *mameb-sa maθ-sa uzġes*; შვილ-სა ჩემ-სა მივეც *švil-sa θem-sa miveθ* = I have given to my son, etc. Sumerian *ra*, accusative *galu-razussa* = bind the man. Georgian ვ-კლავ კაც-სა *v-klav kaθ-sa* = I slay a man, etc. The distinction between Georgian dative-accusative სა *sa* and Sumerian *ra* is only that Sumerian *ra* is employed with persons, but Georgian სა *sa* with persons and things as well. (Cf. Neo-Susian genitive *Tariamauš zunkuk-na* = des Königs Darius; also accus. obj. pers. sing. *in*, *ir*; pl. *ap-in*, *app-in*, *apir*, *appir*; see Fr. H. Weissbach, *Die Achämeniden-inschriften Zweiter Art*, Leipzig, 1890.) Now I do not think that *ra* is identical with *ara*, 𐎠𐎵, "to go," in Sumerian. Even if the fundamental sense of *ra* were "toward" this would prove nothing, for *šú* and *da* can

¹ I quote almost all the same examples as S. Langdon in his *Sumerian Grammar*.

also have this sense of "toward", "motion toward"; and yet *šú* has no primitive sense of "going" and *da*-postposition nothing to do with *du* "to go". It is interesting to notice here that Georgian roots *ღ d* and *რ r* both signify "to go", just like Sumerian *ara* and *du*, but *რ r* has nothing to do with the case-endings *ის, ას is, as* (unknown Japhetic *ir, ar*); and *ღ d*, a postposition to form the directive case in Georgian, scarcely goes back to the verbal root *ღ d* = to go.

B. Sumerian *šú*

1. *šú* = toward, unto, to, corresponds to the Georgian postposition *ši, sig*, employed with dative, and to the Lazian-Mingrelian directive case-ending *ša (šaq)*: Sumerian *id-da-šu ba-an-sum-mu* = into the river they shall throw him; Georgian გაღაუგაღე წყალ-ში *gadavagde tkal-ši* = into the water I have thrown (him, it, her). Mingrelian ქალაქ-ი-შა(ს) მეკუჩქ *qalaqiša(š) mevrug* = I am going in the direction of the city, to the city; Lazian ოხოზი-შა ველორ *oqor-i-ša velur* = I am going home (in the direction, towards home). In some cases Sumerian *šú* denotes also the dative: *1 udu-nitaš ki-a-nag enlitarzi-šú* = one male sheep for the parentalia of Enlitarzi. One may infer perhaps that this *šú* has something to do with the Georgian dative სა (ას) *sa (as)*, especially because Georgian dative (also Mingrelian, etc.) is often employed as directive: წაველ ქალაქ-ს(ა) *tavel qalaq-s(a)* = I went to the city; Mingrelian გურ-ს ქომოფხვადუ *gur-s qomoḫvadu* = he was struck to the heart, etc.; but in this case, supposing that Georgian სა *sa (ას as)* and Sumerian *ra* correspond

to each other, Sumerian *ra* and *šú* must be necessarily variants of each other, and this is not true at all.

2. *šú* instrumental corresponds to the ablative case-ending *šü*, *üš* in Svanian. Sumerian *gin-šü ne-sig* = he smote with the blade; *karra-aš* = with the knife; *šú-šú* = with the hand; Svanian ღერბთა-შჳ *ǵerθa-šü* = with the god, by the god; ში-ჳშ *ši-üš* = with the hand.

3. *šú* = up to, until, corresponds to the Georgian dative with postfixed *ši* or postposition *šina* (*šig*), the Mingrelian *ša* (*šaḡ*), and the Lazian directive case-ending *ša*. Sumerian *ud-kur-šú* = unto other days; *ud ul-li-a-aš* = unto other days. Georgian მას ჟამსა შინა *mas jamsa šina* = at that time. Mingrelian ქალაქ-ი-შა(ბ) *qalax-i-ša(ḡ)* = unto the city. In temporal expressions Mingrelian ძირიფა-შა(ბ) *ḏiraḫa-ša(ḡ)* = au revoir (French); Lazian გალა-შა *gala-ša*, a verbal form in directive case = until, up to.

4. *šú*, contact with, corresponds to the Mingrelian and Lazian adverbial forms. Sumerian *zidde-šú* = in a state of faithfulness; *ud-de-eš* = *uddiš* = daily; *dug-gi-eš* = well. Mingrelian with *as*: სქვამ-ას *squam-as* = beautifully; მალ-ას *mal-as* = quickly, etc. Also Lazian *mal-as* = quickly; Lazian and Mingrelian have also another form of adverb with *o*, which goes back to the primitive full *o-შ* *oš*.

5. *šú*, "construed with persons after certain verbs to denote the person with whom the subject is concerned in a transaction" (Langdon), corresponds exactly to the Lazian and Mingrelian so-called separative case-ending შჳ *še*. Sumerian *ababilgim-šú in-ši-sam* = he has purchased of Ababilgim; *zūr-zūr-rá-zu-ni gú-de-a-aš*

... *šu-ba-ši-ti*, "he received the petition from Gudea," etc.; Mingrelian მუმა-შე *mu ma-še* = from the father; დიდა-შე *dida-še* = from the mother; Lazian კოზი-შე *kozi-še* = from the man, etc. It must be noted here that according to Professor Marr (LG., p. 12) this *še* (|| *ši*) is a Tubal-Cainian genitive case-ending which in Lazian and Mingrelian forms a special so-called "separative" case.¹

C. Sumerian *da*

Whether the original meaning of *da* 𐎠𐎣 is "the right hand" or not, it is remarkable that this suffix has the same significance in Sumerian as the Georgian, Lazian, Mingrelian, and Svanian დ, თ *d, θ*: Georgian ablative ით(ა) *iθ(a)*, Georgian directive ად (და) *ad (da)*, and independent postposition თან = with; Mingrelian and Lazian ablative თე *θe*; Svanian directive თე *θe*.

1. *da* = with, beside. Sumerian *za-da a-ba-a in-na-bal-e* = who shall make war with thee; Georgian ბრძოლა შენ-თან(ა) *brdola šen-θan(a)* = the war (struggle) with thee; ჩვენ-თან(ა) არს ღმერთი *θven-θan(a) ars ġmerθi* = God is with us—here *θan(a)* is employed as a postposition (with the genitive).

2. *da* is not employed in Georgian after personal names to indicate the agent, but ით(ა) *iθ(a)* instrumental is of common use and is employed as ით(ა) *iθ(a)* of agent and causative (ablative). So, for instance, if we say in Georgian მოიკლა განგებ-ით(ა) *moikla gangeb-iθ(a)*

¹ Adopting this theory of Marr, we meet the same difficulty as in the case of *šu* = toward, unto, corresponding to Georgian *ši(g)*, and not to Georgian genitive ის *is* and dative სა *sa* (Sumerian *ra*), with which Mingrelian-Lazian separative *še* is connected as derived from the Mingrelian genitive *ši*. But perhaps this Tubal-Cainian *še* has nothing to do with genitive *ši* and is originated from some primitive postposition?

= he was slain by Providence (Providence being a cause of the slaying), or მოიკლა ხელ-ით(ა) ჩემ-ით(ა) *moikla qel-iθ(a) θem-iθ(a)* = he was slain by my hand (the hand being an instrument), the Georgian expresses both cases by the ablative with this ending *iθ(a)*; therefore it seems not improbable that the Georgian *iθa* was employed earlier as *iθa* of the agent, as Sumerian *utul-da e-da-sig* = by the shepherd he has been slain; მოიკლა მწყემს-ით(ა) *moikla mikems-iθa* = by the shepherd he has been slain, was probably in Georgian a quite regular expression (instead of the later მოიკლა მწყემს-ის მიერ *moikla mikems-is mier* = id.).

3. *da* instrumental is of common use, as we have already said above, in the languages of the Georgian group. Sumerian *me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e* = he brought forward at his decree. Georgian წიგნი დავსწერე კალმ-ითა *tigni davstere kalm-iθa* = I have written a letter with a pen. Lazian ბიგა-თე *biga-θe* = with the staff, ცხენი-თე *θqeni-θe* = with the horse (on horseback).

4. *da* of purpose with infinitives corresponds exactly to the Georgian directive, with ად (და) *ad (da)* also with infinitives, and to the Svanian *θe* (directive). Especially in Old Georgian this meaning of the directive is observed. Sumerian *é-azag-dū-dé* = to build the sacred house; *e-en-ra summu-da* = to give water to the lord; Georgian აღშენებ-ად წმიდისა სახლისა *ağšeneb-ad tmidisa saqlisa* = id.; მეგულებს მე საქმე საშინელი მითხრობ-ად და უწყებ-ად თქვენდა *megulebis me saqme sašinelī miθqrob-ad da utkeb-ad*

θqvenda = I have to relate and to let you know a dreadful thing (the capture of Jerusalem by Persians in A.D. 614, TR. ix, 13); Svanian ლაგვანა-თე *lagvana-θe* = to weep, to lament = for the purpose of weeping, lamenting.

5. *da* circumstantial may correspond to the Georgian adverbs with ად *ad*: კარგი-ი *karg-i* = good; კარგ-ად *karg-ad* = well, etc., but also to the Georgian ablative with ითა *itha*, when this latter expresses the circumstantial state: Sumerian *šu-gi(n)-gi(n)-da ge-en-da-ab-sag-eš* = in safety may they lead thee; Georgian შეცოდება ნებს-ითა და უნებლი-ელ *šethodeba nebs-itha* (ablative) *da unebli-ed* = to sin voluntarily and involuntarily; სუფევ-ით-მცა ხართ თავ-ითა მტერთაგან საკრძალოველ-ითა *sufev-ith-mca qarthav-itha mterθagan sakrdalvel-itha* (Sh.R. 788, 4) = (but) be ye in your sovereignty feared by foes; Sumerian *gù-de-de-da úr-gig-a nu-un-šed-dé* = with sighing day and night he rests not. In current Georgian we can say simply: ტირილ-ით გაატარა ღამე *tiril-ith gaatarā game* = in weeping he passed the night. The ablative circumstantial is a regular phenomenon both in ancient and modern Georgian.

6. *da* locative is also frequent in Georgian. Sumerian *edin-da e-da-tāg-tāg* = (their bones) in the field he left; Georgian მუალნი მათნი დაჰყარა ველ-ად *dvalni maθni dahkara vel-ad* = he left their bones in the field; მტერთა ქვესვენელ-ად დამამხობელი *mterθa qvesknel-ad damamθobeli* = (he) who throws down the enemies (an epithet of King David the Constructor (or Renewer) of Georgia), "Abdulmesia," by J. Shavtheli, TR. iv, 3, 4, 3).

7. *da* of "motion toward" corresponds exactly to the Georgian *d* of "motion toward" and Svanian *θ* = *id*. By adding this *d* and *θ* the Georgian directive (*-ad, da*) and the Svanian directive (*θe*) are formed. Sumerian *e-da ġe-en-da-ab-ġi-ġi* = may he restore thee to the water. In Georgian we find very often the directive expressing motion towards persons: მოვედ ჩემ-და *moved ħem-da* = come to me; but also წავიდა ქალაქ-ად *tavida qalaq-ad* = he went to the city; ურიასტგან-ად *uriastan-ad* (John xi, 7) = to Palestine; ტაძრ-ად *tadř-ad* (John viii, 2) = to the temple (quoted also by H. Bourgeois, "Notes sur la déclinaison en vieux-géorgien," *extrait de la Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie comparée*, 1909, Nos. 3, 4); ხოლო ვითარ მოვლას მიზიანმან ბარტამი და შემოვიდა ქართლ-ად *ġolo viθar mokla mirianman bartami da řemovida qarθl-ad* = and when Mirian killed Bartam and came to Qarθli (GC.QMV., p. 27); Svanian მარან-თე *maran-θe* = into the cellar; ქორ-თე *qor-θe* = into the house, etc.

D. Sumerian *ta*.

The Georgian *θ*, the ablative case-ending *iθa*, has the same meaning as the Sumerian *ta*. Moreover, instead of *ad* directive, *aθ* can be written and pronounced in Georgian, and in this sense the confusion of *d* with *θ* takes place in Georgian as in Sumerian.

1. *ta* of separation is the counterpart of *ři* in Sumerian, and its meaning is "from". In Georgian the ablative separative with ითა *iθa* corresponds in meaning to the Lazian and Mingrelian შე *ře*, and its meaning is

also exactly "from".¹ Sumerian *é-ta è-a-ni* = from the house he went forth; *uru-ta im-ta-è* = he caused to go from the city; Georgian ქვეყთ-ით მომყვს ჩემი მზე ჩემი ღახუართა მსობელი *qadēθ-iθ mom-kavs θemi mze, θemi laqvarθa msobeli* = from Kadjet'hi I bring my sun, piercer of me with arrows (Sh.R. 1404, 3); წამოვიდა იერუსალიმ-ით *tamovida Jerusalem-iθ* = he went forth from Jerusalem. The following Sumerian

¹ A difficulty again. Professor Marr says that the ablative ით *iθ*, Lazian თე *θe*, is a result of the sound-change ს(შ) > თ *s(š) > θ*, so that, following his theory, the Sumerian *ta* seems to be connected with Georgian ს *s*, Lazian-Mingrelian შ *š*, consequently with the Sumerian *ra*! Svanian ablative შჷ, ჴშ (<შლ-) *šū, ūš (<šo)*, according to the same theory, must also be connected with Georgian თ *θ*, Sumerian *ta* (see, indeed, *ta* instrumental and compare with Georgian ითა *iθa*, and *šū* instrumental and compare with Svanian შჷ, ჴშ *šū, ūš*). *Da*, often confused in Sumerian with *ta*, is consequently also involved in this general confusion. The *ta*-like function of *šū* (see *šū* instrumental) in some cases and its exterior phonetic likeness with Georgian ს *s*, Lazian-Mingrelian შ *š*, brings this *šū*, too, into the same general confusion; in this case *šū* seems to have nothing to do with the Georgian postposition ში(გ) *ši(g)*, but seems to be connected with Georgian dative ს *s*, შ *š*. One step again and we may arrive at a hypothesis of the primitive unity of all these particles, but this hypothesis would be absolutely untenable. Personally I am inclined to think that the Georgian თ *θ* is derived from the postposition თან *θan* = with, and is it really quite improbable to see in the Sumerian *ta* the primitive *tal* = twin, comrade, and in *da* (confused often with *ta*) *dal* = to correspond to? In Georgian გოლ-ი *gol-i* = equal, comrade; ცალ-ი *čal-i* = one entire half of the unity. Probably *θan* is derived from *čal-i*, since we have in Mingrelian ჩქიმი-ცალ-ი *čqimi-čal-i* = Georgian ჩემის-თან-ა *čemis-θan-a* = like me.

examples are very interesting also as showing clearly how the Sumerian *ta* of separation corresponds to the Georgian θ ablative-separative, and how at the same time the Sumerian *šú* corresponds to the directive in Lazian and Mingrelian with *ša(q)* (Georgian ად (და) *ad (da)*;

Georgian compound დმდე *dmde* = დ + მ + დე *d + m + de* = until, unto). Sumerian *a-ab-ba sig-ga-ta idigna buranun-bi igi-nim-ma-šú* = vom unteren Meere (über) den Tigris und Euphrat, bis zum oberen Meere (ASK., p. 154, 2, 4-10); Georgian ქვედაზღვრით . . . ზედაზღვრულ-მდე (Mingrelian-Lazian შა(ბ) *ša(q)*) = vom unteren Meere . . . bis zum oberen Meere. Sumerian *babbar-è-ta babbar-šù-šú* = vom Aufgang bis zum Untergang (ibid. 2, 12-13); Georgian აღმოსავლეთით დასავლეთ-მდე *aḡmosavleθ-iθ dasavleθ-ad-m-de* (Lazian-Mingrelian *ša(q)* = id.).

2. *ta* locative. As far as *ta* locative corresponds to *da* locative in Sumerian it has its equivalent in დ *d* locative in Georgian. But in Georgian თ θ has no exact locative sense, unless we refer to the Georgian postposition თან(ა) *θan(a)* (with genitive), which denotes "equality" and "nearness", and from which, I think, the ablative case-ending *iθ(a)* is derived. The Georgian *θan(a)* means "with"; შენ-თან(ა) *šen-θan(a)* = with thee. But a confusion like the Sumerian *idim-abzu-ta imin-na-meš* = in the depth of the sea seven are they, is also observed in Georgian მინდვრ-ათ *mindvr-aθ*, instead of მინდვრ-ად *mindvr-ad* = in the field.

3. *ta* instrumental corresponds to the *šú* instrumental in Sumerian. In Georgian θ instrumental corresponds to the Svanian *šú*, *uš* instrumental. Sumerian *usán-ta* =

with a whip; Georgian მათრახ-ით(a) *maθraq-iθ(a)* = id.; Sumerian *šu-el-a-ni-ta* = with his clean hands; Georgian ხელ-ით(a) წმიდ-ით(a) მის-ითა *qel-iθ(a) imid-iθ(a) mis-iθ(a)* = with his clean hand. (Svanian ში-უშ *ši-ūš* = with the hand, corresponds exactly to Sumerian *šu-šú* = id.)

4. *ta* of means and cause (*ta* causative and instrumental developed out of the idea of motion from an object.—Langdon. It is not certain, I think, that this *ta* causative is developed out of the idea of motion from an object) corresponds to the Georgian *θ* causative developed in Georgian, not out of the idea of motion from an object, but of coexistence and equality with an object. The separative *ta* seems to be derived from this primitive *ta* instrumental or from *ta* of coexistence, and perhaps the origin of *ta* causative is the same in Sumerian. Sumerian *ib-ba-bi-ta šur-ra-bi-ta . . . anna ba-an-ē-ne* = at his rage and wrath . . . they ascended to heaven. Georgian ნებ-ითა შენ-ითა *neb-iθa šen-i-θa* = by thy will; ბრძანებ-ითა შენ-ითა *brđaneb-iθa šen-i-θa* = by thy command. Sumerian *á^a nina-ta* = by the might of Nina = Georgian ძალ-ითა ნინას-ითა *đal-iθa Ninas-iθa*. განცემ-ითა ღვთისა-ითა *gangeb-iθa ġvθisa-iθa* = by the providence of God.

5. *ta* temporal corresponds to the Georgian directive temporally employed. Sumerian *uđ-bi-ta* = at that time; Georgian მარ-ად *mar-ad* = always, eternally; კვალ-ად *kval-ad* = again, another time; ამჟამ-ად *am-ĵam-ad* = at that time. It corresponds also to the Georgian ablative temporal დილ-ით *dil-iθ* = in the morning, საღამო-ით *saġamo-iθ* = in the evening, etc.

6. *ta* circumstantial, see *da* circumstantial.

7. *ta* comparative may be compared with the Georgian postposition თან(ა) *tan(a)*, employed after the genitive. Sumerian *á-zu-ta á nu-mu-un-da-di*, with thy strength no strength is compared; Georgian შენის-თანა *šenis-thana* = like thee, compared with thee; Mingrelian თე-ცალ-ი *te-θal-i* = like this; Lazian ჩქიმის თერ-ი (ტერ-ი) *θqimis θer-i (ter-i)* = like me, seems to be connected with Georgian *tan* and Mingrelian *θal*; Sumerian *esir aš šag-kà-na-ta ki-ta im-mi-in-rig* = bitumen beside the *šakkanaku* below I have placed; Georgian დავსდე ქვა ქვას-თან *davsde qva quas-tan* = I have placed a stone beside (with) [another] stone. The Georgian verb შედარება *šedareba* (root *dar*; Sumerian *dal, tal*; Georgian ტოლ-ი *tol-i* = equal, comrade; ცალ-ი *θal-i* = one entire half of a double whole) = to compare, may be employed not only with the dative but also with the genitive with postposition თან *tan*. We say, for instance, შევადარე მას *ševadare mas* = I have compared with him, but also შედარებით მას-თან *šedarebiθ mas-tan* = compared with him. The comparative with "than" is expressed in Georgian in another way.

8. *ta* = *da* of accompaniment, corresponds to the Georgian *tan* = with, expressing "nearness" (developed probably from the idea of equality and of coexistence). Sumerian *da-da-a-ta nam-ba-da-ab-bal-e* = with the wicked I will bind thee; Georgian ბოროტ-თან დავაბამ შენ *borot-tan dagabam šen* = id.

9. *ta* of motion toward = *da* of motion toward, corresponds to the Georgian directive დ *d* and Svanian

თ *θ*. Sumerian *é-kùr-ta mulu^{suesir} malla im-tur-ra-ne* = (when) he with shoes on entered into E-kur; Svanian *მარან-თე maran-θe* = into the cellar; *ქორ-თე qor-θe* = into the house; Georgian *სახლ-ად sagl-ad* = id., etc.

In addition to all this it must be mentioned here that the Sumerian dative *ra* (Georgian dative *სა sa*) may be expressed in Georgian also by the postfixed *და da* (*ად ad*), i.e. by the directive: *ჩემ-და čem-da* = unto me, towards me, to me.

Finally, it must be noted that Georgian has also other means to express all the above-mentioned ideas, but those above compared with the Sumerian are the most usual and regular in ancient and modern Georgian alike. Sumerian *gir-su-(ki)-ta umma-(ki)-šú . . . e-gin* = from Lagaš to Umma he went = Georgian *ლაგაშ-ით უმმა-ში წავიდა Lagaš-iθ Umma-ši iavida* may be taken as a model expression showing the striking likeness between Sumerian and Georgian postfixes and case-endings and their usage.

Sumerian suffixes *ge* and *ka*

The Sumerian suffixes *ge* and *ka* employed to express the genitive relation between the nouns may have some likeness to the Georgian postposition *გან gan* and Svanian *გან qan* and *ჭა qa*, which are properly not employed to express the genitive relation between the nouns, but are employed with the genitive with the following significations: Georgian *-გან -gan* = from, out, of; Svanian *გან qan* = from, out, of; *ჭა qa* = beside, excepting, from, out, of. In Lazian and Georgian *gan, gar, ga* (in Lazian *ga*) are employed also as prepositions to the verb. Sumerian (genitive possessive) *dam lugal-ge* = wife of the king; Georgian

სახლ-ისა-გან *saql-isa-gan* = from the house, out of the house, of the house; კაც-ისა-გან *kaθ-isa-gan* = from the man, of the man; Svanian თან-ხან *θan-qan* = from the eye; დიარ-ენ-ჟა *diar-en-qa* = beside, excepting the bread; ხოლამ-ენ-ჟა *qolam-en-qa* = beside, excepting the evil, *from* the evil (these Svanian examples are taken from the Bulletin de l'Académie Imp. Sci. St. Pétersbourg, 1911, N. Marr, "Where the Svanian declension is preserved"?). Sumerian (genitive descriptive) *namlugal kalama-ge* = lordship of the land, may correspond to the same Georgian-Svanian examples, naturally only in the sense mentioned above. In Georgian the plural ending follows the particle like Sumerian, but never vice versa: Sumerian *dingir an-na an-ki-ge-ne* = Georgian ღმერთ-ნი მაღალ-ნი ქვეყან-ისა და ც-ისა-ნი *gmerθ-ni mağal-ni qvekan-isa da θ-isa-ni* = the high gods of Earth and Heaven. This example shows that in Georgian the plural ending follows the genitive ending in general, but it follows also the particle *gan* employed with the genitive: ვიეთნიმე თქვენ-თა-გან-ნი *viethime θqven-θa-gan-ni* = some of you (*θa* = genitive plural, *gan* = particle, *ni* = plural). Sumerian (oblique genitive after accusative) *éa. ningirsu-ka . . . ba-ta-è* = the temple of Ningirsu he made to raise (in majesty), may, too, correspond to the same Georgian-Svanian examples.

ge indicating adverbial notion in Sumerian (the notion of motion toward) has its analogy in the Georgian კენ *ken* (perhaps *ke-n*) and Lazian კე-ლე *ke-le* = in the direction, to, employed with the genitive in Georgian and forming an independent adverb in Lazian. Sumerian *a-babbar kalama-ge sagga-na-šu mi-ni-in-ili* = Šamaš

lifts his head towards the land; Georgian ჩემს-კენ *θems-ken* = in my direction, towards me; Lazian ჩქიმი კელე = id. Sumerian *ka*, indicating adverbial notions (attached to the status obliquus), corresponds also to the Georgian გან *gan* and Svanian ხან *qan*, ჟა *qa*. Sumerian *dúg .a.ningirsu-ka* = by the command of Ningirsu, in the sense that the Georgian ღვთისა-გან *gvθisa-gan* can also signify "by (the will, command of) God". Sumerian *kalag-muš e-šubar-ra-na-ka ák-kúr-šú ba-ú* = the strong man rides from the house of his kinsmen unto the mountains; Georgian მიუღლიუარ სახლი-ით-გან (here *gan* with the ablative-separative) ქალაქ-ში *mivdivar saql-iθ-gan qalag-ši* = I go from the (my) house unto the city, etc.

Finally, the Sumerian *ge*, which marks the subject, may be compared with the Lazian and Mingrelian particle ჟ *q*, which has the same usage. Sumerian *patesi-ge uru-na . . . narig ba-ni-gur* = the patesi for his city carried out purification. In Lazian კოჩ-ი-ჟ თჟუ *koθ-i-q θqu* = the man said, is a usual expression.

As to the etymology of these particles, their origin is wholly obscure in Sumerian. But it would be, perhaps, not illusory if we suppose that the Georgian გან *gan* is connected with გან-ი *gan-i* = the width, გარ-და *gar-da* = beside, perhaps also კარ-ი *kar-i* = the door, გარ-ე *gar-e* = outside; Lazian გა-ლე *ga-le* (or *gal-e*?) (Sumerian *ka* = door?) = id., etc. The Georgian გან-ი *gan-i* means also "the side", გან-ზედ *gan-zed* = aside. Now, we have in Georgian and Mingrelian-Lazian

გვერდი *gver-di* = the side, Georgian ფარდი *far-di* = part, and ფერდი *fer-di* = flank, rib, which go back to the Sumerian *bar* = side (see Lexicon). It is very tempting indeed to connect those words with *gan* and then with Sumerian *bar*, but it is absolutely impossible, because the Sumerian particles *ge* and *ka* must be also connected with *bar* in this case, and that is just what is absolutely unthinkable. გა(ნ)- or გა(რ)- *ga(n)- ga(r)-* in Georgian, გა- *ga-* in Lazian prefixed to the verb, and -ქა *-qa* in Svanian postfixed to the noun show also that their primitive meaning was "the side". Georgian გა(ნ)-დგომა *ga(n)-dgoma* = to pass, to stand *aside*; Svanian მეშე მაროლ პულვა-ქა ამჩელ *mešqe marol dūva-qa amčed* = the black man went by the sea (through the sea), etc. The Georgian -კენ *-ken* and the Lazian -კე-ლე *ke-le* seem to have the same meaning. Georgian ჩემს-კენ *čems-ken* means properly "unto my side"; Lazian ჩქიმი კელი *čqimi kele* = id. Rusthaveli often employs the word კერძ *kerd* = part, side, instead of -კენ *-ken* . . . წამოვალ შენ კერძ ვირები . . . *tamoval šen kerd virebi* = . . . towards thee I will march (411, 4); მეცა შენ კერძ ვიარები *meča šen kerd viarebi* = I myself also come towards thee (416, 1), etc. Besides, it is very interesting to mention here that the Georgian კიდ-ე *kid-e* employed in old Georgian, especially by Rusthaveli, means also "besides", "excepting", its original meaning being "side", and corresponding exactly to the Sumerian *gid* = *šiddu*, "long side," "flank." (This fact

is worthy of notice since the major values of ΣIII *ge* are also *kid* and *gid*.) Rusthaveli . . . Σ ენ-გან კიდე თუ შევირთო რაბა qmari = if I wed any husband but thee (132, 1); Σ ენგან კიდე სო-რციელი, დაო, მივის აზასადა *šengan kide qorθieli, dao, mivis arasada* = save thee, sister, I have no human being anywhere (269, 4); Σ ენ-გან კიდე *šen-gan kide* means properly "thee + from + aside". Rusthaveli employs also a word which occurs not very often in the Georgian literature, namely, a composite კიდე *kide* and განი *gani*; კიდეგანი *kidegani*; მას სო-რციელი ვერ გასძლებს სხვა კიდეგანი ქვისაგან *mas qorθieli ver gasdlebs sḡva kidegani qvisagan* = no human being could endure it, unless made of stone (1125, 4); ამა ო-რთა კიდეგანთა აზრი აზა არ იქმნების *ama orθa kideganθa azri ara ar iqmnebis* = there can be no opinion save these two (1161, 2); ჩემი გზა კიდეგანია *θemi gza kidegania* = *elsewhither* leads my path (1171, 1).

As to the Sumerian *ge* subjective, I do not think that it is identical with the *ge* genitive. It is connected perhaps, as we have mentioned above, with the Lazian and Mingrelian \mathfrak{J} *q* subjective, which is perhaps the same particle as the Georgian independent particle კი *ki* (abbreviated from კიდე *kide* = again, still ?) = certainly, and \mathfrak{J} *qe*, \mathfrak{J} *qve* = id. It is also not quite improbable that the subjective *ge* has the same original sense as the verbal prefix *ge* employed to form the optative.

Sumerian plural

After the postfixes enumerated above and compared with Georgian (and Lazian, Mingrelian, Svanian) case-endings and postpositions, the most interesting is the plural ending in Sumerian, which corresponds exactly to the Georgian plural ending of the nominative and accusative. Indeed, for the personal plural indefinite the personal suffix *ni* was doubled in Sumerian: *nini* became *ene*, shortened to *ne* especially after vowels (so Stephen Langdon; Professor Zimmern remarks on this: "dass *ene* aus *nini* entstanden, ist mir aber unsicher"). In Georgian we have *ni* corresponding to Sumerian *ne*. Sumerian *dingir-ene* = the gods. Georgian ღმერთ-ნი *gmerθ-ni* = id., კაც-ნი *kaθ-ni* = the men, etc. In Georgian also the construct ending precedes the plural. Sumerian *nu-sar a-ba-ú-ge-ne* = the gardeners of Bau. Georgian ვიეთნიმე მათ-გან-ნი *viethnime maθ-gan-ni* = some of them, მემტლენი ბაუ-სა-ნი *memtileni bau-sa-ni* = the gardeners of Bau, etc. Here *-gan* and genitive end. *-sa* precede the plural ending *ni* in Georgian just like Sumerian.

The inflexion for the definite plural is regularly *me* in Sumerian. It corresponds also exactly to the Georgian ებ (> ბი) *eb* (> *bi*), Lazian ფე (> ფე) *φe* (> *ef*) and Mingrelian ეფ (> ფი) *ef* (> *φi*). Undoubtedly the Neo-Susian plural endings *p*, *pe*, *ip* are connected with Sumerian *me* and Georgian ებ *eb*, Lazian ეფ *ef*, etc.; *Aššurā-p* = the Assyrians, *Taššutum-pe* = the people, *Zunkuk-ip* = the kings, etc. (Weissbach, loc. cit.). Thus, Sumerian *dupšar-me* = the scribes = Georgian მწერლები *mterl-eb-i* = id. Sumerian *lù ki-enim-ma-bi-me* = the witnesses, Lazian კოჩ-ე-ფე *koθ-e-φe* = the men,

Mingrelian კოზ-ეფ-ი *koθ-eph-i* = id. In Georgian, etc., ებ, ფე, ეფ *eb, fe, ef* are employed both for persons and things. In Georgian, etc., there is also no distinction between definite and indefinite plural endings: *ni* and *eb* are employed indifferently. Only ნი *ni* is considered as an archaic plural ending and ებ *eb* as vulgar, but this distinction is based upon absolutely no reason, ნი *ni* being employed very often in the vulgar speech and ებ *eb* occurring in the oldest texts.

Persons and objects after numerals have *usually* no inflexion for number in Georgian, like Sumerian. Sumerian 600 *lù-nim-(ki)* = 600 Elamites; Georgian 600 ელამელი 600 *elameli* = id. But it is also possible to say ექვს-ას-ნი ელამელ-ნი *eqvs-as-ni elamel-ni* = 600 Elamites, inflecting with *ni* plural both the numeral and the noun. On the other hand, it is absolutely impossible to say ექვს-ას-ებ-ი ელამელ-ებ-ი *eqvs-as-eb-i elamel-eb-i*!

II. NOUNS

Roots

Sumerian roots are usually biconsonantal. In very many cases we find this same biconsonantalism in Georgian roots. It is to be remembered that the Semitic loan-words are peculiarly triconsonantal in Georgian. Moreover, many pure Georgian words which seem to have more than two consonants in their roots are very often compound words, and only show their biconsonantalism after some analysis. And though one of the most authoritative Georgian scholars, Professor N. Marr, considers the majority of Georgian roots as triconsonantal, in accordance

with his theory of the genetic relation of Georgian with Semitic languages, most roots of pure Georgian origin have not the slightest trace left in them of the supposed earlier triconsonantalism. In this Georgian corresponds perfectly with Sumerian.

We cannot give in Georgian examples of the change of the modal significance of words caused by the change of the internal vowel between two consonants, as Stephen Langdon gives in Sumerian; such a characteristic is not now manifest in Georgian. But we can give some examples of words with biconsonantal roots corresponding to Sumerian both in meaning and exterior form: (1) Sumerian *gir* =

to outline; Lazian ღარ *gar* = to draw lines, to outline.

(2) Sumerian *sig* = to be high; *sag* = top, head; *sug* = height; Georgian roots ცხ > ძღ *θq* > ძყ; Mingrelian

ჭხ *ḫq*, სჳ *sk*; Svanian ზგ *zg*, etc.; Georgian ციხ-ე *θiq-e* and Mingrelian ჟიხ-ა *ḫiq-a* = fortress (built on the top of a hill or mountain); Georgian ცხუ-ირ-ი

θqv-ir-i = the nose; კონ-ცხ-ი *kon-θq-i* = a cape;

ძღო-ლას *ḫgo-la* = to lead, to be before; წინა-მ-

ძღუ-არ-ი *tina-m-ḫju-ar-i* = the leader; Mingrelian

სუე-ი *suk-i* = a hill; Svanian ზუე *zug* = a hill, etc.

(3) Sumerian *sig* = to give, *sag* = a gift; *√süg*, also *sum* (𒍪); Georgian roots ც (> ცეძ ?) *θ* (> *θem* ?) and ჩუქ

θuq; Georgian მი-ცე-მა *mi-θe-ma* = to give; Mingrelian

მე-ჩა-მა *me-θa-ma* = id.; Georgian ჩუქ-ება *θuq-eba* =

to present a gift, სა-ჩუქ-არ-ი *sa-θuq-ar-i* = a gift.

(4) Sumerian *kid* = to search, excavate; *kàd* = a pond;

kud = judgment; original *kud* = to cut. Georgian კუთ-ა

kveθ-a (*ve > u*) = to cut, Mingrelian კვათ-უა *kvaθ-ua* = id. Georgian კოდ-ვა *kod-va* = to cut, to dig, to castrate; კოდ-ი *kod-i* = a vessel (excavated), thence a *kodi* = a measure (for wheat, etc.), also a sort of *trough* to bring water to the wheels of a mill; კვეთ-ა *kveθ-a* = to sentence, to judge; ბედი . . . მი-კვეთ-ს *bedi mi-kveθ-s* = Fate sentences (me to . . .) (Sh.R. 839, 4), etc. Here, I think, these examples are sufficient to illustrate the biconsonantalism of Georgian roots. More examples will be found in the Sumero-Georgian Vocabulary in the second part of this work.

The Formation of Nouns

1. *With prefixes*: (1) vowel prefixes in Sumerian are: *a, ē, u*: *anir* = *a* + *nir* = wailing, from *nir* = to chant; *e-tud-da* = *e* + *tud-da* = child; *ù-dug-ga* = *ù* + *dug-ga* = goodness. (2) The prefixes *name* (the personal interrogative *na* + the element *me*) = *nam*, and *nig* = thing. Both are employed as abstract prefixes—*nam* + *nun* = *namnun* = greatness, from *nun* = great. The variants of *nam* and *nig* are: *am* and *nin*; *àm-si-sá* = righteousness, *nig-gul* = wickedness, and *nin-uru* = protection. (3) Prefix *giš*: *giš-nig-ga* = property, *giš-pi-tuk* = understanding. (4) Prefix *ka*: *ka-sír* = blow, *ka-lal* = weight.

2. *With suffixes*: *dug, du, da, di*: *dumu-dug* = offspring, *sim-da* = a musical instrument(?), *ab-du* = growth of vegetation, *li-du* = *li-di* = song.

3. *Compounds*: (1) noun + adjective: *é-gal* = house, large = palace. (2) adjective + noun: *gal-tùr* = the great court. (3) noun + verb: *à-ag (ga)* = sign (literally, hand) + make, act = oracle, injunction.

4. *Direct construct*: *ab-zal* (two nouns in direct construct relation) = place of fire = oven.

5. *Inverted construct*: *su-mug* (two nouns in inverted construct relation) = *su* (body) + *mug* (distress) = distress of body.

6. *Three elements*: *zig-šag-gál* = *zig* (soul) + *šag* (heart) + *gál* (to have) = breath of life.

7. *Reduplicated root*: *bar-bar* = *babbar* = the sun, from *bar* = to shine.

The exact comparison of those Sumerian prefixes and suffixes with the prefixes and suffixes of the same value in the languages of the Georgian group is impossible, because the etymology and original meaning of many of them are not determined excepting perhaps *nam* and *nig* in Sumerian and a few in Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian. Therefore, we shall here simply enumerate the most important prefixes and suffixes which play a great part in the formation of Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian nouns: (1) Georgian სა *sa*, Mingrelian ო *o*, Lazian ო *o*, Svanian ლა *la*, ლე *le*, etc. With these prefixes (and the suffixes, to which we need not refer because they have no likeness at all to Sumerian) the nouns of locative sense and sense of purpose are formed: Georgian სა-ხლი *sa-ql-li* = the house, სა-იქ-ი-ო *sa-iq-i-o* (suffix *o*) = the other world, Mingrelian ო-ღეფ-ე *o-ğed-e* (suffix *e*) = the pigsty, ო-ჭოთუმ-ე *o-qoθum-e* = the hen-house, Lazian ო-ხორ-ი *o-ğor-i* = the house, ო-ფუტ-ე *o-φut-e* = the place round the house, Svanian ლა-მურყვამ *la-murivam* = a place for a fortress. Whether the nouns with these prefixes acquired the sense of purpose from the earlier sense of *loci* or vice versa is not certain. However, we have the following nouns with the same prefixes: Georgian სა-ჭმელი *sa-čmeli* = something to

eat = food, Mingrelian ო-ჭკომალი *o-ṭkomali* = id., Lazian ო-ჭკომალე *o-ṭkomale* = id., Svanian ლე-ზუებ *le-zveb* = id. (2) Georgian მ *m*, Mingrelian მ *m*, Lazian მ *m*, Svanian ლუ *lu*, also ლა, ლე *la, le*, მე, მუ, მჲ *me, mu, mḥ*. Of these Georgian, Mingrelian, and Lazian prefix მ *m* denotes first of all the participle active in these languages and is also prefixed to nouns of different origin: Georgian მ-გელი *m-gel-i* = the wolf, Mingrelian ნ-გერი *n-ger-i* (*n > m*) = id., Lazian მ-გერი *m-ger-i* = id., Svanian მუ-შგური *mu-šgvr-i* = the guest. მ *m* in Georgian and ლუ *lu* in Svanian, also Svanian მუ *mu* and მჲ *mḥ* denote the origin: მ-ეგვიპტელი *m-egvīpt-el-i* = an Egyptian; Svanian მუ-ლჩხუმი *mu-lḥqwm* = the Georgian, ლუ-ზნუ *lu-znu* = Lazian (language), etc., მჲ-მრეთ *mḥ-mreṭ* = an Imerian, etc. (3) The prefix ნა *na* Georgian, ნა *na* Mingrelian, ნო *no* Lazian, ნა *na* Svanian, denotes first of all the nouns and adjectives derived from the participle passive: ნა-პარევი *na-parevi* = what has been stolen (participle passive), but ნა-ფოტი *na-ṭot-i* = a stick (noun), evidently derived from the verb ფოტ-ვა *ṭot-va*, which must have had originally the meaning of cutting, splitting. In Georgian there is a large number of nouns with the prefix ნა *na* (also with ნი *ni*: ნი-ჭი *ni-ṭ-i* = gift, etc.), and therefore we shall not enumerate them, ნა-ფოტი *na-ṭot-i* being a model of

them. Lazian ნო-ცქიპოლ-ე *no-θqipol-e* = a stick, ნო-ცინცხალ-ე *no-θinθqal-e* = sparkles, etc., Mingrelian ნო-სირიუ *no-qiriu* = what has been stolen (noun) and ნა-ყუდ-უ *na-kud-u* = the place on which a house was formerly, etc., Svanian ნა-რდუ *na-rdū* = what has been before, and the nouns with the same prefix, etc. (4) The Georgian prefix სი *si* to form abstract nouns. To it correspond the Svanian ლი *li* and in some cases also Mingrelian სი *si* (> ზი *zi* = Lazian დი *di* > ძი *đi* = Svanian ზი *zi*): Georgian სი-სხ-ლი *si-sq-li* = blood, Mingrelian ზი-სხ-ირ-ი *zi-sq-ir-i* = id., Lazian დი-(ნ)-ცხ-ირ-ი *di-(n)-θq-ir-i* = id., Svanian ზი-სხ *zi-sq* = id. Then Georgian სი-ყვარული *si-kvaruli*, Svanian ლი-ლატ *li-lat* = the love, etc. (5) Of other prefixes it is necessary to mention the Lazian დო *do* (Georgian სა *sa*, Mingrelian ო *o*, Svanian ლე *le*): დო-ჭირონი *do-θironi* = necessary; Lazian ლი *li*, to form the names of plants: ლ-ერი *l-eri* = garlic; ნ(ე) *n(e)*; ნე-ძი *ne-đi* (Georgian ნი-გოზ-ი *ni-goz-i*) = the nut, etc. The prefixes which form the adjectives in Svanian are მე *me*, მუ *mu*, მა *ma*, მ *m*, the same as for the nouns. The infinitive is formed in Svanian with the prefix ლი *li*, ლი-მშაე *li-mšae* = to work, ლი-მჟავრე *li-mđavre* = to rage, etc.

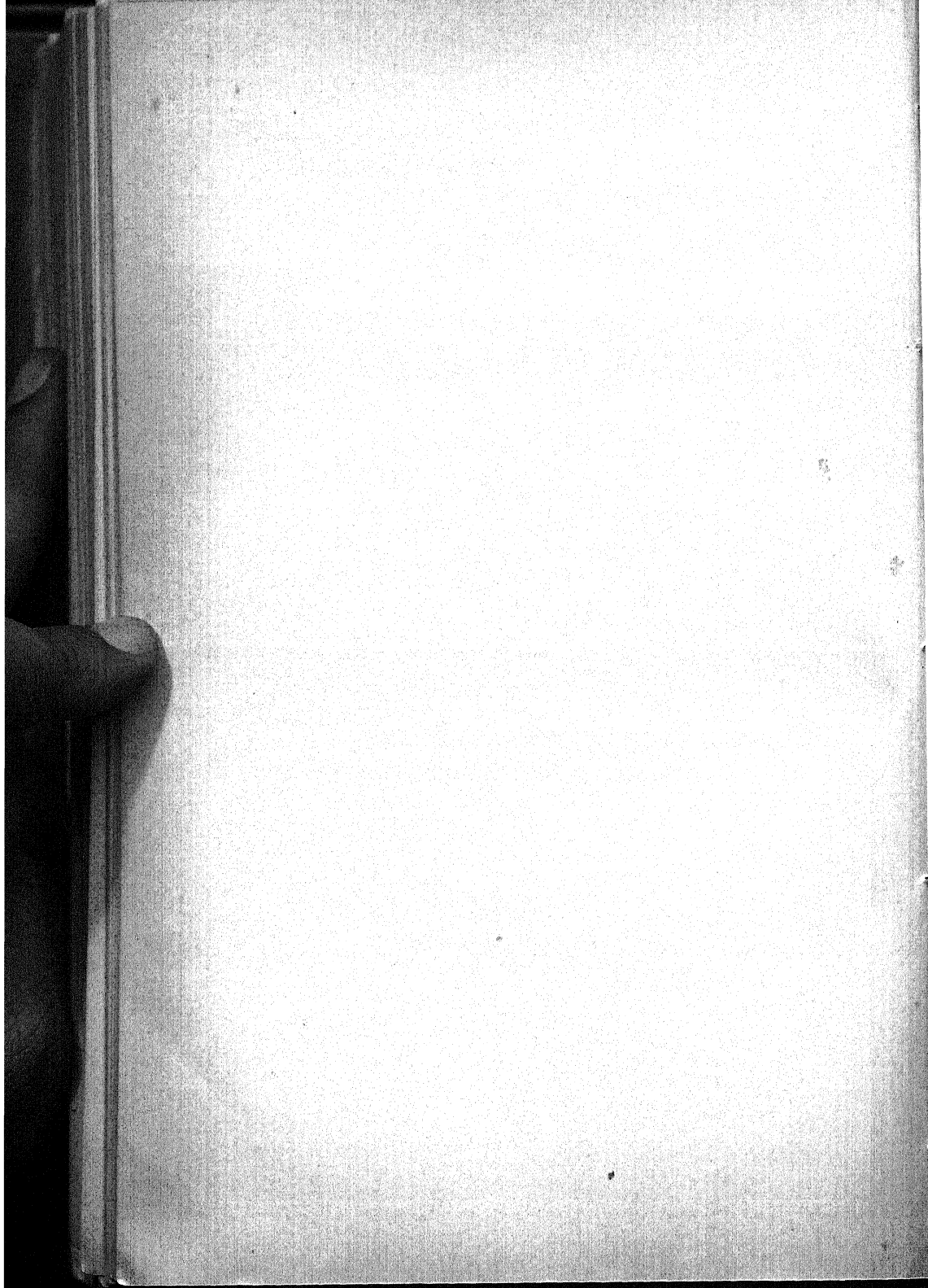
The Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, and Svanian suffixes, which play also an important part in the formation of nouns and adjectives, have no analogy with Sumerian *dag*, *du*, *da*, *di*.

These prefixes in the languages of the Georgian group cannot be compared exactly with Sumerian prefixes, as we have said already, but the general likeness of Georgian prefixation to Sumerian seems to me very evident. Especially the prefixes to form abstract names are interesting: Georgian სი *si* (and ნი *ni*), Svanian ლი *li*, which may be compared with Sumerian *nam*; also Georgian, Mingrelian, Lazian, Svanian *na, no* (ნა, ნო), to form the names of the participial origin (especially passive participles), may correspond to the same Sumerian *nam*, or perhaps also *nig*: Georgian ნა-ფოტ-ი *na-ḫot-i* = thing from the cutting (?), or, rather, what has been cut off during the cutting of something (of a tree, for instance). Really such is the sense of this word. But, as far as I know, the original meaning and the origin of Georgian სა *sa* = Mingrelian-Lazian ო *o* = Svanian ლე, ლი, ლბ *le, li, la* and ნა, ნო *na, no* are not known, and now we cannot decide whether სა *sa* and ნა *na*, etc., have a pronominal origin like Sumerian *nam* or not.

As to compounds, like Sumerian they are numerous in Georgian, Lazian, Mingrelian, and Svanian. (1) Noun + adjective: Lazian თი-ხე *ti-ḫe* = head + white = the white-headed = name of a person (see N. Marr, "Gruzinskyia pripiski grecheskago Evangelyia iz Koridii" (in Russian), Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. Sci. St. Petersb., 1911, p. 219); წყალ-შავი *ikal-šavi* = water + black = name of a place, etc. (2) Adjective + noun: Georgian შავ-ბაღასა *šav-balaša* = black + grass = a medicinal plant, etc. (3) Noun + verb: თხა-პარია *ḫa-paria* = goat + steal (a special participle from პარვა *parva* =

to steal) = the stealer of goats, etc. (4) Two nouns in indirect construct relation: ძაღლ-ყურძენა *dağl-kurđena* (a sort of wild fruits) = dog + grapes, etc. (5) Reduplicated root: ვარ-ვარ-ი *var-var-i* (= Sumerian *bar-bar*) = the shining; გუზ-გუზ-ი *guz-guz-i* = the noise of the burning fire. Lazian ვამ-წამ-ი = Georgian წამ-წამ-ი *kam-iam-i* = *iam-iam-i* = eyelashes; Lazian ფიმ-ფილ-ი *φim-φil-i* = beard, etc.

(To be continued.)



XXIV

ABBASID ADMINISTRATION IN ITS DECAY, FROM THE TAJARIB AL-UMAM

By H. F. AMEDROZ

THE first extract, "A," from the text of the *Tajārib al-Umam* (Gibb Memorial facsimile, vol. vi, pp. 135-41), depicts the fiscal condition of the soil at the seat of the Caliphate at the date of the establishment there of Buwaihid ascendancy in A.H. 334. The passage appears in an abridged and rather inadequate form in the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 342-3), and a comparison of the texts serves to show the value of the *Tajārib* original.

The translation of the passage is followed by a few notes on the technical terms occurring therein, on which light is thrown by other passages in the *Tajārib* and by the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā* of Hilāl al-Šābi, where the working of the system which brought about this condition of things is illustrated.

TRANSLATION

In A.H. 334 took place a disgraceful Dailamite riot against Mu'izz al-Daula, and he was openly reviled and browbeaten with much contumely. He thereupon guaranteed the payment of their stipends at a fixed date, and was thereby driven to illtreat people and to procure funds from improper sources. To his leading officers and courtiers and to the Turks he granted out the land belonging to the State and to persons who had gone into hiding and to Ibn Shīrẓād, also the dues due to the treasury (*ḥakk bait al-māl*) on estates in private ownership. The result was that the lower part of the Sawād ceased to pay taxes and passed out of the control of the

government officials; [136] only a small part of it remained liable to taxation, and of that the taxes were farmed out. Most of the diwans became unnecessary and ceased working, as did their controlling branch (*dawāwīn al-azimma*), and the whole body of offices were incorporated in a single diwan.

An account of the evil result of this course of management, of the devastation of the districts, and of the mischief and ruin of discipline.

Administration based on unsound methods, although for a time undetected, finally comes to light, just as a trifling deviation from the beaten track, unnoticed at the commencement, if persisted in means going wide of the right course; and the more you advance the wider you go; your mistake then becomes evident, and the situation grows serious. Take, for instance, the practice of making grants of tracts of land in the Sawād when they were in a desolate and unproductive state and before they were restored to cultivation, and the viziers' practice of giving the grantees easy terms, in some cases in return for bribes, in others for favours, in others as the result of recommendation, so that the grants were procured on inconsistent estimates (*'ibra*); with the gradual advance of cultivation in some cases the revenue would rise with increased production, in others it would sink with the fall of prices, (for it so happened that the grants to the soldiery coincided with a high level of prices owing to the scarcity already mentioned); in the former cases the gainers held to their grants and the estimate could not be challenged against them; losers, on the other hand, would give up their grants [137] on compensation, so that the deficiency was made up to them. And so widespread was the mischief that it became the regular practice for the soldiery to let their allotted land go to ruin, and then to surrender it on receiving by way of compensation other

land where they chose, thus managing to retain the excess and secure the profit. Grants of land which had been recalled (*murtaja'a*) were often granted anew to persons whose sole object it was to get what they could thereout, to account for a part of it only, and to make no attempt at cultivation. Grantees used to re-occupy their old grants after they had got mixed up with others, and to get them assessed for taxation at their actual value when their real value had nearly vanished. And in process of time principles grew lax, old maxims were forgotten, people's characters were corrupted, and useful institutions (*maṣāliḥ*) were annulled, and the peasants fell into misfortune and poverty. They either left the district, or endured injustice without getting redress, or got it by surrendering their holding to the grantee and escaping his illtreatment by coming to terms with him. The result was that cultivation ceased, the diwans were closed, and the very traditions of clerkship and administration vanished: those skilled therein passed away and others arose who were unskilled, and anyone who understood anything thereof showed himself a stranger and awkward at it. The grantees managed their estates solely by slaves and factors, kept no accounts of profits and losses, and did nothing to further productiveness or improvement. They got in their revenues by various bad methods, whilst their chiefs recouped themselves [138] for the loss of revenue by fines and unjust dealings. Those charged with the furtherance of husbandry gave up their task when their districts ceased to belong to the State, and restricted their duties to calculating what was needed for their purpose and distributing the burden in shares among the grantees (*taksīt*), burdens which these either declined to accept or pay, or which, if paid, were fraudulently diverted from their object. Those in charge paid little heed to possible accidents, being content to realize what they could and to disregard sources of

danger, relying on their claim against the government and on surrendering the grant which they had suffered to go to ruin. The management of each district was handed over to a leading Dailamite, who regarded it as a private abode and estate for his lifetime; these were surrounded by dishonest officials, whose plan it was to delay and to keep things going from year to year. Districts not included in such grants as these were made over on terms to two classes of persons: either to leading military commanders or to civilian members of the official classes. The former were intent on realizing a money profit, on raising grievances, and on claiming initial abatements, and, if they were strictly dealt with, they turned into enemies (of the Sultan), and when their ambitions had been stirred up within them they became open rebels; whilst, if they were dealt with leniently, their covetousness became all the fiercer and they stopped at no limit. The civilians of the official class [139] were even more skilful than the military in throwing liability on the government and in making a stealthy profit at its expense, with mutual fellow-feeling in their various dealings, and with recourse to bribery (*marāḡik*), or to any expedients, for their protection.

Now, whereas all the people ought to have been subject to one rule, as time went on they were isolated in their respective regions and were left alone with the particular persons who had to collect from them: hence there were weaklings, subject to fines, whose taxes were altered and payments reduced in some proportion to the condition of their property; whilst others, able to defend themselves, had their taxes lightened, (a privilege for which they paid), and were ready to assist the tax-farmer forcibly in his difficulties and when he had to reckon with the Sultan. The weak were plundered, and the practice was abolished under which accounts were sent in to the diwan, or liability (*mu'āmara*) was enforced against

an official, or a man's grievance received attention, or a clerk's advice was accepted; all that was done in the matter of reckoning with the tax-farmers was to recount the articles of the original contract, and so much of them as remained valid, but no inquiry was made into the dealings with the occupiers and whether they had been treated justly or unjustly, nor any investigation whether waste had been avoided or had been admitted, or into undue collection of taxes, or into fines amounting to sheer acts of injustice, or into arbitrary additions to the assessment (*'ibra*), or into items of outlay which were quite unwarranted. And any clerk who talked on such a matter, if he were a man of position was made to pay damages, and was disgraced, injured, killed, or sold by the Sultan for a small price. [140] But if he was poor and in want, then he was easily satisfied, and would change sides and aid the person attacked; nor should he be blamed for so doing, since his sovereign failed to protect him or to safeguard his speech.

So much for the revenue-yielding domains; as for the state expenditure, the outgoings became doubled in amount, the diwans diminished in vigour and their controlling branch ceased to act, with much more of the same kind which would be long to relate and would have to be told consecutively, so a mere mention must suffice without detail.

Mu'izz al-Daula continued to give way to his inclinations as regards his soldiers, distributing freely grants of land and increases of stipend: enriching and favouring them to excess. It became impossible for him to lay up money against accidents or to save any revenue; his expenses increased whilst his supply diminished, until he was crippled to a pitch which did not stop there, but advanced considerably, and in course of time led to the Dailamites' requirements not being met, and to their becoming jealous of the Turks by reason of their favoured position. From

this followed necessarily the close employment of the Turks and their being more and more favoured and relied on against the Dailamites; and in proportion as regard was paid to the former and the latter fell in position, so did mutual estrangement arise, and both bodies got into a bad state, the Turks by reason of their grasping and avidity, [141] the Dailamites by reason of their indigence and abasement: instincts of revolt were engendered in them by this treatment, and that became the cause of what befell later on, as shall be fully told in its place.

HAKK BAIT AL-MAL

Dues payable to the treasury, which were administered by a special diwan (*Tajārib*, v, 354, l. 8). They affected land (see Hilāl, *Wuzarā*, 94, l. 2, where 'Alī b. 'Isa is accused of omission to levy them on the large Mādarā'i estates in Egypt, and ib. 132, l. 4 a.f., where land's produce is directed to be impounded to satisfy the claim). They affected merchandise also, as is shown by Šulī's anecdote of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, told in the notice of him in the *Dhail* to the Khatīb's *Ta'rikh Baghdād* by Ibn al-Najjār (Brock. i, 360), in the MS. Paris Ar. 2131, 24^b.¹ The vizier rewarded a man who had lent him money when in disgrace by telling him to take what was payable on two cargoes arrived at Bašra from India in respect of this *ḥakk*, and of the *rasm al-istithnā'* (as to which see JRAS. 1908, 429, and *Irshād al-Arīb*, iii, 184, l. 15), the two being collectively called *rasm al-wazīr*. Its amount was 25,000 dinars, which the man supposed he was to hold on deposit for the vizier until told to keep it for himself, and we must be content to wonder at a system of audit which could allow this transaction or those related *Wuzarā*, 77-9. One of Muḥtadir's promises of amendment in A.H. 317 was that he would cause these

¹ The MS. is catalogued as a part of Khatīb's work, but M. Amar has identified it as the *Dhail* of Ibn al-Najjār, JA. 1908, vol. xi, 237.

dues to be exacted from the property of his favourites (*Tajārib*, v, 314, l. 5), and in A.H. 348 the troops' immunity from legal restraint led to their acting as landholders' protectors (*Tahāmi*', defined *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, 62), and to their appropriating these dues on the holdings (ib. vi, 233, l. 1).

The *ḥakk* occurs again in a very technical passage (*Tajārib*, v, 327, l. 8). In A.H. 317, under financial straits, lands were sold by a specially appointed *wakīl* ('Ali b. al-'Abbās al-Nūbakhti, noticed *Irshād*, v, 329) on an undertaking that the purchased land should, in respect of these treasury dues, be treated as *ḥatī'a* and be subject to a tax of one-tenth, on payment down by the purchasers, as a gift, of a sum to represent the difference in value between this and an ordinary holding—in other words the difference between *ḥatī'a* and *istān*.¹ That the former was the more favourable to the holder appears from a passage in *Wuzarā*, 220, l. 6, where Ibn al-Furāt decided in his favour on the ground of prescriptive right, which right the vizier was able to establish from his own knowledge. But the difference between the two modes of tenure is not stated.

DIWAN AL-ZIMAM

The institution of this form of diwan, in the reign of Mahdi, is stated by Ṭabari, iii, 522, as due to the fact that the control of a number of diwans was too much for a single hand, and Professor D. S. Margoliouth informs

وشرط للمبتاعين في كُثْب الاشربة ان يُحْمَلُوا في حق بيت
المال فيما اشتروه على مُعاملة القطائع المعشورة ثم يبيع منهم
بالصلة فضل ما بين المُعاملتين في أملاك الرعيّة وهو فضل ما بين
الإستان والقطيعة . . . ولم يكن للوزير شغل غير التوقيع للجند
ببيع الضياع وفضل ما بين المُعاملتين بالصلة ولا كان لاصحاب
(*Tajārib al-Umam*, v, 327-8). الدواوين عملٌ غير إخراج العبر لها يُباع

me that it appears from a passage in the forthcoming vol. vi of the *Irshād al-Arīb*, p. 54, that in A.H. 170 Rashid suppressed the *darwāwīn al-azimma* for two months, after which they were restored. The "single hand" must have been that of the vizier, to many of whom on their appointment we learn that the whole of the diwans were committed. The practice, however, was for the vizier to place them under the charge of separate officials (see *Wuzarā*, 123-4, and *Tajārīb*, v, 257, where a full list is given of the heads of diwans appointed in A.H. 315 by 'Alī b. 'Isa). But this practice does not seem to have met Ṭabari's objection that a single hand "could not manage these several diwans except by having a *zimām* over each". The term implies guidance; it would seem, therefore, that the innovation in Mahdi's time was the creation of a controlling power over the several diwans, although not necessarily a separate power for each. In the above passage in *Wuzarā* the incoming vizier retains in his own hands the *azimma* generally, but in another story of earlier date (ib. 182-4) we find that a grant of land by a caliph to a favourite, although confirmed by the vizier and by his secretary, was stopped by the *ṣāhib al-zimām*, (whose name is not an eminent one, nor indeed elsewhere mentioned), on the ground that the grant required to be verified by certain original documents "from the diwan", meaning presumably, not his own diwan, but rather the *diwān al-ḍiyyā' al-khaṣṣa*. What the official really wanted, and what the caliph knew he wanted, and moreover approved of his wanting, was a bribe; he got it, and later boasted of having got it from such a quarter, but he must have been careful to be technically right in his practice. It is probable, therefore, that the *zimām* he presided over was that annexed to this diwan. It is noticeable, too, that in the list of appointments to diwans in *Tajārīb*, v, 257, whilst no appointment is made to the *darwāwīn*

al-azimma, yet of the diwans specified three had a *zimām* appended thereto, viz. *kharāj*, *naḥāḥ*, and *jaish*: for other instances of these, and of others, see Ṭabari, iii, 1379, l. 5, 1446, l. 7, and 2274, l. 6, 'Arīb, 136, l. 4, and *Irshād*, ii, 124, l. 1; and for *diwān al-zimām*, without more, see Hilāl, *Ta'rikh*, 467, l. ult. (A.H. 392), and Ibn al-Athīr, x, 163, l. ult. (A.H. 487). The *dawāwīn al-azimma* had an occupant under Mu'tadid (*Wuzarā*, 77, l. ult.), under the caliph of a day, Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*Tajārib*, v, 61, l. ult.), and again in A.H. 319 (ib. 364, l. 8, where the Summary of the Contents, p. xlii, has "Diwān al-Azimmah", a somewhat hybrid compound). The vizier at this date, Ḥusain b. al-Ḳāsim b. 'Ubaid Allah, whose choice for office rested on a pretended prophecy of Daniel, was failing to do justice to his sponsor, and Muḥtadir had been advised to call out of retirement Khaṣībī, his last vizier but five, and to appoint him at a salary to the *azimmat al-dawāwīn*, leaving the *dawāwīn al-usūl* to Ḥusain, so that he might go on managing the finances. This he did by preparing an estimate of the expected income and expenditure, which was certified to by members of both sets of diwans, and which about balanced. Khaṣībī pulled it to pieces and produced an estimate of his own, which, by Muḥtadir's order, Ḥusain was required to meet. He sought to do this by irrelevancy, but he was told that he had clearly charged one year's liabilities on the next year's receipts, and (p. 366, l. 2) that those who had guaranteed those receipts had brought into the *diwān al-zimām* an account of what they had had to pay in advance to meet Ḥusain's drafts on them. Thereupon Ḥusain lost his temper, the meeting broke up, and his dismissal soon followed. His successor was not Khaṣībī, but another who did nothing for Khaṣībī, although minded to appoint Ḥusain, after he had got money out of him, to a post over Egypt and Syria. Khaṣībī's turn

came in A.H. 321, when under Kāhir he succeeded the vizier Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim, Ḥusain's own brother (and persecutor too, see p. 422), at a moment when Kāhir himself had despoiled three leading officials after luring them to the palace on the pretence of appointing them viziers. When Kāhir was deposed Khaṣībī disappears from the Summary of the Contents, "flying for his life" (p. xlvi), but he reappears in the text under Rādi, to be given a high official post under the vizier Ibn Muḥla (p. 458, l. 4); then to be banished by him to 'Oman (p. 497, l. 4); and finally to repay Ibn Muḥla, and to the full, for the banishment (p. 514, l. 4; and see Hilāl, Introd., p. 45, n. 2).

The outcome of the above is, I suggest, that whilst some, or it may be every, diwan had a *zimām* appendage by way of control, the whole *azimma* might be combined under one official, who thereby acquired a general right of control over every diwan.

‘IBRA

The term is described in the *Mafātīḥ al-‘Ulum*, p. 60, as an estimate of revenue taken as the mean between the most and the least productive years. It occurs in *Tajārīb*, v, 145, l. 1, where Ḥāmid, jealous at being ignored by his joint vizier ‘Alī b. ‘Isa, seeks to obtain the farming of the taxes of the Sawād, etc., for four years "on the basis of its yield and of the payments charged thereon"—*bi ‘ibrat al-maḥmūl wal-musabbab*—under the previous vizierate of ‘Alī b. ‘Isa. And it occurs also in the passage set out *ante*, p. 829, n. 1.

MURTAJA‘A

Here its meaning is grants of land which had been "surrendered", but the term can bear also the sense of "compulsorily recalled"; see ‘Arib, 145, l. 11, where a diwan is instituted to deal with recalled grants of land.

MASALIH

The translation of this term by "useful institutions" is tentative; the meaning may be that "dams" were spoiled and "canals" (*mashārib*) were ruined (the latter term is understood in this sense by Ibn al-Athir, viii, 342, l. 4 a.f.). The officials in charge of them, *'ummāl*, are mentioned in *Wuzarā*, 15, l. 14, as forming part of the *shurṭa* and as in receipt of salaries, and outlay thereon was allowable (ib. 134, l. 13). A curious account of the origin of the form *maṣāliḥ* is given by Abu Hilāl al-'Askari in his *Kitāb al-Awā'il* (composed A.H. 395, *Irshād*, iii, 138, l. 1), in the MS. Paris, Ar. 5986, 135^b, to the effect that Ma'mūn, disliking the term in use, *maṣāliḥ* (defined by Yākūt, *Buldān*, iv, 941, l. 19), changed it by substituting *ṣād* for *sīn*.¹ A work recording the first happening of events might have been expected to be restricted to such as were capable of being repeated, as for instance the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt's service under three caliphs, a feat recorded there, fol. 183^a, and repeated by Ibn Muḥla in the period covered by *Tajārib*, vol. v. But this rising of Ma'mūn, as it were, *supra grammaticam*, could no more be repeated than could Columbus' discovery of America.

TAKSIT

This term seems to have included various sorts of imposts: on districts (*a'māl*), *Wuzarā*, 86, l. 16; general, ib. 114, l. 12, e.g. for cost of building by a sovereign, *Irshād*, iii, 182, l. 12; on officials by way of loan (*kard*), *Wuzarā*, 262, l. 12; and on rebellious subjects by way of punishment, *Tajārib*, vi, 261, and id., Ibn al-Athir,

أول من سقى المصالح مصالح المأمون . أخبرنا أبو أحمد عن
الصولي عن أحمد بن يحيى قال : كانت العرب تسمى أراض
السلطان "مصالح" من السلاح ففكر المأمون هذا الاسم فصير
"مصالح" من المصلحة (Paris Ar. 5986, 135b).

viii, 406. It was also a method of providing the troops' pay, and one which operated less oppressively than *ikāmāt*, which perhaps represented contributions in kind, levied even by the recipient in person. For one of the first acts of the vizier Muwaffaq at Baghdad, A.H. 381, was to compound the latter for a monthly money payment out of *kaṣṭ*, "thereby removing the burden of *ikāmāt*, which had become excessive."¹ In A.H. 390 both methods seem to have been again in force (Hilāl, *Ta'riḥ*, 403, l. 5), and to have been once more the subject of reforming efforts by 'Amid al-Juyūsh in A.H. 392 (ib. 468, l. 5); later, under more feeble rule, the troops' claim for *kaṣṭ* was defrayed out of abandoned property (ib. 480, l. 10).

MARAFIK

Bribes: a diwan was instituted by Ibn al-Furāt to make officials account for these, as for other liabilities (*Wuzarā*, 31, l. ult., and *Tajārib*, v, 110, l. 2), when he succeeded 'Ali b. 'Isa on his dismissal in A.H. 304 (the statement in the "Summary", p. xxii, that 'Ali himself was fined on this occasion does not appear in the text, nor in *Wuzarā*). Ibn al-Furāt, when accused later of not having accounted for bribes received, skilfully shifted the imputation to 'Ali b. 'Isa (*Wuzarā*, 92-3); and when he in turn was bringing 'Ali to account, the latter accused Ibn al-Furāt of taking bribes, a practice which he himself regarded as pernicious (ib. 291, l. 15,

ودبر ابو على الامور ببغداد واستمال الجند وقدر مع الاتراك¹
عن ائمان اقاماتهم ورقاً يُطلق لهم مُسابقةً ثم نقله الى المشاهدة
ونسبه الى القسط وسلكت ايضاً بالديلم هذه الطريقة فصار ذلك
سنةً مستمرة من بعد في الاقساط وسقطت كُلف الاقامات وكانت
قد انتهت الى الافراط (Abu Shujā', *Dhail*, 401, as to which see
ante, p. 737).

and *Tajārib*, v, 195, l. 10). This is borne out by the protest 'Ali had made years before against the resolve of Aḥmad b. al-Furāt (the elder brother) to insert in the estimated revenue of lately acquired territory an item for cost of collection (*māl al-jahbadha*). This must have been akin to *marāfiḳ*, for 'Ali's argument was, either that the case was as broad as it was long, the item being properly chargeable to receipts, or that it came out of the taxpayer's pocket, which would open the door to extortion (*Wuzarā*, 255). And al-Baridi felt so well assured of 'Ali's honesty as to postpone his bribing schemes until the coming of another vizier (*Tajārib*, v, 266, l. 4). That items for bribes received were habitually debited against a governor is shown by a story (*Wuzarā*, 168) where Ibn al-Furāt ingeniously brought the fact home to an official by noticing an item in his private accounts which disclosed such a payment in respect of a purchase made for the vizier himself of land lying in the district in question. As we have seen, bribes found approval in the Caliph Mu'taḍid; in his son Muḩtadir they found a recipient (*Tajārib*, v, 344, l. 8).

MU'AMARA

The term is defined, *Mafātiḩ*, 56, as a collective order for the payment of troops' stipends confirmed by the Sultan, but as in use equally in any diwan for applications and requests. It is of frequent occurrence in the sense here attributed to it of bringing officials to account for their receipts and their liabilities by a process similar to what in our law is described as surcharging and falsifying their accounts. An instructive story in *Wuzarā*, 128-30, tells how an official against whom 'Ali b. 'Isa was enforcing this process appealed for aid to Ibn al-Furāt, who so successfully raised objections to 'Ali's procedure that he, recognizing the source of the criticism, in order to prevent disclosure let the official escape. Ibn al-Furāt's

objection was that an item of charge in respect of alleged appropriation from the *corpus* of the land's produce should precede, and not follow, an item claimed in respect of some due or perquisite thereon, as the effect of inverting the order was that the claim in respect of *corpus* was barred, viz. that the lesser excluded the greater. The story shows that the law of estoppel did not need to await its arrival in England to become technical. Ibn al-Furāt's own vigour and success in enforcing *mu'āmarā* are illustrated in stories of him, *Wuzarā*, 167-9.

The historian's picture in extract "A" is a dark one, but he was later able to record some improvement. A competent administrator soon appeared in the person of the vizier al-Muhallabi, who succeeded the original Buwaihid vizier al-Ṣaimari in A.H. 339. Preferred, we learn (*Tajārīb*, vi, 166), from among many competitors by reason of his combination of qualities,¹ one of his first administrative acts (ib. 168) was to redress the grievances of the cultivators of the soil at Baṣra occasioned by the extortionate methods of al-Baridi and his agents, and his conduct gained the approval alike of his sovereign and of the historian. It is interesting, therefore, to notice that a comparison of his course of proceeding (Text B) with that of Ibn Muḳla in A.H. 317 (*ante*, p. 829, n. 1) shows that their methods were very similar. The mischief at Baṣra was, that much of the cultivated land having failed to yield the estimated revenue the burden on the remainder became greater.

¹ See also his life, *Irshād al-Arīb*, iii, 180, where the scene of his nomination is vividly depicted. It was foreshadowed by the jealousy of his predecessor, for whom he had acted as deputy; and Hamadhāni, in the MS. Paris Ar. 1469, tells how he vented it by causing food to be deliberately spilt over the deputy's costume, against which he used to have a change of raiment in readiness. The notice of al-Muhallabi in Ibn Khallikān, *de Sl. trans.* i, 410, is very meagre.

Scarcity, too, had caused cereals to be grown under the palms, and these crops also were subjected to taxation. Thereupon cultivators removed elsewhere and those who remained suffered. Muhallabi's remedy was to restore the old method of levying the tenth tax in kind, without regard to productiveness or prices, and he advised the collectors to accept from the cultivators a voluntary payment to represent the difference to them between the just and the unjust methods of levy; and to this they readily agreed. What may fairly puzzle us is that they managed to find the money.

I may conclude by gratefully acknowledging a heavy debt for assistance from Professor D. S. Margoliouth in the many difficulties I encountered in these passages, and for providing me with valuable references.

A (*Tajārib*, vi, pp. 135-41).

و في هذه السنة (يعنى سنة ٣٣٤) شغب الديلم على معرّ الدولة
شغباً قبيحاً وكاشفوه بالإسماع وخرقوا عليه بالسفّه الكثير فضمن
إطلاق أموالهم في مدّة ضربها لهم فاضطرّ الى خبط الناس واستخراج
الاموال من غير وجوهها . فاقطع قُوداه وخواصّه واتراكه ضياع
السلطان وضياع المُستترين وضياع ابن شيرزاد وحق بيت المال في
ضياع الرعيّة وصار اكثر السواد مُغلّقاً وزالت ايدي العُمّال عنه [136]
وبقى اليسير منه فمن المحلول فضّمن واستغنى عن اكثر الدواوين
فبطلت وبطلت ازمتها وجمعت الاعمال كلها في ديوان واحد
ذكر ما انتهى اليه هذا التدبير من سوء
العاقبة وخراب البلاد وفساد
العساكر وسوء النظام

ان التدبير اذا بُنى على اصول خارجة عن الصواب وان خفي
في الابتداء ظهر على طول الزمان . ومثّل ذلك مثل من يحرف
عن جادة الطريق انحرافاً يسيراً ولا يظهر انحرافه في المبدأ حتى اذا

طال به المسير بعد عن السميت وكلما ازداد امعانا في السير زاد بعده عن الجادة وظهر خطاؤه وتفاوت امره . فمن ذلك انه اقطع اكثر اعمال السواد على حال خرابه ونقصان ارتفاعه وقبل عودته الى عمارته . ثم ساهم الوزراء المقطعين وقبلوا منهم الرشى واخذوا المصانع في البعض وقبلوا الشفاعات في البعض فحصلت الاقطاعات لهم بغير متفاوتة . فلما اتت السنون وعمرت النواحي وزاد الارتفاع في بعضها بزيادة الغلات ونقص في بعضها بالمحطاط الاسعار (وذلك ان الوقت الذي اقطع فيه الجند الاقطاعات كان السعر مُفرط الغلاء للقط الذي ذكرناه) فتمسك الرابحون بما حصل في ايديهم من اقطاعاتهم ولم يمكن الاستقصاء عليهم في العبرة ورد الخاسرون اقطاعاتهم [187] فعرضوا عنها وتممت لهم نقائصها واتسع الخرق حتى صار الرسم جاريا بان يخرب الجند اقطاعاتهم ثم يردوها ويعتاضوا عنها من حيث يختارون ويتوصلون الى حصول الفضل والفوز بالربح . ولقدت الاقطاعات المراجعة من كان غرضه تناول ما يجده فيها ورفع الحساب ببعضه وترك الشروع في عمارتها ثم صار المقطعون يعودون الى تلك الاقطاعات وقد اختلط بعضها ببعض فيستقطعونها بالموجود بعد تناهيها في الاضمحلال والامحطاط . وكانت الاصول تذوب على ممر السنين ودرست العبر القديمة وفسدت المشارب وبطلت المصالح واتت الجوائح على النشاء وركت احوالهم فمن بين هارب جال وبين مظلوم صابر لا يُتصَف وبين مُستريح الى تسليم ضيعته الى المُقطع لئلا من شره ويوافقه فبطلت العمارات واغلقت الدواوين وأُضحى اثر الكتابة والعمالة ومات من كان يحسنها ونشأ قوم لا يعرفونها ومتى تولّى احدهم شيئا منها كان فيه دخيلا متجفلا . واقتصر المقطعون على تدبير نواحيهم بغلمانهم ووكلائهم فلا يضبطون ما يجري على ايديهم ولا يهتدون الى وجه تسمير ومصالح

ويقتطعون أموالهم بضروب الفساد واعتساف اصحابهم [138] مما يذهب من أموالهم بمصادراتهم وبالحيف على معاملتهم . وانصرف عمال المصالح عنها لخروج الاعمال عن يد السلطان ووقع الاقتصاد في عملها على ان يُقدَّر ما يحتاج اليه لها ويُفَسَّط على المُقْطَعين تقسيطات يتقاعدون بها وباداتها وان ادوها وقعت الحيانة فيها فلم تنصرف الى وجوها . وقُلَّ حَقُّ الناظرين بالحوادث تعويلاً على اخذ ما صفا وترك ما كدر والرجوع على السلطان بالمطالبة وردّ ما تخرب على ايديهم من الاقطاعات . وفُوِّض تدبير كلّ ناحية الى بعض الوجوه من خواص الديلم فاتخذ مسكناً وطعمةً والتحف عليهم المتصرفون الخونة وصار غرض احدهم الترجية والتمشية والدفع من سنة الى سنة . وعقدت النواحي الخارجة من الاقطاعات على طبقتين من الناس احدهما اكابر القواد والجند والاخرى اصحاب الدارايح والمتصرفون فاما القواد فانهم حرصوا على جمع الاموال وحياسة الارباح ودعوى المظالم والتماس الحطائط فان استقصى عليهم صاروا اعدائهم ولما كثرت اموالهم وانفتحت بهم الفتوق خرج منهم الخوارج وان سوسخوا استشرى طمعهم ولم يقفوا منه عند غاية . واما اصحاب الدارايح [139] فكانوا اهدى من الجند الى تغريم السلطان والحيلة عليه في كسب الاموال ونظر بعضهم الى بعض فيما تجرى عليه معاملاتهم وبذلوا المرافق واعتصموا بالوسائل . ووجب ان يجمع الناس حكم واحد وتوالت السنون عليهم فتفردوا بنواحيهم وخلوا بمعاملتهم فبين مُستضعف يُصادر ويغير رسمه وتُنَقَّص معاملته على قدر حاله وماله ومن مانع جانبه فيُخَفَّف عنه الرسوم ويُرتَقَّق على ذلك منه بالاموال ويتخذ الضامن عضداً في شدائده وعند مُناظرة سلطانه . ويضطلم المُستضعفين فبطل ان تُرْفَع الى الدواوين جماعة او تُعَمَلَ لعمالٍ مؤامرة او يُسَمَعَ لاحد ظلامة او يقبل من

كاتب نصيحة واقْتَصَر في محاسبة الضمنا على ذكر اصول العقد وما صحَّ منه ونقى من غير تفتيش عما عُمِلت به الرعية واجريت عليه احوالها من جور او نصفه من غير اشراف على احتراس من الخراب او خراب يعاد الى العمارة وجبايات تحدث على غير رسم ومصادرات تُرْفَع على محض الظلم وازافات الى الارتفاع ليست بعبرة وحسابات في النفقات لا حقيقة لشيء منها . ومتى تكلم كاتب من الكتاب في شيء من ذلك فكان ذا حال ضامن ونكب واجتيج وقتل وباعه السلطان بالتطفيف . [140] وان كان ذا فاقة وخلة ارضى باليسير فانقلب وصار عوناً للنخس ولم يكن بذلك بمعلوم لان سلطانه لا يحميه اذا خاف ولا ينصره اذا قال .

فهذه جملة الحال في ضياع الدخل فاما الخرج فان النفقات تصاعفت وسوق الدواوين ازيلت والازمة بطلت الى غير ذلك من امور يتسع فيها القول ويقتضى بعضها سياقة بعض فاقصرنا على الاشارة دون التطويل .

ثم ركب معز الدولة الهوى في امور غلمانه فتوسّع في اقطاعاتهم وزياداتهم واسرف في تمويلهم وتخويلهم فتعدّر عليه ان يذخر ذخيرة لنوائبه او ان يستفضل شيئاً من ارتفاع ولم تنزل مؤونته تزيد وموائده تنقص حتى حصل عليه عجز لم يكن واقفاً على حد منه بل يتضاعف تضاعفاً متفاقماً واتى ذلك على مَرِّ السنين الى الاخلال بالديلم فيما يستحقون من اموالهم وداخلتهم المنافسة للاتراك من اجل حُسن احوالهم . وقادت الضرورة الى ارتباط الاتراك وزيادة تقريبهم والاستظهار بهم على الديلم وبحسب انصراف العناية الى هؤلاء ووقوع التقصير في امور اوليك فسدت النيات وفسد الفريقان اما الاتراك فبالطمع والضرارة [141] واما الديلم فبالضرر والمسكنة واثربوا الى الفتن وصارت هذه المعاملة لقاحاً لها وسبباً لوقوع ما وقع فيها ممّا سنذكر جملاً منه في مواضعها بمشيئة الله .

B (ib., pp. 168-70).

ذكر الآثار الجميلة التي أثارها الوزير أبو محمد المهلبى حتى عمرت
الحراب وتوفر دخلها واتصل الحمل منها بعد انقطاعه.

قد كان معز الدولة لما فتح البصرة ودخلها تظلم اليه الرعية من
سوء معاملات البريديين فعرف اكثرها وذلك ان ابا يوسف
البريدى خاصة تفرد بالنظر في اعمال البصرة وجباية اموالها فرسم
لابى الحسن ابن اسد الكاتب ان يطالب ملاك الأرضين التى
يؤخذ منها حق العشر (وتعرف بصنفات اراضى العرب) بالبصرة
عن كل جريب من الحنطة والشعير عشرين درهماً وانما فعل
ذلك بسبب زيادة الاسعار بالبصرة وان الكرب بالمعدل من الحنطة
بلغ بها مائتى دينار ولم يستعمل ذلك الا على تدرج فلما قتل
ابو عند الله البريدى اخاه ابا يوسف اقر ابن اسد على العمل
واجرى الناس على ذلك الرسم . وكانت العمارة تنقص فى كل
سنة لأجل جور البريديين وعمالهم وهم يطالبون بالعبرة فنقص
مال العبرة [169] عن جريان العمارة فزاد ذلك ما يلزم كل
جريب فى السنة على ما كان يلزمه فى السنة التى قبلها . وكان قد
قحط اهل البصرة بالمحاصرات التى لحقتهم فالزموا ان يزرعوا تحت
الخل حنطةً وشعيراً فلما فعلوا الزموا عن كل جريب اربعين
درهماً فقصروا فى العمارة فجعل ما كان يرتفع عبرةً عليهم واستوفى
من ملاك ارض العشر فتهارب الناس فزاد ذلك على من
بقى . فلما تقلد أبو محمد المهلبى وزارة معز الدولة ودخل
البصرة وتظلم اليه اهل البصرة من الجبر التى جعلت عليهم فى
ارض الحنطة والشعير فوعدهم بكل ما أنسوا به . ثم قرّر امرهم على
ان يُردوا الى رسمهم القديم فى اخذ العشر حياً بعينه من غير
تربيع ولا تسعير ونظر فيما بين ذلك وبين ما يؤخذ منهم على

تقريب فإشار على أرباب العُشْران يبتاعوا فضل ما بين المعاملة على الظلم والمعاملة على الانصاف بثمان يرغب فيه معز الدولة عاجلاً فيسهل عليه ما ينحط من الارتفاع معما يتعجل له من المال ثم يُنصاف الى ذلك ما يُشمره العدل وموقعه من قلوب الناس مع الرجاء في المُستقبل لزيادة الارتفاع . فاستجابوا وتقرر الامر بينهم على الفى الف درهم [170] ومائتى الف درهم وكتب لهم بذلك وثيقة ثم حط من الجميع عن الصَّغْفى مائتى الف درهم وكتب الى معز الدولة بان فى ذلك حظاً عاجلاً وصلاًحاً ووفوراً فى ارتفاع الناحية فى المُستقبل فحسُن موقع فعله من معز الدولة فامضاه وحضر البصريون فاشهدوا على المطيع لله بالبيع وسجلوا بالابتياح ونُسب المُبتاع الى فضل ما بين المعاملتين فى العبر فعمر الناس وتضاعف الارتفاع للسلطان .

NOUVEAUX FRAGMENTS DE LA COLLECTION STEIN

PAR LOUIS DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN

I. FRAGMENTS DE TUNHUANG

Ch. 00262, papier. Comprend—

1. Fragment d'un recueil de Śikṣās, folios numérotés (coll. Stein) 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, qui sont 90, 91, 92, 93, et 44, 45. 159-60 mm.; 4 lignes, belle écriture.—Voir les Sekhiyas et Mahāvyutpatti, 263.

2. Fragment d'un "Kammavācam",¹ folios 9, 10, 11, numérotés 123, 124, 125 (ou 223?). Caractéristique: les intitulés des paragraphes, en "tokharien", précèdent les dits paragraphes. Même écriture que 1; fait peut-être partie du même manuscrit?

3. Fin du Caitiyacatuṣkasūtra, et début d'un autre Sūtra. Folio (Stein) 2.

4. Fragment d'une Anthologie. 139 × 60 mm.; 5 lignes, petite écriture, incorrecte, et en partie illisible. Folios (Stein) 1, 12, 14, qui se suivent dans l'ordre 12, 1, 14.

5. Début d'un texte du Mahāyāna? Folio (Stein) 13.

I

ŚIKṢAS

3a. [iti śi]kṣā karaṇīyā 14 na veṣṭitaśirasō ntargṛhaṃ
prave-

kṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā 15 na veṣṭitaśirasō ntargṛ-
h[e] ni[ṣa]tṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā 16 na kambhākṛtā-
[ntargṛhaṃ] pravekṣyā(ma) iti [śikṣā karaṇīyā] 17²
[na ka]m[bh]ā[kṛtānta-

¹ [A facsimile of a folio of this MS. is given in the July number of this Journal.]

² Cf. M. Vyut. 263, 26, skambhākṛtāh.

- 3b. rgrhe ni]ṣatsyāma iti śikṣā [kara]ṇiyā 18 na pallatthik[ā]-
[kr̥tā]nta[rgr]ham pravekṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 19 na
[pa]llatthikākṛtāntargrhe niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇi-
[yā 20¹ nātya]stikākṛtāntargrham pravekṣyāma iti
śikṣā karaṇi-
- 4a. yā 21 nātyastikākṛtāntargrhe niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā ka-
raṇiyā 22 na vinyastikākṛtāntargrham pravekṣyāma i-
ti śi[kṣā ka]raṇiyā 23 na vinyastikākṛtāntargrhe ni-
[ṣatsyāma iti] śikṣā ka[ra]ṇi[yā 2]4 na vi[k]ṣiptikā-
kṛtāntargr-
- 4b. [ham pra]vekṣyāma iti śikṣā [karaṇiyā 2]5 na vik-
[ṣ]ipt[i]kā[kṛtā]-
ntargrhe niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 26 na [bā]-
hupracālakāntargrham pravekṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā
27 na bāhupracālakāntargrhe niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā kara-
- 5a. ṇiyā 28 na cāmsapracālakāntargrham pravekṣyāma
iti śikṣā
karaṇiyā 29² na cāmsapracālakāntargrhe niṣatsyā-
ma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 30 na śīrṣapracālakāntargrham
[pra]vekṣyāma iti śikṣā [kara]ṇiyā 31 na śīrṣapra-
cālakānta-
- 5b. rgrhe niṣatsyāma i[ti śikṣā kara]ṇi[yā] 32 na kāya-
pracā-
lakāntargrham pravekṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 33
na kāyapracālakāntargrhe niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā
karaṇiyā 34 na hastasaṃlagnikayāntargrham pra-
vekṣyā-
- 6a. ma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 35³ na hastasaṃlagnikayāntargr-
he niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 36⁴ na viḍaṃgika-
yāntargrham pravekṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 37⁴ na vi-
ḍaṃgikayāntargrhe niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 38

¹ Cf. M. Vyut. 263, udvyastikayā (20), paryastikayā (21).

² 29-30 manque dans M. Vyut.

³ M. Vyut. 263, 31.

⁴ M. Vyut. 263, 40.

- 6b. na pāde pādam ādāyāntargrhe niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā
karaṇī-
yā 39 na sakthni sakthnāropya antargrhe niṣat-
syāma i-
ti śikṣā karaṇiyā 40 na pāṇau hanum upādāya
antargrhe
niṣatsyāma grhiṇo hāsyaprekṣiṇa iti śikṣā kara-
ṇiyā 41¹
- 7a. || satkrtyaudanaṃ pratigrhīsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 1
satkrtya
sūpikaṃ pratigrhīsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 2 na stū-
pākāraṃ piṇḍapātaṃ paribhoksyāma iti śikṣā kara-
ṇiyā 3²
samasūpikaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ paribhoksyāma iti śikṣā
kara[ṇiyā]³
- 7b. 4 na stūpyavag[a]ṇḍ[i]krte(?) p[i]ṇḍapāta[m] paribho-
ksyāma] i[ti śi]-
kṣā karaṇiyā 5⁴ na vyutkaṇṭhaśa piṇḍapātaṃ pari-
bhoksyāma
iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 6 nātimahāntam ālopaṃ kariṣyā-
ma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 7 parimaṇḍalam ālopaṃ kari-
syāma
- 8a.⁵ iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 8 nānāgate ālop[e] mukhadvāraṃ
vivari-
syāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 9⁶ na sālopeṇa mukhadvā-
reṇa vyāhariṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇiyā 10 na kapa-
ḍacchedakaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ paribhoksyāma iti śikṣā
karaṇiyā [11]
- 8b. na cucc[u]kāraṃ [pi]ṇḍapātaṃ [paribho]ksyāma
iti [śikṣā karaṇiyā 1]

¹ Cf. Majjh. ii, p. 138, na ca pāṇinā hanukam upādiyitvā nisīdati.

² Cf. M. Vyut. 263, 68.

³ Cf. M. Vyut. 263, 43.

⁴ Cf. Sekh. 46, na avagaṇḍakāraṃ.

⁵ Le folio 8 est numéroté au verso [4]5.

⁶ Cf. M. Vyut. 263, 52.

3 na gr̥ṣmahāarakam¹ piṇḍapātam paribhokṣyāma iti
śikṣā

karaṇīyā 14 na jihvāniścāarakam piṇḍapātam paribho-
kṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā 15 nojjighramta piṇḍapātam
pari

2

“ KAMMAVĀCĀ ”

Folios 9, 10, 11 (Stein), numérotés 123, 124, (125), ou
223 ?

1. pāñcadaśikaḥ paṇisuddham am āyuṣman dhāraya
antarāyikeṣu dharmeṣu
2. paṇisuddham aham poṣatha kariṣyāmi śilaskandhasya
pāripūra-
3. ye evaṃ dvir api trir api || se trivāci . poṣādha ||
samanvāharā-
4. . . . m . se . . .
2. pratigrhītā evaṃ dvir api trir api || se cchandapāṇisuddh
..
3. sātte ete nika kṣle || samanvāharāyusmaṃ āryasaṅghasya
4. poṣatha pāñcadaśikamamāpya ~ dya raktaśāntenasya
bhikṣoḥ poṣatha
2. dhārmikeṣu saṅghakarmanī cchandam dadāmi anumodāmi a-
3. bhyupagacchāmi dhārmikim saṅghasāmicim pravāraṇa-
poṣathe
4. śilapāṇisuddhim ārocayāmi mamārthāya āyusmaṃ
pravārayaṃ evaṃ
1. dvir api trir api || se pravāritṣe cchando parta veṣle ||
samanvāharāyu-
2. ṣmaṃ raktaśānteno bhikṣuṇā dhārmikeṣu saṅghakar-
manī cchando da-
3. tta anumodita abhyupagato dhārmikī saṅghasāmicī
pravāraṇa-
4. [poṣath]e śilapāṇisud[dh]im [ā]ro[c]i

¹ Cf. M. Vyut. 61, na gallāpahāarakam.

1. || utsa-
2. [ha]te saṅghasya pravārāpakā || utsahase tvaṃ āyus-
maṃ rakta-
3. śāntena saṃghasya pravārāpakā || śṛṇotu bhadantaḥ
saṅgha
4. ayam āyusmāṃ raktaśāntenaś cotsaṃte saṅghasya
pavārāpakāt sa
1. cet saṅghasya prāptakālaṃ kṣamate anujāniyāt saṅghaḥ
yat saṅgha
2. āyusmantam raktaśāntenam ca saṅghasya pravārā-
pakāṃ samma-
3. [ny]eta eṣā jñapti || śṛṇotu bhadantaḥ saṅgha ayam
āyusmāṃ ra-
4. a

3

Folio 2 (Stein) numéroté au verso 25

1. sya
2. 'mallesu ca sa bhagavāṃ gā (?)
3. tyah bhagavān āptamanasas te bhikṣavo bhagavato
bhāṣi[tam a]-
4. bhyanandamaṃ || caityacatuṣkasūtraṃ || evaṃ mayā
śrutam ekasmiṃ samaye
1. bhagavāṃ urubilvāyā viharati nadyā nairamjanāyāṃs
tīre bodhimūle a-
2. cirābhisambuddhaviṃmuktiprītisukhapratisaṃvedī
buddho bhagavāṃ
3. saptāham ekaparyamkenātināma[yat]i sa na ken[āp]i
piṇḍakena
4. pratipāditaḥ . e

Le *caityacatuṣkasūtra* m'est inconnu. *Urubilvāyā* . . . ;
cf. *Mahāvagga*, i, 1 (Sam. i, 103 ; Ang. ii, 20 ; Div. 202).
La formule *saptāham ekaparyamkenātināmayati* dans
Karuṇāpundarika (Buddhist Text Soc., pp. 120, 33).
Dans *Dulva* (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 34) c'est bien après une
semaine qu'a lieu l'offrande des marchands.

. śvāhaṃ kāmṭti me śaṣṭi iti vīrya muhu muhu 12

yeṣu karmasu siddheṣu na maha syām gulodaye
vipamtau ca mahām doṣo paṇḍita syām vivarjayet 13
nāsmākaṃ prdhavi . o vana sa . na paddhati
nāsmākaṃ paramo bhāra yasya nāsti kṛta . . !
yasyai ttati vipulaṃ danam

kiṃci na kāla parikṣā 17
kariṣyati kariṣyāmi ya [ṣ]yassi
(a)haṃ tāvantaṃ mariṣyāmi ~ tvayā kasya kariṣyati 18
yati mana . . . yā kiṃ tu kāśāyavastre
~ ata ~ kṛṣiṇiṇe muṇḍitakiśoro pi
yati viṣayasukhepṣā ki . . re viyoka
kathaya kathaya cet te ki kṛto si viśeṣa 19
yas tu pratichcha-

-te deṣe ~ kathayanti bhahuśruta ~
tasya vistīryate prajñā ~ ai l śittur ivābhāsa ~
ya[.]na pratichchate ~ deṣe na kathayanti bhahuśruta ~
tasya na guṇṭhati prajñā . . . ur ivā[mhāsā] 20
turasto pi tattharaste ~ yo ya s . . bhiravo

loke jīva . . ga . . 23
sīdhya paśyatu m

24

vahantīti . śirasā
. . . ddhe tathā bāhvo ~ ddhāvapagalapāgvayo 25
āturasya pitā vaidyo . . . r . . . bhrātārā ~
dakṣiṇaṃ yācamānasya na ca pitā na bhrātārā 26
hare pāṇitāle

FOL. 14

muñcatu na muñcatu	30
ekaṃ stambhaṃ vimān . śam ātyante prthajāṇāḥ gurubhir vāryamānāpi atyaśvovedī jalpakā	31
śāṇaṃ vastraṃ tac ca me khaṇḍakhaṇḍam ~ śākḥā bhoktā tac ca me na prabhū[B]tam ~ kāṇā bhāryā sā ca me nānukūlā ~ kruddhā devā[h] kiṃ kariṣyanti bhūyo tr̥ṣ . strī yā cittapiśacapattakai | svādhyāyadhairyam ripusauryavīryam | āyur dhanam rūpatale sukhena | na viśvaset pañcadaśaparakār []	32
	33

Lectures plus correctes, dues pour la plupart à Mr. F. W. Thomas—

yeṣu karmasu siddheṣu na mahāṃ syād guṇodayaḥ vipattaḥ ca mahān doṣaḥ paṇḍitas tāni varjayet nāsmākaṃ prthivi	13
yasya nāsti kṛtajñatā etat te (?) vipulaṃ dhanam	14

yadi manasi kaṣāyaḥ kiṃ nu kaṣāyavastraṃ yatatu kṛsivāṇiye muṇḍitākeśaro pi yadi viśayasukhepsā kiṃ nu . rair viyogaḥ kathaya kathaya citte (?) kiṃkṛto . viśeṣaḥ.	19
---	----

bahuśrutāḥ tasya vistīryate prajñā śailī (?) sindhur ivāmbhasā tasyāvagunṭhati prajñā	20
---	----

haret pāṇitale

gurubhir śāṇam śākā bhuktam	atāyante prthagjanāḥ jalpakāḥ	31
-----------------------------------	----------------------------------	----

āyur dhanam rūpabale sukhaṃ ca na viśvaset pañcadaśaparakāram	33
--	----

namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṃghāya namo
bodhisatvānām mahāsatvānām mahākāraṇikānām namo
sarvarājav[ai]dyānām tadyathā

II. FRAGMENTS DE MIRAN

1. Mi. ii, a (1-4). Quatre fragments d'un feuillet de papier qui devait avoir 490 × 82 mm.; sept lignes; marqué 5[1] + . . . au verso. Slanting. Fragment de la biographie du Bouddha (épisode des deux marchands), faisant partie de l'introduction au *Samghabhedavastu* du Vinaya tibétain (voir Rockhill, *Life*, p. 34; Csoma-Feer, p. 181, n. 7): comparer Mahāvagga, i, 4; Mahāvastu, iii, 304; Lalitavistara, xxiv, p. 493 (Rājendralāl).

2. Mi. ii, a (5-7). Trois fragments du même MS.: comparer Mahāvagga, i, 6, 9-11.

3. Mi. ii, a (8-12). Série de fragments peu utilisables.

4. Mi. xiv, 1. Fragment d'un feuillet de papier; six lignes; numéroté 139 (?); slanting.

1. Mi. ii, a (1-4)

L'Abhidharmakośavyākhyā (Soc. As., fol. 293, b) cite notre texte: tatra Bhagavāms Trapusabhalikau vaṇijau āmantrayate sma lete yuvām buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchatām | dharmam ca | yo sau bhaviṣyaty anāgate 'dhvani saṃgho nāma tam api śaraṇaṃ gacchatām iti |

Particularités—

1. Le nom *Tripusa*.
2. Prise du refuge dans le Saṃgha à venir; cf. Mhv.
3. Les *pātras* des rois réunis en un seul; cf. Mhv. iii, 304.
4. *L'anumodanā* donnée en śloka (?) par Bhagavat: sukho vipākaḥ . . .

(1) pūrvakailḥ samyaksambuddhaiḥ p[i]ṇḍa[. . . hi]tāya prāṇinām . . . ti bhagavataḥ ārocaye . . . buddhaiḥ pīṇḍapātaḥ pratigṛhito hi(2)tāya prāṇinām bhagavato

pi . . . nam(?) pravartate [p]ā . . . ḥ samyaksambuddhaiḥ
 piṇḍap[ā . . .]nām iti ॥ tatra bhagavataḥ pātreṇa (3)
 pātrakāryam utpannam atha ca[t]v[āro] mahārājāno
 bhaga[vataḥ pātreṇa . .]nam pātrakāryam viditvā anya-
 tara[smāt pāśānamayāt parvatā]c catvāri śailamayāni
 pātrāny [sic] amanu(4)ṣyakṛtāny amanuṣyaniṣṭhitāni
 [sva]cchāni śucin[i] ni[ṣpratigandhāny] ādāya yena
 bhagavāms te[nopasaṃkrāntā bhagavataḥ pā]d[au] śiras[ā]
 vand[i]tvā ekānte tasthur ekā(5)nt[e] sthitāś catvāro
 mahārājāno [bhaga]vaṃtam idam[. . . i]hāsmābhir
 bhadanta bhagavato[. . pātreṇa pātrakāryam utpannam
 anya]tarasmāt pāśānamayāt parvatāc ca(6)tvāri
 śailamayāni pātrāny ama[nuṣyakṛtāny a]manuṣyaniṣṭhit-
 [āni svacchāni śu]cīni niṣpratigandhāny ānītā [. . tripusa-
 bhalli]kayor vaṇijoh piṇḍapātaṃ prati[gr]h[ṇ]ā(7)tu hitāya
 prāṇinām atha [bhagavata etad abha]vat sa ce[d] aham
 ekasya mahārājñah] pātraṃ pratigrhīṣyāmi trayāṇām
 [bhaviṣyaty anyathātvam] sa ce[d] dvayos trayāṇām
 pratigrhi[ṣyāmi dvayor e]-

(1)kasya bhaviṣyaty anyathātvam y . . . rājñ . . .
 ekaṃ pātraṃ adhimucyeyam atha [bhagavām caturṇām
 mahārājñām] pātrāni pratigrhya ekaṃ pātra[m adhimu]-
 (2)ktavām tatra bhagavām tripusabhall[ikayor vaṇijoh]
 piṇḍapāta[m pratigrh . . h]itāya prāṇinām tatra
 bhagavām trip[usabhallikau vaṇijāv ā]mantrayati ete
 yuvām vaṇijau buddhaśara(3)ṇam gacchatām dharmam
 śaraṇam gacchat[ām yo sau bha]viṣyaty anā[gataḥ saṃ]gho
 nāma tam api yuvām śaraṇam ga[cchatām
 bu]ddham śaraṇam gacchāva dharmam śaraṇam ga(4)
 cchāva yo sau bhaviṣyaty anā[ga]t[ah . . .] saṃgho
 nāma ta[m a]py [ā]vām śaraṇam gacchāva ॥ atha bhagavā-
 [ṃs tripusabhallikayor . . .]dānam anayā(a¹)bhyanumo-
 danayā (5) (a²)bhyanumodate ॥ sukho vipāk[ah puṇyā]
 nām abhiprāyaḥ . . . samucyate kṣipram ca paramām

¹ Seconde main dans l'interligne.

² Seconde main en marge.

śāntim nirvṛti[m adhigacchati 1 parato ye upa]sargā
devatā mārakāyikāḥ na śa(6)k[nu]vāṃty antarāyam
kṛtapuṇya[. . . 2¹ . . .] yatate ā[rya]prajñ . . . ty . . . vām
duḥkhasyāntakri[.]taḥ 3² || athas tripu-
sabhallikau vaṇi(7)jau bhagavato bhāṣitam abh[inandya
bhagavataḥ pāḍau] śīrasā vanditv[ā . . . bhaga]vato
ntikāt prakrāntau || a[tha bhagavām tripusabhallikayor
va]nījor antikāt piṇḍapātam ādāya.

* Comparer Dulva, iv, fols. 54b-55b:—

de nas beom ldan hdaś hdi sñam du dgonś te | gal te
bdag gi phyag gis bsod sñoms bzhes na mu stegs can
bzhin du hgyur baś de ni bdag gi cha ma yin gyis | ma la
bdag gis sñon gyi yañ dag par rdzogs paī sañś rgyas kyis
srog chags rñams la phan paī phyir bsod sñoms gañ du
bzhes pa bsams par byao sñam pa na | beom ldan hdaś la
lha rñams kyis gsol la | btsun pa sñon gyi yañ dag par
rdzogs paī sañś rgyas rñams kyis srog chags la phan par
bgyi bai slad du lhuñ bzed du bsod sñoms bzhes lags so |

¹ Ce sont les stances Udānavarga xxx, 13-14 (ed. Beckh, p. 115; voir Rockhill, qui mentionne *Mélanges Asiatiques*, viii, 564); le Mahāvastu, ii, 286, les met dans la bouche du Bouddha immédiatement après la Bodhi (voir ii, 417; iii, 47)—

sukhaḥ puṇyasya vipākaḥ abhiprāyaś ca rdhyati |
kṣipraṃ sa paramāṃ śāntim nirvṛtim cādhiḡacchati |
parato ye upasargā devatā mārakāyikāḥ |
antarāyam na śaknonti kṛtapuṇyasya kartu vai |

Les variantes de la version tibétaine sont insignifiantes, sauf au dernier pāda où l'Udānavarga a le pluriel *kṛtapuṇyānām*.

Comparer Lalitavistara (454-5 = 355)—

brahmasvareṇa kalaviṇkarutasvareṇa
prathamena gāthā imi bhāṣita nāyakena
puṇyavipāku sukha sarvaduḥkhāpanetī
abhiprāyu sidhyati ca puṇyavato narasya
kṣipraṃ ca bodhi spr̥sate vinihatya mām
śāntapatho gacchati ca nirvṛtītibhāvam.

² C'est la stance Udānavarga, xxx, 15—

| gal te sdug bsñal zad byai phyir |
| hphags dañ śes rab gtoñ ldan pa (ou la) |
| de yis hbad rtsol bya(s) na ni |
| lhag mthoñ gis ni reg par hgyur |

beom ldan *h*das kyis kyañ dgoñs śiñ ye śes gzigs pa bskyed
 na | sñon kyi sañs rgyas beom ldan *h*das rnamś kyis srog
 chags rnamś la phan pai phyir bsod sñoms lhuñ bzed du
 bzhes par gyur nas | de na beom ldan *h*das la lhuñ bzed
 kyis dgos pa byuñ no |

de nas rgyal po chen po bzhis | beom ldan *h*das la lhuñ
 bzed kyis lhuñ bzed kyi dgos pa byuñ bar rig nas | ri brag
 can zhig la rdo las byas pai lhuñ bzed mi ma yin pas
 byas śiñ mi ma yin pas zin par byas la gsal ba gtsan ma
 dri ba med pa bzhi khyer te | beom ldan *h*das gañ na
 der doñ nas phyin pa dañ | beom ldan *h*das zhabs gñis la
 mgo bos phyag byas nas phyogs gcig tu *h*dug go | phyogs
 gcig tu *h*dug nas rgyal po chen po bzhis | beom ldan *h*das
 la *h*di skad ces gsol to | btsun pa beom ldan *h*das la lhuñ
 bzed kyis lhuñ bzed kyi dgos pa byuñ bar bdag cag gis
*h*thal (?) nas | ri brag can zhig la rdo las rdoi lhuñ bzed
 mi ma lags pas bgyis śiñ | mi ma lags pas legs par bgyis
 pa gsal ba gtsan ma dri ba ma mchis pa bzhi *h*dir *h*thsal
 te | mchis na beom ldan *h*das thugs brtse ba ñe bar bzuñ
 ste *h*di bzhus gsol |

de nas beom ldan *h*das *h*di sñam du dgoñs te gal te bdag
 gis rgyal po chen po gcig las lhuñ bzed cig bzhes na gsum
 gyi sems mi dga bar *h*gyur ro | gal te gñis las lhuñ bzed
 gñis bzhes na gñis kyi | gal te gsum las lhuñ bzed gsum
 bzhes na gcig gi sems mi dga bar *h*gyur ro | kye ma
 la bdag gis rgyal po chen po bzhi las lhuñ bzed bzhi
 las lhuñ bzed gcig tu byin gyis brlabs par byao sñam
 nas | de nas beom ldan *h*das kyis rgyal po chen po bzhi
 las lhuñ bzed bzhi bzhes te | lhuñ bzed gcig tu byin gyis
 brlabs so |

| de nas beom ldan *h*das kyis thsoñ pa ga gon dañ bzañ
 po las srog chags rnamś la phan pai phyir bsod sñoms
 bzhes so |

| de nas beom ldan *h*das kyis thsoñ pa ga gon dañ bzañ
 po la *h*di skad ces bka stsal pa | thsoñ pa dag khyed thsur
 sañs rgyas la skyabs su deñ śig | chos la skyabs su deñ

śig¹ | ma oñs pai dus na hbyuñ bar hgyur bai dge ldun
zhes bya ba gañ yin pa de la yañ skyabs su mchio |

| de nas beom ldan hdas kyis thsoñ pa ga gon dañ
bzañ poi sbyin pa de la rjes su yi rañ bas rjes su yi rañ
bar mdzad de |

gañ gi don du sbyin pa btañ |
| de yi don du hgyur ba ste (?) |
| bde bai don du sbyin btañ na |
| de nas bde bar hgyur ba yin |²
| bsod nams rnam smin bde ba dañ |
| bsams pa yañ ni hgrub par hgyur |
| myur du zhi ba dam pa yi |
| mya nian hdas par rtogs par hgyur |
| pha rol pas byuñ gnod pa ni |
| lha dañ bdud kyis rigs dag gis |
| bsod nams kho na byed pa na |
| bar chad bya bar mi nus so |
| gal te hphags pai śes rab phyir |
| gtoñ ldan de ni hbad byed na |
| sdug bsñal tha mar byed pa dag |
| rnam par mthoñ zhiñ reg par hgyur |

de nas thsoñ pa ga gon dañ bzañ po beom ldan hdas kyis
bka stsal ba la mñon par dga ste | rjes su yi rañs nas |
beom ldan hdas kyis zhabs gñis la mgo bos phyag byas
te | beom ldan hdas kyis spyān śña nas doñ no |

2. Mr. ii, a (5-7)

Comparer Mahāvagga i, 6 ; i, 9-11.

(1) 1. . . . [a]nagārikāṃ pravrajī . . . 2. . . .
labh[ā]mahe vayaṃ bhadaṃta . . . 3. . . . m avicaye
pravra . . . 4. . . . m agārād anagā . . . 5. . . . taṃ

¹ Il semble bien que le Dulva omette la fin du discours du Bouddha
(*saṅghaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchatāṃ*) et le commencement de la prise du refuge
par les marchands : en effet, *skyabs su mchi* = *śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi*.

² Cette strophe manque dans notre texte : "Le but pour lequel on
donne, ce but est réalisé ; qui donne en vue du bonheur, par là il devient
heureux."

karane . . . 6. . . . pāsebhyo ye divyā ye . . . 7. . . .
[hitā]ya [su]khāya deva[manuṣyāṇām] . . .

1. . . . nasyānte . . . 2. . . . [di]vyā ye ca mānuṣāḥ
. . . 3. . . . k . . . ye . . . 4. . . . mukto mu . . .
5. . . . ka . . . ne i . . . 6. . . . mārasya pāpiyasa etad
a . . . 7. . . . mukto haṃ bhikṣavaḥ sarva[pāsebhyo] . . .

(2) 1. . . . [mu]kto haṃ bhikṣavaḥ . . . 2. . . . na
gamisyathaḥ aha . . . 3. . . . tam (nam ?) abhinirmiya
ye . . .

1. . . . loka rhanto bhagavā v . . . 2. . . . ḥ carata
bhikṣavaś caryā . . . 3. . . . tāya na śrā . . .

(3) 1. . . . grāma . . . 2. . . . upetya ta . . . 3. . . .
māro yaṃ pā[pīyām] . . . 4. . . . pāpiy[ā]ṃ te . . .

1. . . . yaṇaṃ va . . . 2. . . . vedayanti kṣa . . .
3. . . . bhikṣun [sic] āmantra . . . 4. . . . su[kha] . . .

4. MI. xiv, 1

(1) na pratyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkāraiḥ vṛddhir eva . . .
(2) ca saptāparihāṇiyā dharmāḥ sa vrakṣyante . . .
(3) sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasikuruta bhā . . . (4) raṃ
satkṛtvā gurukṛtvā mā[nayi]tvā pū . . . (5) nti pūjayi-
syanti samādhim satkṛtvā . . . (6) pi saptāparihāṇiyāṃ
dharmāṃ de . . .

(1) . prajña si . . . kṣāṃ samāday . . . (2) kṣā
sahagatāyāḥ ta . . . (3) sthaviṛa ṇ ratijñās cirapravra-
[ji]ḥ[ta] . . . (4) . yiṣyanti teṣāṃ vacanaṃ . r . . . vaṃ ḥ
ka . . . (5) pramāṇāni śayanāsanāny adhyāvasiṣyaṃ . . .
(6) vras cetasa ārakṣā smṛtiḥ pratyupasth[ā] . . .

Sept *aparihāṇiya dharmas* : Sam. v, p. 85 (xlvi, 25) :
les sept *sambodhyaṅgas* à commencer par *sati*.

ACCENT AND PROSODY IN BENGALI, ETC.

By J. D. ANDERSON

I VENTURE to make the following suggestions, based on some recent studies of Bengali accentuation and prosody. The subject is difficult, and, to save space and words, I state quite tentative conclusions in rather too positive terms. But my statements are merely suggestions.

In spoken language there are three elements : (1) accent of force (stress), (2) accent of acuity (pitch), and (3) accent of duration (quantity). No doubt all three exist in all languages. But in any given language one or other is the dominantly audible quality, and regulates the characteristic sound of the language, and especially its metrical systems. In the classical languages, Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, there are quantitative metres. I do not take it on myself to say that the dominant quality in these languages was syllabic duration.

In Bengali, as in some other modern languages, a few quantitative metres survive. For instance, there is the *totāka-chanda*, twelve syllables, of which the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth are long.

³ ⁶ ⁹ ¹²
 dvija Bhārata totāka chandabhāṇe,
³ ⁶ ⁹ ¹²
 kavirāja kahe yata gaurā jane.

In the first verse the natural accents fall only on 3, 6, 9 ; in the second they fall only on 3 and 9. By "natural accents" I mean accents audible in prose. Syllable 12 in the first verse and syllables 6 and 12 in the second

but is here caused by accent. Note, also, that in this case the accents accidentally correspond to the *accent tonique* of French, the pause-accent, the accent which announces and precedes a pause.

In the second place, in most modern languages the accent of quantity seems inaudible or only rendered audible by the accent of stress + change of pitch. In some, change of pitch dominates over stress; in some, stress over pitch. In most cases it is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to say which is the dominant quality. In what follows I use the word "accent" as meaning change of force accompanied by change of pitch.

Here we arrive at a quality which seems to divide the spoken music of Indo-European languages into two classes, each of which has its characteristic type of accentual metre. I here come to the vexed question of phrase-accent and word-accent. I venture to suggest that *both* exist in all Indo-European languages, but that in some one, in some the other, is the *dominating* quality, and is therefore the basis of metre.

Here, by an odd coincidence, French, the most western, falls into the same class with Bengali, the most eastern of Indo-European languages. In both the dominant quality is, not the word-accent, but the phrase-accent which announces a pause, a cessation of vocal effort, a faint exaggeration of the natural change of voice which marks what in verse is called the *cæsura*. (There is, of course, a word-stress as well, since it is impossible to pronounce a long series of syllables in an absolutely level tone. But this falls at irregular and incalculable intervals, and does not constitute the *beat* of verse in these languages.) I suppose I need not insist that, in the French Alexandrine, the dominant quality is the phrase-accent—the accent which precedes and marks a pause. I merely quote a couple of Alexandrine lines at random, just to mark the metrical structure, before

I comment on a similar metre in Bengali. I take the first two lines of Racine's *Phèdre* :—

Le dessin en est pris | je pars | cher Theramène !

Et quitte le séjour | de l'aimable Trézène !

Of course, I need not remind the reader that we have here "feminine" rhymes, to be followed by a couplet with "masculine" rhymes. I merely note this because the same metrical device occurs in Bengali. The normal Alexandrine is six syllables + cæsura + six syllables. Each pause is preceded, as in prose, by an *accent tonique*. This *accent tonique* in French is final; it terminates a unit of vocal utterance.

In Bengali the dominating audible quality is also a phrase-stress, but it immediately *follows* instead of immediately *preceding* a pause; it is *initial* and not *terminal*. It is sufficiently dominant to be the basis of accentual verse in Bengali. And accentual verse in Bengali is what is called "syllabic" verse. In making this statement I am running the risk of contradiction. There are those who deny that French verse is "syllabic". There are those who deny that Bengali verse is "syllabic". They mean that verse in French and Bengali depends on the regular succession of word-accents, as in English, German, Italian, Marāthi, and other languages in which the word-accent is the dominant audible quality. The matter is one on which it is difficult to arrive at agreement, for obvious reasons. I will merely try to state, as clearly and succinctly as possible, why I believe that Bengali accentual verse is based upon phrase-accent, and is "syllabic", i.e. is composed of a fixed number of syllables, the counting of which is made possible by a cæsura, marked by a change of phrase-accent.

The "heroic" metre, the metre of epic and tragedy, in Bengali is what is called the *payār chanda*, and only differs from the French Alexandrine in the fact that it is

two syllables longer, and that its *accent tonique* is initial and not terminal. As in French, muted syllables have to be pronounced (or indicated) to complete the metre. Sometimes (very rarely) a pause does duty for an omitted vowel. Hence Bengali prosodists assert that the *payār chanda* is composed not of fourteen syllables but of fourteen *akṣaras*, i.e. single or compound consonants. This is merely an instance of the difficulties introduced into such discussions by conventional phraseology. Also, though very rarely, the cæsura falls in the middle of a word, a very interesting occurrence, for here a word-accent has, I think, to do duty for the normal phrase-accent.

I will now take some *payār* verses, quite at random, from Kṛtīvās's *Rāmāyaṇ*, and will put the accents where they seem to me to fall. The terminal rhyme-accent is peculiarly interesting, since it affords a surprising parallel to the "masculine" and "feminine" rhymes of French, i.e. it falls (and sometimes alternatively) on the ultimate and penultimate syllables.

tāhāte vasāti kāre | Śūkra munivār(a),
 pārivāre Dāṇḍa nitya | yāy(a) tār(a) ghār(a).
 ěk(a)din(a) Śūkra gela | tāpasyā karite,
 hēna-kāle Dāṇḍa rājā | gēlen(a) paṛite.
 Śūkra-kanyā Ābjā yāy(a) | pūṣpa āharāṇe,
 Dāṇḍa rājā bāle 'móre | tōṣa ālingāne'.
 Ābjā bale, 'sūna, rājā, | kāhi tava ṭhāṇi,
 p'ṭṛśiṣya túmi-tá sam|bāndhe haō bhāi.
 vívāha karite yádi | lāy(a) tava mán(a),
 p'ṭṛ vidyamāne tave | kára nivedān(a).

Note that the syllables marked (a) are muted; and merely indicated in the way that the *e* mute in French is indicated, by the briefest pause. Hence it is that

Bengali metrists find it impossible to admit that the *payār* verse consists of fourteen *syllables* (i.e. vowels), and assert that the verse contains fourteen *akṣaras*. The double acute accents (") mark phrase-accents. The perpendicular lines (') mark rhyme-accents. Note that the latter, in the third and fourth verses, cause a marked lengthening of sound. Short *i*, when stressed in Bengali, even in prose, is often lengthened. For instance, it is *always* pronounced long in the words *pitā*, *Śiva*, etc. But this seems to be effected by the normal, the word-stress or the rhyme-stress. But, in lines 8, 9, 10, the first syllable is not lengthened from *i* into *ī* by the phrase-stress.

This phrase-stress occurs also in the blank verse used by Madhu Sudan Datta in his *Meghnād-vadh kāvya*, e.g. :—

yāthā ghāre ghór(a) váne | nīṣād(a), śuniyā
 pākḥīr(a) lálita gīt(a) | vṛkṣa-śákhe, hāne
 svār(a) láksya kári śár(a), | víṣam(a)-āghāte
 chāt(a) phāti páre bhūme | víhaṅgī, temāti
 Sāhasā párilā Sāti | Sāramār(a) kóle.

Note here the survival of the rhyme-accent, though the rhyme is deliberately omitted. With the exception of the rhyme, the metre is the usual heroic *payār* stanza. It is the exact counterpart of the *vers blancs* of the Comte de Saint-Leu. Voltaire's opinion of blank verse in French probably applies equally to blank verse in Bengali. It is at least significant that, so far as I know, Madhu Sudan's daring experiment has not been repeated, on a large scale certainly, since his time. It must be obvious that blank verse is a different thing in a language in which phrase-accent is the dominant quality from what it is in a language in which word-accent is most audible, and in which it becomes the constant, the recurrent feature for which the ear listens in verse. The charm of English blank verse consists precisely in the fact that, once the

normal beat of the stresses is established, it can be indefinitely varied, whereas in the verse of languages in which the phrase-stress (which might better be called the "pause-stress") is the dominant quality, the word-stresses already occur at irregular intervals, and an artistic, an intended, variation of their fall would not be audible. How far this applies to quantitative verse I do not know. Reformers of Greek and Latin pronunciation now endeavour to make quantity audible, and pronounce the word-accent where they occur in prose. Perhaps this is what the ancients did. But it may be doubted whether speakers of mainly accentual languages *can* make quantity sufficiently audible for metrical purposes, whether their pronunciation of the word-stresses does not dominate over and drown quantity. Certainly Bengalis reading quantitative verse in Bengali, and Sanskrit verse in general, mark the metre by accent, by accentuating long syllables.

Let me now (subject to correction by those who are to the manner born) show the fall of accent in Bengali prose. I take, at random, the opening words of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Kapāl Kuṇḍalā* :—

Svārdha-dviśata vatsar pūrvve, ěk din Māgh-
māser rātriseṣe ěk-khāni yātrir nāukā Gāngā-sāgar
haite prātyāgaman kāritechila. Pārtugis nāvik-
dasyudiger bhāye yātrir nāukā dalābaddha haiyā
yātāyat karā-i tātkāle prāthā chila; kīntu ěi
naukārohīrā sāngihīn.

I have omitted most of the word-accent in this passage, though they undoubtedly exist. But the difficult thing for the foreigner to acquire (and for the native, from sheer familiarity, to recognize) is the phrase-accent or pause-accent, which forms a sort of anacrusis in Bengali. Observe the word "Pōrtuguese", borrowed from English, with an accent put on its first syllable. Note, too, that

a word would lose its word-accent if it comes at the beginning of a vocal unit, and acquires a phrase-accent.

It is interesting to observe that such a line as

“ Floating straight obedient to the stream ”,

so delightfully musical in English ears, would not be metrical at all in Bengali, though it happens to begin and end, like a Bengali verse, in a strong syllable. The metrical systems of languages of a different phonetic type to one's own always seem monotonous. French people think the recurrent beat of English lyric verse desperately monotonous; Englishmen require much practice before they can recognize the subtle variations in the French Alexandrine due to the varied fall of the word-accent, and to the power, almost unknown to us, of emphasizing by a shifting of stress.

Let me, finally, say that I make these suggestions very diffidently. I may be wrong in particulars. The difficulty in pronouncing foreign languages is precisely due to elusive differences of accentuation. But the subject is one of more than merely technical importance. The anthropologists tell us that language is a poor test of race, since vocabulary, and even syntax, are readily killed by borrowed tongues. But it is possible that accent is a plant of hardier growth, and may survive a change of vocabulary. Bengali is as closely akin to its neighbour Hindi as French to Italian. The upper classes in Bengal claim a comparatively recent Western origin, and trace their genealogies back to Kanauj or some other town of the Madhya-deśa. The Hindu immigrants no doubt spoke with the dominant word-accent which (if I am not mistaken) characterizes Hindi. The strong phrase-accent of Bengali may be a survival from Koch or some other now obsolete Tibeto - Burman speech, a probability made stronger by the existence of a similar phrase-accent in Assamese. The phrase-accent on the first syllable of the

concluding (verbal) unit of a Bengali sentence, often consisting in the linguistic device somewhat unhappily termed the "compound verb", looks temptingly like the survival of a Bodo agglutinative verb, which is also final. These suggestions are only worth making, because they may, perhaps, lead someone in North-East Bengal or Assam to make inquiries and experiments. In any case, let me say that my suggestions are not made dogmatically or *ex cathedra*; that they are only submitted to experts in such matters because an amateur will sometimes, by mere accident, hit on a line of inquiry which has escaped the attention of persons more competent to investigate it.

I suppose that the Bengali initial accent can only have come from one of three possible sources, namely, (1) the parent Māgadhi Prākṛit, (2) some Dravidian tongue, (3) some Tibeto-Burman language. At present, and subject to correction, I think the third is the most probable source. Most of Bengal was once included in the old Koch kingdom, and it happens that the Koch accent is, so far as I can hear, initial. For instance, to take a Kachāri phrase at random, the accents seem to fall thus: Ōbā ābrāi-ā būngnaise "āng bī-khō mazāng nūnānūi bī-sūr-nī dūi-gathān-nī-frai thākā zōkhai-brūi dīnnānūi lābodang".

XXVII

STRESS AND PITCH IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

By J. D. ANDERSON

AS our Society has published a communication on Indian phonetics, may I make a suggestion which may perhaps interest students of the Indian vernaculars? We all know that most languages have a musical quality which enables us to recognize what language is being spoken, even if we are too distant to hear the words used, or too ignorant to understand their sense. This characteristic quality is composed of stress and pitch. It has to be acquired by everyone who would speak like a native and would be readily and easily understood. It is not only by the meaning of words, but also by the significant modulation of a phrase that we make ourselves understood. It is very interesting, for instance, to note the change of stress and pitch when a word is borrowed from one language into another. This change is audible even when the borrowed word is pronounced by itself. It is even more obvious when the borrowed word forms part of the significant music of a phrase. So far, I am merely saying what is known to all students of living tongues. What I venture to suggest is that the characteristic modulation of a language may provide useful hints as to its origins and history, that the careful study of stress and tone may be a help to the philologist. This should particularly be the case where a language belonging to one family of human speech has been recently adopted by a race that once spoke a language of another family. It is easy, for instance, to feel an alien, a Celtic element in the pronunciation of English by an Irishman, a Highlander, a Welshman. This difference of

modulation even affects idiom, and a Hibernian turn of phrase loses half its expressiveness if it is not rendered in an Irish tone of voice. This innate quality is recognizable not only in dialects but in separate languages. For instance, in the Latin languages of Europe, French has its characteristic *accent tonique*, a more or less level tone in a phrase which culminates and usually concludes in an emphatic syllable marked by a change of stress and pitch. In the case of French, the process by which the phrasal *accent tonique* has developed from the Latin word-stress is historically traceable through literary remains, so that we know that, in most nouns pronounced separately, it represents the word-stress on the accusative of the corresponding Latin word. The Latin syllables that followed the accented syllable have disappeared or have become muted, and in a phrase several words thus docked are pronounced with a level tone culminating in the *accent tonique*. I apologize for a digression (perhaps not absolutely correct) into French phonetics. My sole object in indulging in it is to suggest by its means that the phonology of Indian languages may be a guide to origins. Take Bengali, for instance. Bengali uses Sanskrit words freely, as also Persian, Arabic, and even English words. In these the characteristic Bengali intonation is admirably shown by comparison with the pronunciation of other Indian races. The upper classes in Bengal claim a western origin, claim to be derived from Kanauj or some other western city. They may fairly represent Roman settlers in Gaul, the scattered few who were the introducers of the popular Latin which, in the mouths of Gallic aborigines, has become French. The agricultural classes in Bengal must once, and probably at no very distant date, have spoken either a Dravidian or a Bodo speech. In North-Eastern Bengal, to this day, there are people who speak Koch, Mech, or Kachari (Bodo dialects), either as their sole language or together with

broken Bengali. The point on which I wish to insist is that the intonation of modern Bengali is remarkably different from that of Hindi, from that of Kanauj and Western India generally. It is a difference which corresponds, from a phonetic point of view, to the difference between the intonation of Germanic languages as compared with the intonation of French. In Bengali the word-stress is remarkably faint, but there is a strong phrase-stress. Words are enunciated in groups, each of which has a very audible *accent tonique*. It differs from the French *accent tonique* in the fact that it falls at the beginning and not at the end of the clause. Strong as it is, however, it does not obscure the clearness of utterance of the subsequent and subsidiary syllables, which have each their full phonetic value, but are pronounced in a level tone. As an example, I take a passage at random, and mark the significant stresses as I hear them. (They may vary in different parts of Bengal, for all I know.)

Āraṇyasthale ūśāsamāgame kī mānohar śōbhā
dhāraṇ kārila! Bāhuśramakātar kālādhār paṇḍu-
vārṇa dhāraṇ kārīyā vīśrām lābhite cālilen. Pūrvā-
kāśer nīmnabhāge sāmūjjval sāhasrakaradhārī kāmā-
linī-hṛdayeś svārṇavārṇa dhāraṇ kārīyā sāmāgata
hāilen.

It will be noted that all the words in this passage are either pure Sanskrit or have an obviously Sanskrit etymology. The double strokes represent the *accent tonique*, which in Bengali begins the clause, as in French it concludes a spoken unit of utterance. The single strokes represent subsidiary stresses. In other words, the *accent tonique* in Bengali seems to follow, as in French it precedes, a cæsura. It notes the beginning of a fresh and prolonged effort of utterance. The point to which I call attention is that the stress plainly falls where it would not fall in Sanskrit. This is true even if I have

not succeeded in placing all the stresses correctly. (It is very difficult to allocate stresses in cold blood by the eye.) The music of a Bengali sentence is markedly different from the sound of a Sanskrit or a Hindi sentence. The units of utterance are other, the stresses differ.

Let me now try to find a phrase in which English words occur, as well as Hindi words.

Tātkālīn gābharnar jénarel lárđ Mínto tām̃hār
gúner pāricay pāiyā āhlāditacítte tām̃hāke Fōrt
Viliyam káleje ādhyāpak nīyukta kārilen. Kīchu
dīn páre-í tīni Cāvviś Páraganār Jājer páde prā-
tiṣṭhitā hāilen.

Here "Governor - General - Lord - Minto" and "Fort-William-College" form vocal units, beginning, each of them, with a stressed syllable. The Hindi word *pargāna* becomes *páraganā*. It is this habit of speech which constitutes the peculiar staccato tonality of what is sometimes called "Chee-chee English". It is curiously like the intonation which some Welshmen use in talking English. Its main feature is the pronunciation of several words together, with a strong stress at or near the beginning, and without the slurring of vowels which results in English from stressing a prominent syllable. Perhaps (with inevitable blunders) I have now sufficiently shown the characteristic intonation of Bengali speech. Whether the accent is stress (*gor*) or a rise or fall of pitch (*surer uṭhān vā nāmān*) is a more difficult matter. Both are audible, and it is difficult to say which is *predominantly* audible. (I suppose we are all agreed that in English *stress*, and in French change of *pitch*, are *predominantly* audible.)

The question now rises whether this phonetic peculiarity of Bengali has any philological significance or value. Here I can only, very diffidently, make a suggestion for the consideration of philologists. Is it not *prima facie*

probable that when borrowed words (and nearly all the words of Bengali have a Western origin) acquire a new stress and pitch, that that tone and pitch may be a survival from the language which was ousted by the Prakrit of which Bengali is a daughter? Dravidian and Bodo words are rare indeed in modern Bengali, which is as wholly Hinduized and Sanskritized as any language in India. As Frenchmen are justly proud of their Latinity, so are Bengalis justly proud of their Hindutva, of the fact that almost every Bengali word can be traced to a Sanskrit origin. But it can hardly be denied that the Brāhmaṇs and Kāyasthas of Bengal, though they use a Sanskritized speech, pronounce it in a way which differs significantly from the intonation of Western India. It might be shown that differences of syntax and idiom correspond to these differences of intonation.

Is it possible, in a language whose vocabulary is so completely Sanskritized, to identify peculiarities of intonation or idiom as being recognizably Dravidian, or Bodo? That is a matter which requires investigation on the spot. It would be interesting to procure phonographic records of some simple piece of Bengali prose as it is spoken in different parts of Bengal. To my ear (I give my personal impression for what it is worth) the intonation of Eastern Bengali has a markedly Bodo sound, and especially in the so-called "compound verbs" (semantic but not morphological compounds). In these, two or three verbs express a common meaning, and are pronounced in a single significant clause, beginning with the characteristic strong stress. This, at first sight, looks like a survival into analytic speech of the Bodo agglutinative verb. Another idiom common to Bodo and Bengali is the subordinate sentence concluding with a participle meaning "saying". For instance—

Sōṇā, rūpā ūttāpe gāle *baliyā*, ūhā haite nānā-
vidha gāhanā prāstut karā yāy.

Literally—

Gold, silver by heat melt, *saying*, from them various ornaments are prepared.

Or in our own idiom—

Because gold and silver are melted by heat, etc.

This method of expression is very common in Bodo, the participle *hannānīi* being substituted for *baḷiyā*. But the point to which I wish to draw attention is that the pronunciation of the similar expression is similar.

I am no longer in a position to work out my own suggestions, since I have no opportunities of hearing Bodo languages spoken, and my now distant memories of their sound may be playing me false. But, since Bengali members of the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Paṛiṣat are working at the Dravidian elements in Southern Bengali, it may be worth while to put on record the suggestion that in stress and pitch may perhaps be found clues which may have disappeared from the vocabulary of the language. Where phrasal pronunciation accompanies a characteristic idiom, the clue may even be a stronger one than the survival of a word or two, since words are readily borrowed. Intonation is of course subject to constant change, and may easily be affected by the sound of other languages. It would nevertheless be interesting to study the exact phonetic changes which are occurring in Assam and North-East Bengal, where aboriginal tribes are becoming Hinduized and are substituting Hindu words for their mother speech. The Bodo speech, with its agglutinative verb, has a marked significant music of its own. Does this persist after Bodo tribes become biglot and finally drop their own native tongue? I might have given more examples of what may be surviving "non-Aryan" traits in Bengali pronunciation. But it is obviously better that such inquiries, if they are worth making at all, should be pursued on the spot. Perhaps some young civilian who

is working for linguistic honours may think my somewhat crude suggestions worthy of at least a brief experimental inquiry. There is, in any case, the indubitable fact that Bengali has a pronunciation singularly different from that of its neighbour Hindi, a sister tongue with which it had much in common before Bengali literature became so highly Sanskritized as it is in modern times.

I am told that Gujarāṭi verse (herein differing from Marāṭhi verse) has a phrase-accent as its most audible element, like Bengali verse.

PS.—Since I wrote the above quite tentative remarks on Bengali metre and accent, I have had the advantage of hearing the views of Mr. Rabindranath Tagore on the subject. Mr. Tagore, if I do not misinterpret him, agrees that there is a strong anacrusis accent, and that Bengali metre, as well as the rhythm of Bengali prose, is regulated by this accent. But in the *payār* metre there is, besides the rhyme-accent (of which I have spoken) in the second hemistich, a metrical accent, not necessarily initial, on the fifth syllable of the first hemistich. These two accents are used to beat time, and are not, like the *accent tonique* in the French Alexandrine, a heightening for metrical purposes of an accent audible in prose. They resemble the accent imposed on unaccented syllables by a tune. They are metre-accents, as it were. On the whole, Mr. Tagore seemed inclined to support my attempt to analyse the elements of Bengali metre.

But my chief object in adding this note is to say that Mr. Tagore has innovated on the traditional *payār*, has made it more flexible and musical, by exactly the same expedient as has been employed by Victor Hugo and other modern French poets. He has substituted irregular cæsuras for the medial cæsura of tradition. There was always, I think, what the French call a *césure enjambante*. Mr. Tagore has introduced ternary and

quaternary cæsuras, dividing the verse into three, four, or even more vocal units. The result is singularly beautiful, giving the rather stiff and monotonous *payār* a variety and freedom of movement comparable with the flexibility of English blank verse. It was very interesting to find that Mr. Tagore thinks that blank verse is practically impossible in Bengali poetry, for much the same reason that makes it a metrical failure in French. But perhaps I had better refrain from further quotations from *obiter dicta* which may some day take a more permanent form in Mr. Tagore's analysis of his own instinctive gift for metrical rhythm.

APABHRAMSA ACCORDING TO MARKANDEYA AND
"DHAKKI" PRAKRIT

By G. A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S.

MĀRKANĎĒYA in his *Prākṛtasarvasva*, i, 4, discusses the various kinds of Apabhraṃśa. In the commentary he quotes an unknown author (see Pischel, *Pr. Gr.*, § 3, note 1) who gives a list of no less than twenty-seven, but he says that really there are only three, Nāgara, Vrācaḍa, and Upanāgara. He does not consider the others as different dialects, because their variations from the Standard are very slight.

"*Apabhraṃśāḥ parē sūksmabhēdatvān na pṛthakmatāḥ.*"

He therefore admits that all these twenty-seven are Apabhraṃśa. He only denies to them the dignity of separate enumeration. This list of twenty-seven includes the names *Pāṇḍya*, *Kāliṅgya*, *Kārnāṭa*, *Kāñcya*, *Drāviḍa*, alongside of a number of well-known Indo-Aryan forms of speech, and from this Pischel (§ 4) concludes that Mārkaṇḍēya includes under the name of "Apabhraṃśa" the popular speech of tribes of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin. Similarly, Lacôte (*Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Brhatkathā*, 42) says that, according to Mārkaṇḍēya, the list includes non-Aryan languages.

Now, if by *Pāṇḍya*, etc., Mārkaṇḍēya really meant the Dravidian languages spoken by the people of these tracts of Southern India, it is difficult to understand how he says that they only differ in slight particulars from the purely Indo-Aryan Nāgara, or Standard, Apabhraṃśa. I do not think that he means anything of the sort. It is most probable that what he means is that Pāṇḍya Apabhraṃśa, Kāliṅgya Apabhraṃśa, and so on, are really the Standard

Apabhraṃśa, as incorrectly spoken by Indo-Aryan immigrants in the Dravidian countries.

In Mārkaṇḍeya's Grammar, the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters are devoted to his three kinds of Apabhraṃśa, viz., the Standard or *Nāgara*, *Vrācaḍa*, and *Upanāgara*. To this he adds in his commentary (xviii, 12) the following account of twenty-one of the twenty-seven dialects already referred to, in order to show that they differ only in slight particulars from his three.

This account agrees very closely, in many cases word for word, with the extract from Rāmatarakavāgiśa given by Lassen (App., pp. 5 ff.). This latter is in many cases hopelessly corrupt as printed—Lassen had only one inferior MS. to go by (Pischel, § 41). Also the printed edition of Mārkaṇḍeya, though generally clear enough, has one or two passages of doubtful meaning, and the text is probably incorrect in places. But I give them both, as they stand, without attempting to correct more than a few obvious mistakes in RT. The order of names is nearly the same in both. When they differ, I follow the order of RT.

Ṭakka.—Mk. *anyēśāṃ apabhraṃśānām eṣv ēvā 'ntarbhāvaḥ. tathā hi tatrāṇva ṭakkam—ṭakkabhāṣā-nāgarōpanāgarādibhyō 'vadhāraṇīyam*. *Ṭakka* is to be ascertained from the language of *Ṭakka*, and from *Nāgara*, *Upanāgara*, etc., i.e. from the language of *Ṭakka* and from the three varieties of Standard Apabhraṃśa. It is apparently a mixture of all four. For the *Ṭakkadēśa* or *Ṭakkaviṣaya* see *Rājātaraṅgiṇī*, v. 150. It was in the north Panjāb, and its capital was Śākala. The *Takkas* were the *Bāhikas* of the *Mahābhārata*. See Stein's note in his translation of the passage. Under the head of *Gaurjari* below, we learn that its peculiarities are shared by *Gaurjari*, and this is borne out by the RT., which says that in the ninth century A.D. the *Ṭakka* country was ruled by the *Gurjaras*. See also *Pāṇḍya* below (p. 878).

RT.¹ *Ṭakkībhravā* (?-bhavā) [*nigaditā*] *khalv anvayā vibhāṣā*

Sā nāgarādi[*bhir api*] *tribhir anvitā cēt* |

Tām ēva ṭakkāviṣayē gadanti

Ṭakkāpabhramśam atra tadudāhāraṇam (sic)
garēṣyam (?)² ||

Yē[na] nāgarāṣṭrāvadaḥkādāyō (? *nāgara-vrāca-*
ḥkādāyō) 'trā-

Pabhramśabhēdāḥ kathitāḥ purastāt |

Tadvad viśeṣāśrayaṇēna : :

*Pāñcālīkādāyō vi(m)ṣati(r) ata ēva*³ ||

So far as this gives any sense we gather that Ṭakka was spoken in the Ṭakka country, and was connected with the three forms of Standard Apabhramśa—Nāgara, Vrācaḍa, (and Upanāgara). RT. then goes on to say that in the same way there are twenty other distinguishable Apabhramśas, commencing with Pāñcālī. In Mk. Pāñcālī is the third on the list, following Ṭakka and Mālavī. The order of RT. is followed below.

Pāñcālī.—Mk. *vāḍī-bahulā pāñcālī*. It abounds in *vāḍī*; i.e. (probably) the optional feminine termination -*ḍī*, allowed for Apabhramśa by Mk. xvii, 6, is common in Pāñcālī.⁴ Are we therefore to assume that the corresponding masculine termination -*ḍā* (Mk. xvii, 5) is not common in Pāñcālī?

RT. *avāḍī iḍīdhahulātra*. Unintelligible. Lassen conjectures *ēḍīdbahulātra*; the dialect abounds in *ē* and *ī*. Possibly the original ran something like *pāñcālīkā ḍībahulātra* : :

¹ Metre apparently originally *upajāti*. If words enclosed in square brackets are omitted the metre of the lines becomes nearly correct, but I cannot do this in all cases.

² I am unable to correct the metre of this.

³ Ditto.

⁴ I am indebted to Professor Hultsch for suggesting this interpretation. Both *ḍā* and *ḍī* are commonly heard at the present day in Rājasthānī. Part of Pāñcālā corresponded to the modern North Rājputānā.

Mālavī.—Mk. *tu-bahulā mālavī*. It abounds in dental consonants (? which it substitutes for cerebrals).

RT. reads “*Māgadhi*”. *pāñcānta* (? *pāñcāla*) *bhūmnī khalu māgadhi syāt*. (?) *Māgadhi* (*Mālavī*) is based on (?) *Pāñcālī*.

Vaidarbhī.—Mk. *ullaprāyā vaidarbhī*. It often has (the termination) -*ulla*.

RT. *vaidarbhikāmadraghanām vadanti*. Unintelligible. If we read *vaidarbhikām ullaghanām vadanti*, it agrees with Mk., and the metre is correct.

Lāṭī.—Mk. *sambōdhanādhyā lāṭī*. It is rich in interjections (or vocatives).

RT. *nāṭī* (read *lāṭī*) *tu sambōdhana śabdabhūmnī*. It agrees with Mk.

Audrī.—Mk. *īkārōkāra-bahulā audhrī* (read *audrī*). I assume that the language of Ōdra (Orissa) is intended. It abounds in *ī* and *ū* (? as substitutes for *ē* and *ō* respectively).

RT. *Ōdrī tu rddhatu-bahulā niddhiṣṭyā* (? *nidiṣṭā*). It abounds in “*rddhatu*”, for which Lassen suggests “*dhātu*”. Perhaps we should read *īdūd* to agree with Mk., but the sandhi between *tu* and *īd* would be broken.

Kaikēyī.—Mk. *savīpsā kaikēyī*. In this, words are commonly repeated to express continuation, distribution, etc.

RT. *kaikēyikā vīpsitaśabdabhūmnī*. As in Mk., but Lassen translates “*vocabulis justo ordine collocatis*”.

Gauḍī.—Mk. *samāsādhyā gauḍī*. It is rich in compound words. Cf. the well-known Skr. *gauḍī rīti*.

RT. *samāsa-bhūyiṣṭha-padā tu gauḍī*. As in Mk.

Kauntalī.—Mk. *ḍakāra-bahulā kauntalī*. It abounds in the letter *ḍa* (? as the well-known pleonastic termination of Apabhraṃśa).

RT. *ukāra-bhūmā kila kauntalī syāt*. It abounds in the letter *u*; but probably ॐ is a misreading for ॐ.

Pāṇḍyā.—Mk. *ēkāriṇī ca pāṇḍyā*. It also frequently uses the letter *ē* (? instead of *ī*).

RT. *ekāra-bhāmā nivarācipāntī* (? *pāṇḍyā*). RT. reads *nivara*, which Lassen thinks may refer to the Nēwārs of Nēpāl. Whatever the correct name may be, it has the same peculiarity of the frequent use of *ē*, as noted by Mk. The *ca* would seem to indicate that it also has the same peculiarities as Ṭakka. Cf. Gaurjarī below.

Saimhalī.—Mk. *yuktādhyā saimhalī*. It is rich in compound consonants.

RT. *syāt saippalī* (sic) *saṃyutavarṇabhūmnī*. As in Mk. *Kāliṅgī*.—Mk. *him-yuktā kāliṅgī*. It frequently uses the syllable *him*.

RT. *kāliṅgaṣṭhā himkhacitābhūmnī*. As in Mk.

Prācyā.—Mk. *prācyā tad-dēśīya-bhāṣādhyā*. It is rich in words belonging to that country (in which it is spoken).

RT. *prācyā tēsōvattapadāvilambā*. Unintelligible; metre wrong.

Ābhīrī.—Mk. *j(?bh)atṭādi-bahulā "bhīrī*. It abounds in words beginning with *jatṭa* (? *bhatṭa*), or in the letters *j(bh)a*, *tṭa*, etc. I suggest that the meaning is that it often uses prefixes of respect, such as *bhatṭa*.

RT. *ābhīrikā prāyikabhatṭakādi*. It often begins words with *bhatṭa* (?).

Kārṇātī.—Mk. *varṇaviparyayāt kārṇātī*. It interchanges letters.

RT. *kārṇātīkā rēpha-viparyayēṇa*. It changes the letter *r* for other letters, or (more probably) changes the position of *r* in a word.

Madhyadēśīyā.—Mk. *madhyadēśīyā tad-dēśīyādhyā*. It is rich in words belonging to that country.

RT. *dēśīpadāny* (? *padair*) *ēva tu madhyadēśīyā*. It uses only words belonging to the country in which it is spoken.

Gaurjarī.—Mk. *saṃskṛtādhyā ca gaurjarī*. *ca-kārāt pūrvōktatākkabhāṣāgrahaṇam*. It is rich in Sanskrit words (*tatsamas*), and also has the peculiarities of Ṭakka

above. So also (Mk. xvi, i) the Ṭakki Vibhāṣā was fond of *tatsamas*. Cf. Pāṇḍyā above.

RT. *syād gaurjarī saṃskṛtaśabdabhūmnī*. As in Mk.

Drāviḍī.—Mk. *rēpha-vyatyayēna drāviḍī*. In it the letter *r* is changed for other letters, or (more probably) it changes the position of *r* in a word. Cf. RT. on *Kāṇḍī*, above.

RT. *syād drāviḍī nasya viparyayēna*. In it the letter *na* (? *ra*) is changed for other letters, or (more probably) it changes the position of *na* (? *ra*) in a word.

Pāścātyā.—Mk. *ratahabhām vyatyayēna pāścātyā*. Read *rala*°. In it *ra* and *la*, *ha* and *bha*, are interchanged. (This is very doubtful; possibly the passage is corrupt in other particulars.)

RT. *pāścātyajā syād ra-la-paryayēna*. In it *ra* and *la* are interchanged.

Vaitālikī.—Mk. *dhakāra-bahulā vaitālikī*. It abounds in the letter *dha*.

RT. *vaitālikā nāma takāra-bhūmnī*. In it the letter *ta* is prominent.

Kāñcī.—Mk. *ē-ō-bahulā kāñcī*. It abounds in *ē* and *ō*.

RT. *kāñcī tuñcavahalōpadiṣṭyā*, which is unintelligible. Metre wrong. (?) Read *kāñcī tu ēḍōḍbahulōpadiṣṭā*, with sandhi broken as under Audri.

Concluding remarks.—Mk. *śeṣā dēśabhāṣā-vibhēdāt*. (This ends Mārkaṇḍeya's quotation from the unknown author. He goes on :—)

iti tēnâvôktatvât, ēvaṃvidhabhēda-hētukalpanē sahasradhâpi vaktum śakyatvât, tasmâd yuktam uktam—

“vēdyā vidagdhair aparās tattaddēśānusārataḥ” ॥

RT. *parē'py apabhraṃśabhid asti tattad-*

dēśiyabhāṣāpadasamprayōgāt ॥

na sâ viśēṣād iha sampradiṣṭā

bhēdō yad asyām atidurvipaḥ (? vikalpaḥ) ॥

The first line is corrupt. If we read *parā*, and translate

bid by "method of classification", we get the following sense: "There is another classification of Apabhramśa according to the use of the vocabulary of the language of each country. That is not described in detail, as the distinction is difficult to make in practice."

All this is, if unsatisfactory, very interesting. For our present purposes I would draw attention to what is said about Prācya and Madhyadēśiya. Prācya is rich in words belonging to the Prācya country, and Madhyadēśiya is rich in words belonging to the Madhyadēśa. It is evident from this that Prācya is not itself the language of the Prācya country, nor is Madhyadēśiya that of the Madhyadēśa. Each is a Standard Apabhramśa which borrows freely from the local dialects spoken by the people amongst whom the speakers of Apabhramśa lived. It is reasonable to assume that similarly, the Pāṇḍya, etc., Apabhramśas, were spoken by people whose proper tongue was Indo-Aryan Apabhramśa, but who lived among Dravidian-speaking people, and whose speech was corrupted by the influence of the local languages.

This leads to the question as to where Mārkaṇḍēya's Standard Apabhramśa was spoken. He mentions three kinds, Nāgara, Vṛacaḍa, and Upanāgara. Vṛacaḍa, he says, was spoken in Sindh (xviii, 1). He says nothing about the localities of the other two. "Nāgara" may mean "cultivated", and Mk. uses the word (ii, 8) in this sense in reference to the cultivated forms of Paiśāci. But it may also mean the Apabhramśa spoken in the Nāgara country. The Nāgara Brāhmaṇs were a famous literary tribe of Gujarāt, from whose name, according to some native authorities, the name of the Nāgarī alphabet is derived (cf. Nagēndranātha Vasu, in JASB, lxxv, pt. i, 1896, 114 ff.). A great deal of Hēmacandra's Apabhramśa is, as is well known, only old Gujarātī, and this shows that his Śaurasēna, or Standard, Apabhramśa (really a mixture of several dialects) was spoken, or at least some of it

was spoken, in Gujarāt. This would tend to equate Mārkaṇḍēya's Ap. with Hēmacandra's on the score of name alone. Moreover, Mk.'s Ap., as described in his Grammar, closely resembles much of Hc.'s. As for Upanāgara, if the right locality has been assigned to Nāgara, it was probably spoken in the country between Gujarāt and Sindh, i.e. in Western Rājputānā and the Southern Panjāb.

Further Note on "Ṭakkī".—Ṭakka or Ṭakkī is the Prakrit dialect which Pischel (*Pr. Gr.*, § 25) calls Dhakki, and which he accordingly erroneously states to be the dialect of Dhakka (Dacca) in Eastern Bengal. His sources of information were RT. quoted above, the India Office MS. of Mārkaṇḍēya, and Prthvidhara on Mṛcchakaṭikā (Stenzler, p. v, and Goḍabole, p. 493). RT. names the dialect "Ṭakkī". The I.O. MS., which is very corrupt, has "Śakka" (i, 4), "Śakki" (xvi, 1), and "Pāka", "Ṭaka", and "Ṭakka" in xviii, 12. Prthvidhara, as read by Stenzler and Goḍabole, has "Dhakka", but Goḍabole gives "Takka" as a variant reading. The printed edition of Mk. gives "Ṭakkī Vibhāṣā" or "Ṭakka Apabhraṃśa". The confusion with Dhakki and Śakki is easily explained by the form which the letters take in Nāgari—ढाक़ी, शक़ी, and टाक़ी. The correctness of the form Ṭakkī is vouched for by Mk.'s description of it as a mixture of the speech of the Takka country with the three varieties of Apabhraṃśa, all of which belong to the North-West and West, while Dhakka is far away in Eastern India. The name is given, not only by the printed edition of Mk., but also by RT., and by the v.l. of Prthvidhara quoted by Goḍabole. Prthvidhara's account of it is *la(or va)kāraprāyā Ṭakkavibhāṣā saṃskṛta-prāyātve dantyatālavyasaśakāradvayayuktā ca*. Pischel, under the impression that it was an Eastern language, explained this as meaning that, as in Māgadhi Prakrit, *ra* becomes *la*, and that *sa* and *śa* remain as in Sanskrit.

He adds that *ṣa* becomes *sa*, but, though the statement is probably correct, the fact is not mentioned by Prthvidhara. That Mk.'s Ṭakkī is the same as Prthvidhara's Ḍhakka or Ṭakka is shown by the fact that both authors state that it is the language of gamblers (and, adds Mk. xvi, 1, of merchants, etc.). Mk. considers it to be a Vibhāṣā, and therefore describes it at some length in his 16th *pāda*; but (xvi, 2) he states that another authority, named Hariścandra, classes it as an Apabhraṁśa, and he accordingly again refers to it under that head (xviii, 12, comm.), as quoted above. Mk. nowhere describes its phonetic peculiarities, but his examples contain both *sa* and *ṣa*, thus agreeing with Prthvidhara. On the other hand, he retains *r* and does not change it to *l*. Finally, as we have seen above, the Ṭakka and Gaurjara Apabhraṁśas were closely connected. Gaurjara was the language of Gurjaras, who were a Western, not an Eastern people. Taking the evidence as a whole, I think that it is safe to assume that Pischel's Ḍhakki should be "Ṭakkī", and that it was spoken, not in the Ḍhakka country, but in the Ṭakka country of the Northern Panjāb.

VISVAMITRA AND VASIṢṬHA

By F. E. PARGITER, M.A.

THE stories about Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha and their contest are often narrated and alluded to in Sanskrit writings, and are intimately connected in ancient tradition with two kings of Ayodhyā, Trayyāruṇa and his son Satyavrata Triśaṅku. They are sometimes mixed up, especially in brahmanic descriptions, with extraordinary and marvellous incidents, but are narrated in the course of the genealogies of Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja in some of the Purāṇas in as simple and natural a manner as if they were plain 'historical' tradition. Such being their character in the Purāṇas, it is not unreasonable to examine them as such, review them according to ordinary feelings and conduct, and see whether, when so scrutinized, they may not yield a natural and probable explanation of a series of incidents that have attracted much attention, both ancient and modern. This has been my endeavour in this paper, and the results appear to reconstruct a most interesting chapter in ancient Indian traditional 'history'.

The Purāṇic accounts that are dealt with here are found in two genealogies, the notice of Viśvāmitra in the Kānyakubja genealogy, and the story of Satyavrata Triśaṅku, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra in the Ayodhyā genealogy. The chief accounts are given by the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma and Harivaṁśa. The texts for each story are cited. They are all obviously based on a common original metrical tradition, and by collating them a revised text may be framed. This I have done, and I give the collated version here with such variant readings only as are material, omitting for the sake of brevity all

unimportant variations that do not affect the meaning. In each story the 'facts' stated will be first set out and discussed, and then will be drawn the inferences that they naturally suggest.

For the first account regarding Viśvāmitra alone, it is sufficient to cite portions only from the Kānyakubja genealogy, which is found in those four Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata.¹

Kuśika was king of Kānyakubja and his queen was Paurukutsī, who was a princess of Ayodhyā descended from Purukutsa king of Ayodhyā.² They had a son Gādhi or Gāthin,³ who was a famous king of Kānyakubja and was fabled to be Indra incarnate. He had a daughter Satyavatī. She married Rēika Bhārgava, and had a son Jamadagni.⁴ Viśvāmitra was born to Gādhi at the same time. His kṣatriya name was Viśvaratha, and he succeeded

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the notes: Vā = Vāyu; Bḍ = Brahmāṇḍa; Br = Brahma; Hv = Harivaṁśa; Śv = Śiva; Lg = Liṅga; Vṣ = Viṣṇu; Ag = Agni; Gr = Garuḍa; Bh = Bhāgavata; MBh = Mahābhārata. I treat the Harivaṁśa as a Purāṇa, which is what it is really.

² See JRAS, 1910, p. 33; but the Bḍ appears to make her Gādhi's wife, see *infra*, n. 4, v.r. †.

³ Gādhi in the Epics and Purāṇas, Gāthin in brahmanical books. The former seems to be merely the Prakrit form of the latter.

⁴ This portion is given in Vā 91, 65-66, 85; Bḍ iii, 66, 35-37, 56; Br 10, 27-29, 48; 13, 91 (only first line); Hv 27, 1429-1431, 1450; 32, 1765 (only first line); MBh xii, 49, 1720, 1721, 1744. The text collated therefrom runs thus:—

Paurukutsy abhavad* bhāryā Gādhis† tasyām ajāyata
Gādheḥ‡ kanyā mahābhāgā nāmnā Satyavatī śubhā §
tām Gādhiḥ Kāvya-putrāya || Rēikāya dadau prabhuḥ ¶
tataḥ Satyavatī putram janayāmāsa Bhārgavam
tapasy abhiraṭam dāntam Jamadagnim śamātmakam :

where * Vā Paurukutsābh°, Br generally Paurā yasyābh°, MBh omits this line: † Bḍ Gādhes: ‡ Bḍ pūrvam, Vā pūrva: § Vā all accusatives: || So Br; Vā putrah Kāvya, Bḍ putra-kāmāya, MBh and Hv Bhrgu-putrāya: ¶ Here follows the story of the two carus to explain why the kṣatriya Viśvāmitra became a brahman, and why the brahman Jamadagni, who was born at the same time, had for a son the terrible warrior Rāma. Vṣ (iv. 7, 6, 16) gives the account in prose, and Bh (ix, 15, 4, 5, 11) briefly; they are of no value for collation.

his father in the kingdom as is implied by the word *dāyāda* which means "successor" in the genealogies.¹ He resolved however to become a brahman, and after qualifying himself by a course of arduous austerities for some years assumed the status of brahmanhood.²

Tradition in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas is clear and positive about these 'facts' regarding Viśvāmitra. There is, it is true, no trace of his kingship in the Rīgveda³, but that negative fact does not invalidate the tradition, because silence is not evidence of any weight unless it is unnatural, that is, unless the matter unmentioned should have been mentioned according to ordinary human motives and conduct. In fuller words, when circumstances are such that a particular matter has a direct relation to them, it would naturally be mentioned in connexion with them and we expect it to be mentioned, so that, if it is not mentioned, the silence is strong evidence against that matter: but, if circumstances are such that a particular matter has no concern with them, then to mention it would be irrelevant, and we do not expect it to be introduced, so that silence in this case is natural and is to be expected and proves nothing against that matter. This maxim must always be observed when *ex silentio* arguments are drawn from the Veda, just as well as in any other case.

¹ This is positively stated in MBh ix, 41, 2300.

² This portion is given in Br 10, 55-57; Hv 27, 1457-9: ll. 1, 3, 5 disconnectedly in Vā 21, 87, 93; Bḍ iii, 66, 58, 65 (and differently but equivalently in MBh xiii, 4, 246-7): ll. 1, 3 in MBh xii, 49, 1745. The collated text runs thus:—

Viśvāmitraṃ tu dāyādaṃ Gādhiḥ Kuśika-nandanah
janayāmāsa putraṃ tu tapo-vidyā-samātmakam
prāpya brahmarṣi-samatāṃ yo 'yam brahmarṣitāṃ* gataḥ
Viśvāmitras tu dharmātmā nāmnā Viśvarathah smṛtaḥ
jajñe Bhṛgu-prasādena Kauśikād vaṃśa-vardhanah

where * Hv *saptarṣitāṃ*, Vā and Bḍ read this half line *jagāma Brahmanā vṛtaḥ*, MBh corrupt: Vṣ iv, 7, 16; Gr i, 139, 5; Ag 277, 17; Bh ix, 16, 28, 29, say Viśvāmitra was Gādhi's son.

³ Macdonell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, ii, 311-2.

Now Viśvāmitra, having renounced his kṣatriya status and become a brahman, and having apparently relinquished his kingdom,¹ would naturally have had no motive to refer to his kingship in any Vedic hymns that he may have composed in his capacity as a brahman rishi, nor would his descendants when composing hymns in the same capacity; while other rishis would have had no concern with Viśvāmitra. The absence of any allusion thereto in the hymns composed by the Viśvāmitras is then in entire consonance with natural feelings and conduct. It would have been surprising and contrary to ordinary experience, if Viśvāmitra or his descendants had alluded in their hymns to a past that he had absolutely discarded, when they were acting solely as rishis in circumstances that had nothing to do with that past. The argument *ex silentio* has therefore no force here, and the non-mention of his kingship in the hymns is not only no reason for discrediting the tradition, but is just what would be natural if the tradition were true. The tradition therefore stands unrebuted.²

I take now the story of Satyavrata Triśanku.³ It is narrated in the genealogical account of the Ayodhya dynasty, fully by the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma and

¹ The genealogies suggest that he was succeeded by his son Aṣṭaka, since the two following lines are found in Vā 91, 103; Bḍ iii, 66, 75; Br 10, 67-8 and 13, 91-2; Hv 27, 1473 and 32, 1775-6; where they are placed as a separate statement. They appear to refer to the dynastic succession, because they are given as such in Br 13, without noticing Viśvāmitra's other sons.

Dr̥ṣadvatī-sutaś cāpi* Viśvāmitrāt† tathĀṣṭakah

Aṣṭakasya suto Lauhiḥ‡. Prokto Jahnu-gaṇo mayā :

where * Br 13 reads *Viśvāmitras tu Gādheyo*; † Br 10 *Vaiśvāmitras*; ‡ Vā corruptly *yo hi*. Vṣ iv, 7, 16-18; Ag 277, 18; and Bh ix, 16, 36 merely name Aṣṭaka as a son.

² If Viśvāmitra had not been a kṣatriya of the highest rank, could he have ventured to contend with the great brahman Vasistha, and have successfully established his claim to brahmanhood? Otherwise, the immense body of tradition (and marvel) concerning his contest with Vasistha could never have grown up.

³ Muir gives this story in his *Sanskrit Texts*, I, 87.

Harivaṁśa, less fully by the Śiva and briefly by the Liṅga.¹ All are closely alike. The Brahma, Harivaṁśa and Śiva agree in the main. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa agree generally, and so also the Liṅga as far as it goes.² All these are obviously based on one common original; but the Vāyu text shows unmistakable traces, and the Brahmāṇḍa some traces, of having been tampered with, with the result that Satyavrata's misconduct is exaggerated and Vasiṣṭha's severity extenuated, as will appear in the discussion of the 'facts'. The Purāṇas, as we have them now, are brahmanic compilations. It would be natural therefore that statements which presented the famous rishi Vasiṣṭha in an unpleasing light should be toned down, and consequently that he should gain at Satyavrata's expense. The reverse is not credible. Hence it is clear that the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa texts are less trustworthy than those of the Brahma, Harivaṁśa and Śiva.

The story is narrated disconnectedly, hence to discuss it concisely it is necessary to set out the whole text of it and then bring together into consideration the various statements that occur in it. The collated text runs thus—

Br, Hv, Śv

Vā, Bḍ (with Lg)

Tasya Satyavrato nāma kumāro 'bhūn mahābalaḥ	
pāṇi-graḥaṇa-mantrāṇāṃ	tena bhāryā Vidarbhasya
vighnaṃ cakre sa dur-	hṛtā hatvā divaukaśaḥ ⁴
matiḥ ³	
yena bhāryā hṛtā pūrvam	pāṇi-graḥaṇa-mantreṣu
kṛtōdvāḥ ⁵ parasya vai	niṣṭhām a ⁶ -prāpitesv iha

¹ Vā 88, 78-116; Bḍ iii, 63, 77-114; Br 7, 97-8, 23; Hv 12, 717-53; Śv vii, 60, 81-61, 19; Lg i, 66, 3-10 (giving only ll. 1-3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 66, 69-71).

² Vṣ iv, 3, 13, 14 and Bh ix, 7, 5, 6 mention the story curtly and also agree generally so far as they go, but are of no use for collation here.

³ Śv mahātmanabhiḥ.

⁴ So Bḍ; Vā °sān; Lg hatvāmitanjasam: see p. 897, n. 2.

⁵ Br kṛtōdvāḥ hṛtā caiva.

⁶ So Lg; Bḍ na; Vā sam-.

bālyāt kāmāc ca mohāc ca | kāmād balāc ca mohāc ca
 saṁharṣāc¹ cāpalena ca | saṁharṣeṇa² balena ca
 jahāra kanyāṁ kāmāc ca³ | bhāvino 'rthasya ca balāt
 kasyacit pura-vāsinaḥ | tat kṛtaṁ tena dhimatā 5
 tam adharmeṇa saṁyuktaṁ⁴ rājā⁵ Trayyāruṇo 'tyajat
 apadhvaṁsēti bahuśo vadan⁶ krodha-samanvitaḥ
 pitaraṁ so 'bravīt tyaktaḥ⁷ kva gacchāmiṭi vai muhuḥ
 pitā cainam athōvāca Śvapākaiḥ saha vartaya
 nāham putreṇa putrārthi tvayādyā kula-pāṁsana 10
 ity uктаḥ sa nirākrāman nagarād vacanāt pituḥ
 na cainam vārayāmāsa⁸ Vasiṣṭho bhagavān ṛṣiḥ
 sa tu Satyavrato dhimāṁ Chvapākāvasathāntike⁹
 pitrā tyakto¹⁰ 'vasad virah pitā cāsya vanam yayau.
 tasmims tu viṣaye tasya nāvarṣat Pākaśāsanaḥ 15
 samā dvādaśa sampūrṇās tenādharmaṇa vai tadā.
 Dārāṁs tu tasya viṣaye Viśvāmitro mahātapāḥ
 sannasya sāgarānūpe¹¹ cacāra vipulaṁ tapaḥ
 tasya patnī gale baddhvā madhyamam putram aurasam
 śeṣasya¹² bharaṇārthāya vyakriṇād go-śatena vai 20
 taṁ tu baddham gale dṛṣṭvā vikrayārtham narottamaḥ¹³
 maharṣi-putram dharmātmā mokṣayāmāsa suvrataḥ
 Satyavrato mahābāhur¹⁴ bharaṇam tasya cākarot
 Viśvāmitrasya tuṣṭy-artham anukampārtham¹⁵ eva ca
 so 'bhavad Gālavo nāma gale bandhān¹⁶ mahātapāḥ 25
 maharṣiḥ Kauśiko dhimāṁs tena vireṇa¹⁷ mokṣitaḥ
 Satyavratas tu¹⁸ bhaktyā ca kṛpayā ca pratijñayā
 Viśvāmitra-kalatram ca babhāra vinaye sthitaḥ¹⁹

¹ Br sāhasāc.² Vā saṁkarṣaṇa-.³ So Śv; Br kāmārtaḥ; Hv kāmāt kanyāṁ sa.⁴ Br, Hv adharna-saṁkunā tena; Śv adharna-saṁginam tam tu.⁵ Vā pitā; Bḍ tam sa.⁶ Vā, Śv 'vadat.⁷ Vā, Bḍ ekaḥ.⁸ Vā dhār°.⁹ One Br MS purasya svasya cāntike.¹⁰ Vā mukto.¹¹ Br sāgarānte tu.¹² Vā, Bḍ śiṣṭānām.¹³ Śv vikriṇantīm svam atmajam.¹⁴ Vā, Bḍ °buddhir.¹⁵ Śv anukrośārtham.¹⁶ Vā, Bḍ baddho.¹⁷ Vā vīryeṇa.¹⁸ Vā, Bḍ tasya vratena.¹⁹ Śv poṣayāmāsa vai tadā.

hatvā mṛgān varāhānś ca mahiṣānś ca vanecarān
 Viśvāmitrāśramābhyāse tan-mānśam anayat ¹ tataḥ 30
 upānśu-vratam āsthāya dīkṣān dvādaśa-vārśikim
 pitur niyogād abhajan ². Nṛpe tu vanam āsthite ³
 Ayodhyān ⁴ caiva rāṣṭraṁ ca tathaivāntaḥpuram munih
 yājyôpādhyāya-saṁyogād Vasiṣṭhaḥ paryarakṣata
 Satyavratas tu bālyāt tu bhāvino 'rthasya vai balāt 35
 Vasiṣṭhe 'bhyadhikam manyuṁ dhārayāmāsa nityadā ⁵
 pitrā hi tam ⁶ tadā rāṣṭrāt parityaktaṁ ⁷ svam ātmajam
 na vārayāmāsa ⁸ munir Vasiṣṭhaḥ ⁹ kāraṇena vai ¹⁰
 pāṇi-grahaṇa-mantrāṇān niṣṭhā syāt saptame pade
 na ca ¹¹ Satyavratas tām vai ¹² hṛtavān saptame pade 40
 jānandharmān ¹³ Vasiṣṭhas tu | jānan dharmān Vasiṣṭhas tu
 na māmtrātīti ¹⁴ bhodvijāḥ ¹⁵ | na ca mantrān ihēcchati
 iti Satyavrato ¹⁶ roṣaṁ Vasiṣṭhe ¹⁷ manasākarot
 guṇa ¹⁸-buddhyā tu bhagavān Vasiṣṭhaḥ kṛtavānś tadā ¹⁹
 na tu ²⁰ Satyavratas tasya tam upānśum abudhyata ²¹
 tasminn aparitoṣo yaḥ ²² pitur āsīn mahātmanah 45
 tena dvādaśa varśāṇi nāvarṣat Pākaśāsanah
 tena tv idānīm vahatā ²³ dīkṣān tām durvahām bhuvi
 kulasya niṣkṛtiḥ svasya kṛtā sā vai ²⁴ bhaved iti
 na tam ²⁵ Vasiṣṭho bhagavān pitrā tyaktaṁ nyavārayat ²⁶

¹ So B₁; Vā *apacat*; Śv *cākṣipat*. Br, Hv read this half line, *mānśam vṛkṣe babandhu sah*, which is good.

² Hv *avahat*, Br *avasat*.

³ Br, Hv *Tasmin vana-gate nṛpe*, which is good.

⁴ Śv *tirtham gāṇ*.

⁵ Vā, B₁ *manyunā*.

⁶ Vā *rudans*.

⁷ Br, Hv *tyajyamānam*, which is good.

⁸ Br *nivā-*.

⁹ Br *bahunā*.

¹⁰ Hv, Śv *ha*; Br *na*.

¹¹ Vā, B₁ *evam*.

¹² So B₁. Vā *tām vai*. Br, Hv *tasmād*.

¹³ So Hv. Br *dharmān*.

¹⁴ Śv *Vasiṣṭhāt tu na tam samsati*.

¹⁵ So Hv. Br *Bhārata*. These vocative expletives have probably ousted some such expression as *so 'radat* or *acintayat*.

¹⁶ Vā *erate*.

¹⁷ Vā, Śv *oṣṭho*.

¹⁸ Vā *guru*.

¹⁹ B₁ *tapah*.

²⁰ Śv *sa ca*.

²¹ Vā, B₁ *'budhyad upānśu-vratam asya vai*.

²² So Hv. Śv *hy aparitoṣāya*, Br *aparitoṣaś ca*, Vā *cōparate yo yat*, B₁ *tu paramo roṣaḥ*.

²³ Br *vihitān*; Vā *bahudhā*.

²⁴ Śv *kṛtavān vai*; Vā, B₁ *kṛtēyam ca*.

²⁵ Vā, B₁ *tato*.

²⁶ B₁ *na vārayat*.

abhiṣekṣyāmy aham putram | abhiṣekṣyāmy aham rājye ¹
 asyēty evaṁ matir munēḥ ² | paścād enaṁ iti prabhuḥ 50
 sa tu dvādaśa varṣāṇi dikṣāṁ tām udvahan ³ bali
 avidyamāne māmse tu Vasiṣṭhasya mahātmanah
 sarva-kāma-dughāṁ dogdhrīm ⁴ sa dadarśa nṛpātmajah
 tām vai krodhāc ca mohāc ca śramāc caiva kṣudhānvitah
 dasyu ⁵-dharma-gato rājā ⁶ jaghāna balinām varah 55
 sa tan-māmśaṁ svayaṁ caiva Viśvāmitrasya cātma-jān
 bhojayāmāsa tac chrutvā Vasiṣṭho 'py asya cukrudhe ⁷
 provāca caiva bhagavān Vasiṣṭhas taṁ nṛpātmajam ⁸
 pātaye 'yam aham krūra ⁹ tava śaṅkum ayomayam ¹⁰
 yadi te dvāv imau śaṅkū | yadi te triṇi śaṅkūni
 na syātām ¹¹ vai kṛtau | na syur hi puruṣādharma
 punaḥ ¹² 60
 pituś cāparitoṣeṇa guror dogdhri-vadhena ca
 aprokṣitōpayogāc ca tri-vidhas te vyatikramah
 evaṁ sa triṇi śaṅkūni dṛṣṭvā tasya mahātapāḥ
 tri-śaṅkur iti hōvāca Triśaṅkus tena sa smṛtaḥ. ¹³
 Viśvāmitras tu dārāṇām āgato ¹⁴ bharāṇe kṛte 65
 tatas tasmai varam prādān munih ¹⁵ prītas Triśaṅkave
 chandiyamāno vareṇātha varam ¹⁶ vavre nṛpātmajah

¹ Bḍ *naṣṭe* (for *rāṣṭre*).

² Śv *asyānte vai 'bravīm munih*.

³ Śv *udvahaḥ*, Br *avahaḥ*.

⁴ Vā, Bḍ *dhenuh*.

⁵ So Vā, Bḍ. Śv *dāsa*; Br *deśa*; Hv misreading it as *dāsa*, "ten," inserts two lines of mistaken explanation—

mattaḥ pramatta unmattaḥ śrāntaḥ kruddho bubhukṣitaḥ
 tvaramāṇas ca bhīruś ca lubdhaḥ kāmī ca te dāsa.

⁶ Vā, Bḍ *dṛṣṭvā*.

⁷ Vā, Bḍ *taṁ tadātyajāt*.

⁸ Hv different but equivalent. Br, Śv merely *Vasiṣṭha uvāca*.

⁹ Śv *krūram*.

¹⁰ So Vā, Śv. Bḍ *apohya vai*; Br, Hv *asaṁśayam*.

¹¹ Śv *naṣyētām*.

¹² Śv *purā*.

¹³ Lg reads—

sarva-lokeṣu vikhyātas Triśaṅkur iti vīryavān
 Vasiṣṭha-kopāt puṇyātmā rājā Satyavrataḥ purā.

¹⁴ Br *anena*.

¹⁵ Vā, Bḍ *tadā*.

¹⁶ So Br, Hv and Śv and add the line—

sa-śarīro vraje svargam ity evaṁ yācito varah

But Vā, Bḍ read *gurum* for *varam*.

anāvṛṣṭi-bhaye tasmin gate¹ dvādaśa-vārṣike
 pitrye 'bhiṣicya rāje tu² yājayāmāsa³ tam munih
 miṣatām devatānām ca Vasiṣṭhasya ca Kauśikah⁴ 70
 sa-śarīraṁ tadā taṁ vai divam āropayat prabhuḥ⁵
 miṣatas tu Vasiṣṭhasya tad adbhutam ivābhavat⁶
 Atrāpy udāharantimau śloka⁷ paurāṇikā janāḥ
 Viśvāmitra-prasādena Trīśaṅkur divi rājate
 devaiḥ sārddham mahātejā 'nugrāhat tasya dhīmataḥ⁸ 75
 śanair yāty Abalā ramyā hemante candra-maṇḍitā
 alaṅkr̥tā tribhir bhāvais Trīśaṅku-graha-bhūṣitā.⁹

The first part of the story is narrated in lines 1-14. Satyavrata was son of Trayyārūṇa king of Kosala. In an outburst of youthful wantonness he interrupted the wedding ceremony of one of the citizens¹⁰ and carried off the bride. His father in great anger disowned him and banished him to the degradation of herding with outcaste dog-eaters. Vasiṣṭha, who was the king's priest, did not interpose but allowed the severe sentence to stand (l. 12). Satyavrata then quitted the capital Ayodhyā and made his dwelling near a hamlet of dog-eaters¹¹.

¹ Bḍ, Śv jāte. ² So Hv : others different but equivalent. ³ Bḍ yoj°.

⁴ After this Vā inserts two lines—

Vindhya-pārśve mahāpuṇyā nimnagā giri-kānane
 tasya snānena sambhūtā Karmanāśā śubhā nadi.

⁵ Br differently but equivalently. Here Br, Hv end.

⁶ This line is only in Vā, Bḍ.

⁷ So Vā. Bḍ °tīman ślokaṁ.

⁸ This verse only in Vā, Bḍ.

⁹ This verse only in Vā.

¹⁰ The name *Vidarbha*, mentioned in the Vā, Bḍ and Lg, cannot mean "king or prince of Vidarbha", because (1) the kingdom of Vidarbha did not come into existence till later ; (2) such an insult offered to a king or prince would have been avenged by war, yet there is no suggestion of any such reprisals being feared, while it is distinctly suggested that Vasiṣṭha might have mitigated the punishment ; and (3) the term *kula-pāṁsana* implies that the prince had dishonoured his rank, and the rape of a mere city maiden was a disgraceful offence. *Vidarbha* may be the name of the citizen, if it is possible it might have been handed down.

¹¹ They lived not far from the city presumably (see p. 890, n. 9), because they would have found their livelihood as dog-killers and dog-eaters chiefly by being near the city. At this day there are castes, who are employed to kill off the dogs in a town that have multiplied and become a nuisance.

These incidents are commented on and explained in lines 35-45. The wedding *mantras* became complete (*niṣṭhā*) when the bride took seven steps, and Satyavrata did not seize her after she had taken the seventh step (ll. 39, 40), but interfered before the ceremony was completed (ll. 2, 3).¹ To carry off a betrothed maiden in that way was of course a gross offence, but it was not so heinous and impious as to carry her off after the ceremony had made her a wedded wife. Satyavrata had committed the former offence and not the latter, and Vasiṣṭha knew it, for this is clearly implied (l. 41),² and the statement thrice made (ll. 12, 38, 49), that he did not interpose to prevent the banishment, plainly suggests that he might and even should have interposed. Hence it manifestly follows that the king did not know the true facts, but believed his son had committed the greater sin and condemned him for that. These conclusions are corroborated by the statement that Satyavrata was indignant with Vasiṣṭha, because Vasiṣṭha knowingly abstained from saving him (ll. 41-2). Satyavrata had offended through a youthful outburst, and resentment rankled unceasingly in his mind against Vasiṣṭha, because Vasiṣṭha might (and should, impliedly) have taken that into consideration and have interposed when the father banished his own son, apparently his only son and heir (ll. 35-8; see p. 895).

Vasiṣṭha had a reason for behaving as he did (l. 38), and acted deliberately (l. 43). What he did at the time

¹ So Br, Hv, Śv, Lg and Bḍ. Vā has altered the meaning to the absolute opposite by reading *samprāpīṣu*, showing that it has been deliberately tampered with, so as to exaggerate Satyavrata's guilt and consequently to justify Vasiṣṭha's want of pity: and it and Bḍ imply the same in l. 40. Compare also *divaukasaḥ* in l. 2; where Lg reading *amītanjasam* refers no doubt to the officiating priest (see p. 897, n. 2), but Vā and Bḍ by reading "gods" have given an impossible exaggeration to Satyavrata's violence.

² Where the alteration of the latter half in Vā and Bḍ yields little sense, and Śv is obviously corrupt.

was to mutter prayers in a low voice, and Satyavrata naturally did not comprehend what he did (l. 44); and the king (misunderstanding the matter) gave the reins to his displeasure against his son (l. 45). It is said that Vasiṣṭha's purpose was, that Satyavrata should work out the expiation of his own family by undergoing the punishment; but that was no justification, because the family had done no wrong and needed no expiation. However it was on that ground that Vasiṣṭha did not interpose,¹ that is, he took no open part but allowed the sentence to stand. He had, it is said, the intention, that he would anoint Satyavrata's son to the throne in the future.²

The king then departed to end his days in the forest (l. 14)—a natural course, for he must have been heart-broken. When he had gone, Vasiṣṭha held charge of the capital Ayodhyā, the kingdom and the royal seraglio (ll. 32-4)—whence it seems that the king had no other son to succeed him. Vasiṣṭha governed (it is said pointedly) in association with the sacrificing priests and religious teachers (l. 34). This is noteworthy. Nothing is said about councillors or kṣatriyas. The administration evidently passed into a religious regime.

The 'facts' stated then are these. Satyavrata committed a gross offence. The king misunderstanding its real nature disowned and banished him, his only son. Vasiṣṭha knowing the true facts made no attempt to set

¹ The Vā omits the negative in l. 49, and reads falsely that he did oppose the banishment.

² So Br, Hv and Śv. The Vā and Bḍ say he proposed to anoint Satyavrata himself afterwards, but it is hardly probable that Vasiṣṭha would anoint the prince whom he had allowed to be degraded by years of association with the lowest outcastes, and would thus lay himself open to possible vengeance from that prince. The difference however does not affect the story, for he never carried out his proposal, whichever it was. Satyavrata's son would have been growing up in the royal seraglio, completely under Vasiṣṭha's custody and training, for the story implies that Satyavrata was banished alone.

the king right, but allowed the sentence to stand. The obvious results were ruin to Satyavrata and a broken heart to the king. The king handed over the kingdom to Vasiṣṭha and departed to end his days in the forest, without apparently any objection from Vasiṣṭha. Satyavrata led a degraded, precarious and miserable life. Vasiṣṭha ruled the kingdom himself. He made no attempt to alleviate matters, but resolved that Satyavrata should undergo his expiation to the utmost, while expressing an intention of anointing Satyavrata's young son to the throne at some future time. On these 'facts' there can be only one conclusion, that Vasiṣṭha deliberately connived at the ruin of Satyavrata and of the king, got the kingdom into his own hands, turned it into a priestly regime, and evinced no intention of relinquishing it soon.

Then followed a period of drought, which lasted twelve years (ll. 15, 16, 46, 68), and that forms the second stage in the story. Vasiṣṭha ruled the kingdom during the whole period (l. 68).

Two passages of tradition have preserved the personal name of this great brahman, the first and perhaps the greatest of the Vasiṣṭhas of traditional 'history'. They are these¹:—

- (1) avarṣati ca Parjanye sarva-bhūtāni Devarāt
Vasiṣṭho jīvayāmāsa yena yāto 'kṣayām gatim.
- (2) avarṣati ca Parjanye sarva-bhūtāni Bhūtakṛt
Vasiṣṭho jīvayāmāsa Prajāpatir iva prajāḥ.

These verses are manifestly identical. They speak of (as something well known) a period of drought during which Vasiṣṭha administered a country—that is, obviously during an interregnum, for he could not have held that position otherwise: and they can only refer to this period and this Vasiṣṭha, because there is no mention of any other such occurrence. In these verses *Devarāt* and

¹ MBh xiii, 137, 6257; and xii, 234, 8601.

Bhūtakṛt can be nothing but a name, the personal name of this Vasiṣṭha, and they are obviously synonyms. *Devarāj* is a synonym of Indra, and *Bhūtakṛt*, "the creator," might well mean Indra who was the chief god in that early age. It would seem therefore that his personal name was Indra, probably in combination with some other word;¹ and we have a very close example in *Indra-pramati Vasiṣṭha*, one of the reputed authors of Rīgveda ix, 97. We need not however speculate on that. It is sufficient that the synonymous names *Devarāj* and *Bhūtakṛt* are clearly given to this Vasiṣṭha, and we may well accept *Devarāj* as his personal name,² a name which will distinguish him from other Vasiṣṭhas.

At that time Viśvāmitra had placed his queen and his children in a hermitage in the Kosala country,³ and had departed to the *sāgarānūpa*⁴ to perform a long course of austerities (ll. 17, 18), the ordeal by which apparently he attained brahmanhood.⁵ It is said his queen proceeded

¹ *Indra* alone was considered a possible personal name, if the ascription of Rīgveda x, 38 can supply any testimony.

² The suggestion on p. 903 would support this inference. In this connexion l. 2 of the text of Vā, Bḍ and Lg is noteworthy (p. 889). Satyavrata, when interrupting the wedding ceremony, assailed "the gods" (Bḍ *divaukaśaḥ*; Vā *divaukaśān* or *amitaṇjaśam* (Lg). The former reading is absurd, but the latter is intelligible as referring to the priest who was performing the ceremony, and suggests that the former reading should be *Divaukaśam*. *Divaukaś* is nearly equivalent to *Devarāj*, and its use here (for the sake of the metre) would be intelligible, if the priest were Vasiṣṭha himself and his name was *Devarāj*. The name *Devarāj* would thus elucidate a corrupt word; but this touch to the story occurs only in Vā and Bḍ which exaggerate Satyavrata's misdeeds, and Br, Hv and Śv, which are more trustworthy, know nothing of it.

³ This is probable. He was obliged to leave them when undertaking a long course of austerities, yet would not have deserted them nor left them unbefriended. Kosala was one of the most powerful and safe kingdoms, and he could expect good treatment for them there since he was related to the royal house of Ayodhyā; see p. 886.

⁴ "Marshy region near the sea"; several are mentioned in East, South and West India.

⁵ But MBh says he gained brahmanhood at Ruṣaṅgu's tīrtha on the Sarasvatī (ix, 40, 2270-9; 41, 2307).

to sell her second son Gālava in order to provide maintenance for the rest during the famine. Her residence there must have been known far and wide. Satyavrata interposed, and rescued and supported the son;¹ and his motives were two, a desire to please Viśvāmitra and compassion for the boy (l. 24). Viśvāmitra's favour was obviously worth winning in Satyavrata's desperate plight, for Viśvāmitra was a man of commanding position and character, both as king of Kānyakubja and as one who aimed at brahmanhood. Satyavrata assumed the burden of supporting Viśvāmitra's family, and provided them with food from the spoils of his hunting, showing them the highest respect as befitted their rank and his own, for he had become king by right on his father's abdication (ll. 27-30).

During the intensity of the famine Satyavrata, it is said (ll. 52-57), killed Vasiṣṭha's cow to obtain food for himself and Viśvāmitra's family. Whenever mention is made of a brahman's wonderful cow, it is natural to suspect a brahmanical touch to the story; and here the description of the cow as *sarva-kāma-dughā* with the almost implied suggestion that she was Vasiṣṭha's only cow is absurd, for Devarāj Vasiṣṭha was then priest and king of Ayodhyā and must have possessed large herds of cattle. In other respects the incident is not improbable. The priest-king's cattle would certainly have been well cared for, and Satyavrata, who was residing not far from the city,² may naturally, when famine pressed heavily on him and Viśvāmitra's family, have retaliated on Vasiṣṭha by taking one of his cows, and quite possibly even the finest of them. Satyavrata, in adopting the methods of an ordinary

¹ It is explained (l. 25) that the boy got the name *Gālava* because his mother bound him by the neck (*gala*). This is no doubt one of the many fanciful derivations to be found in the Purāṇas, and indeed the whole of this incident may have been made up as an explanation for the name.

² See p. 893, n. 11.

robber (l. 55), aroused Vasiṣṭha's wrath. Vasiṣṭha threatened him with vengeance (l. 59), yet did nothing. All that came of it is said to have been, that Vasiṣṭha stigmatized him as the man of three *śaṅkus* or sins, whence the name Trīśaṅku was given to him (ll. 60–4).¹

We come now to the third stage of the story (ll. 65–70). At the end of the twelve years Viśvāmitra returned after completing his austerities and was then a muni. In gratitude he offered Satyavrata a boon. Satyavrata chose him as his guru according to the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. The Brahma, Harivaṁśa and Śiva do not really say what the boon chosen was,² but the sequel suggests that it was restoration to his kingdom—which must have been the overpowering desire in his mind. The sequel also shows that he secured both boons, for Viśvāmitra inaugurated him in the kingdom and offered sacrifice for him, in spite of the gods and Vasiṣṭha (ll. 69, 70).

These are the bare 'facts' mentioned, but what they imply is highly significant. Now Devarāj Vasiṣṭha as priest and king of Ayodhyā had all the religious and political power of the kingdom in his hands, and against him was only Viśvāmitra as a brahman single-handed espousing Satyavrata's rights, yet Viśvāmitra succeeded in spite of Vasiṣṭha (l. 70). The account nowhere hints that there was any positive conflict. Devarāj Vasiṣṭha's supremacy evidently collapsed as soon as Viśvāmitra championed Satyavrata's cause. This admits of only one explanation, namely, that Vasiṣṭha could command no support either from the army or from the people

¹ This explanation of the name may be doubted, just like that of Gālava in p. 898, n. 1.

² The line which the Br, Hv and Śv insert (see p. 892, n. 16) is obviously an interpolation, for all three proceed to say that Viśvāmitra's response was, not to raise Satyavrata to the sky (a priestly notion), but to restore him to the throne and offer sacrifice for him (the natural desire of an heir-apparent).

generally—which means that all the people and especially the whole of the kṣatriya power must have disapproved of the exile which he enforced relentlessly against Satyavrata, while he sought to justify his own retention of the kingdom by the proposal (which he showed no alacrity to carry out) that he would anoint Satyavrata's son to the throne.¹ The whole kingdom was evidently ill-affected towards him,² and as soon as Viśvāmitra, who combined in his person both famous kingship and brahmanical eminence, advocated Satyavrata's right, Vasiṣṭha's dominance crumbled to pieces. Devarāj Vasiṣṭha appears to have asserted his spiritual authority and invoked the gods (l. 77), but all to no avail, for "in full view of the gods and Vasiṣṭha" Viśvāmitra placed Satyavrata on the throne and as the royal priest offered sacrifice for him. Viśvāmitra's predominance over Vasiṣṭha's authority even on the religious side indicates that his position was regarded as indisputable and Vasiṣṭha's position as unjustifiable.

Devarāj Vasiṣṭha thus lost both the kingdom and the position of the king's priest, and must have been transported with rage against Viśvāmitra. He could not openly resent the former loss, but the latter indignity resulted from Viśvāmitra's assumption of brahmanhood which might be disputed. Hence the only way of revenge open to him would have been to deny Viśvāmitra's brahmanhood, and that was (as my study of the traditions goes) the origin and explanation of the stories about Viśvāmitra's difficulties in establishing his brahmanic status. Had Viśvāmitra not crossed Vasiṣṭha's path and foiled his ambition, no more would probably have been

¹ His position was the same in the eyes of the people, if he proposed to restore Satyavrata (as Vā and Bḍ say); see p. 895, n. 2. It may be added that his priestly regime could hardly be pleasing to the kṣatriyas.

² This would explain why he did nothing more than threaten Satyavrata for the personal affront in killing the cow, if that incident be true.

said about Viśvāmitra's assumption of brahmanhood than is said about such assumption in other cases that tradition refers to.¹ As regards Viśvāmitra, the simpler the tradition is, the less (as far as I can perceive) does it say about difficulties beyond the course of austerities by which he initiated himself into brahmanhood (see p. 897). It is in stories that are manifestly of brahmanical complexion that we read of extraordinary difficulties, until the tales degenerate into brahmanical fables of a portentous struggle.²

It is unnecessary to discuss those fables here, and it is sufficient to compare this account with the famous story told in the Rāmāyaṇa.³ This is related in the genealogy to which it naturally belongs; that is related as a marvellous story. This deals with Satyavrata primarily, and introduces Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra inasmuch as they came into conflict because of him; that reverses the "plot". This takes the kṣatriya standpoint; that the brahmanical. Here the incidents are natural and are told simply; there the incidents are extraordinary and the description extravagant. This conforms to probability; that runs riot in improbabilities. In short, this is a plain kṣatriya ballad; that a glaring brahmanical fable.

¹ e.g. Sindhuvīpa and Devāpi, MBh ix, 41, 2294. The genealogies, even in the Vāyu, say that Kānvas, Gārgyas, Sāṅkṛtis, Maudgalyas and Rathītaras were of kṣatriya origin.

² Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra are discussed in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, I, 75 ff., but the various Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras are not distinguished clearly. It is hopeless to discuss them except with the chronological aid of the genealogies. Many Vasiṣṭhas are mentioned in tradition, and four are prominent in kṣatriya tradition, namely, in chronological order, (1) this Devarāj, (2) the priest to Sagara, king of Ayodhyā, (3) the priest to Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa, king of Ayodhyā, and (4) the priest who helped Saṁvarana to recover the Paurava kingdom from the successors of Sudāsa, king of Pañcāla: but in some stories the first two are not always distinguished nor the second two in others, while in brahmanical stories they are often jumbled up together. Similarly with this, the first and greatest, Viśvāmitra, and his descendants. There was rivalry between the later Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras.

³ Narrated in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, I, 98.

That is manifestly fabricated; this cannot have been a fabrication, for who could have composed in later times such a simple and natural story, making Satyavrata the chief figure and Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra secondary figures, in flat disagreement with the other version in both the famous Epics;¹ and how (if it could have been so fabricated) could it have gained admission into six Purāṇas? If it had not been considered to have some inherent importance, why should the Vāyu, and in a lesser degree the Brahmāṇḍa, have admitted it at all, when they deemed it necessary to tamper with the passages that told against Vasiṣṭha? This story must therefore be an ancient kṣatriya ballad, composed before the Epic and Purāṇic literature passed wholly into the hands of the brahmans. It gives Satyavrata the chief position of interest and pity according to the view in which the events would have been regarded by the kings and kṣatriyas of Ayodhyā,² and appears in its natural place, in the genealogy of Ayodhyā. That dynasty lasted till after writing was introduced into India. This ballad may well have been handed down by Court bards and then put into writing six or seven centuries B.C.³

Nothing is said about Satyavrata after he regained the throne, except that Viśvāmitra raised him in bodily form to the sky (l. 71).⁴ This is the only marvellous statemnet

¹ The MBh fable is narrated in *id.* p. 95.

² Let us put ourselves into their position. What would have concerned and interested them was prince Satyavrata's touching story, his sufferings at Vasiṣṭha's hands and his ultimate success through Viśvāmitra's aid—not a portentous conflict between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha about brahmanhood, wherein he was but a puppet. The latter is a brahmanic view; and a late one too, embodying the strict brahmanic ideas of a subsequent age (see p. 901, n. 1).

³ Fortunately the general disregard of history, which the brahmans entertained, though it has supplied no real history of ancient times, has permitted them to preserve a large mass of kṣatriya tradition, the bearing of which on their own stories they did not perceive.

⁴ This may imply that he did not survive long, and it is probable, because he must have been shaken in mind and body by the ordeal he had undergone.

in this account, and one naturally suspects that it is an exaggeration of some probable act. Some clue is supplied, if we notice the three grades in which the incident is described. The closing verses (ll. 73-7), which the Vāyu (and the Brahmaṇḍa partially) quotes as having been recited by old-time bards who knew the ancient stories,¹ say merely that Trīśaṅku shines as a constellation in the sky through Viśvāmitra's favour; this account says Viśvāmitra raised him in bodily form to the sky in spite of Vasiṣṭha (ll. 71-2); and the Rāmāyaṇa fable develops the deed into an awe-inspiring conflict between Viśvāmitra and Indra in which Viśvāmitra triumphed. The statement has obviously grown, and the earliest form of it is in those closing verses. If one may venture on a conjecture in these conditions, possibly Viśvāmitra may on Trīśaṅku's death have proposed to do him honour² and may have given him celestial dignity by naming a constellation Trīśaṅku after him—a step to which Vasiṣṭha may naturally have objected, especially if he really bestowed that name on Satyavrata in opprobrium (ll. 57-64). Whatever may be the worth of this suggestion, the change of this contest between Viśvāmitra and Devarāj Vasiṣṭha to the Rāmāyaṇa version of a conflict between Viśvāmitra and the god Indra may easily have grown out of a misunderstanding by later narrators of Vasiṣṭha's personal name Devarāj; which would naturally be taken to mean Indra when the distinction had been forgotten.³

It is obvious that this incident has grown from the simple statement in the ancient verses to the absurd fable in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. This account from

¹ This is what *paurāṇikā janāḥ* (l. 73) must mean. These words obviously cannot refer to the Purāṇa compilers, because the Vā and Bḍ cite the verses as more ancient than themselves.

² Especially if Trīśaṅku died soon after his restoration, in consequence of the hardships inflicted on him by Vasiṣṭha.

³ The reverse is not probable. If Vasiṣṭha's name was really Indra (see p. 897), the misunderstanding was inevitable.

the Ayodhyā genealogy gives an intermediate description of it and is therefore obviously older than the version in the Epics—indeed it must be so much older as to allow of the transformation of this Devarāj into the god Indra. This seems to be about as good evidence, as is possible in matters of this kind, to show that this Purāṇic story is really ancient, and that the genealogical accounts in the Purāṇas do contain really ancient tradition. This whole story about Satyavrata, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra has therefore more claim to consideration than all the fables which describe a portentous struggle between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha about brahmanhood.

The course of all tradition is from the simple and natural to the extravagant and marvellous. Here we have, on the one hand, an ancient kṣatriya tradition, simple, natural and probable, about Satyavrata, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, and, on the other hand, various improbable and marvellous stories culminating in the brahmanic fable in the Rāmāyaṇa. The conclusion is obvious, and supplies a good estimate of the comparative worth of kṣatriya and brahman tradition.

Triśanku, the religious teacher, mentioned in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, i, 10, 6, is manifestly different from and later than this king Triśanku; yet it is said in the *Vedic Index*, i, 331, with reference to both of them: "The confusion of the chronology in the tales of Triśanku is a good example of the worthlessness of the supposed epic tradition." The soundness of this comment may be tested by dealing similarly with Saul the king and Saul the religious teacher. It is impossible to treat brahmanic tradition as a critical standard, when notoriously the brahmans had little or no notion of history.

XXX

A CHINESE PEDIGREE ON A TABLET-DISK

By L. C. HOPKINS

IN a scholarly paper contributed to *Baessler-Archiv* this year under the title "Frühgeschichtliche Orakelknochen aus China", the author, Fräulein Anna Bernhardt, has discussed various questions arising from the great find of inscribed bones in Honan Province, and has illustrated her paper partly from the Wirtz Collection of these objects now in the Royal Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, partly from specimens in other cabinets. Considerable space is devoted to the consideration of the genealogies which have been found on certain of these relics, and peculiarities of writing markedly noticeable in these strange records of descent have caused Fräulein Bernhardt to ask whether they do not perhaps point to an early dissyllabism in the Chinese language, and also whether they do not show traces of a genitival form. And in order that the pros and cons of these hypotheses may be more adequately grounded, she appeals to the owners of the various collections now scattered over different parts of the world carefully to test the specimens they possess.

It is in response to that appeal, and as the owner of another and hitherto unpublished Chinese pedigree, that I venture to bring forward the following plate and notes. But before doing so I am constrained to break a small controversial, albeit disinterested, lance with Fräulein Bernhardt. Circumstances, as I pensively observe, seem to be making me the champion of suspected bronzes and the defender of denigrated shoulderblades. To-day the challenge is from Berlin, and the alleged forgery in the British Museum. Yesterday it was from

Paris and Cambridge, and the incriminated exhibit in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. As a would-be David I sallied out against the Goliaths of sinology, but I am assured (*ex parte* Goliath) that history did not repeat itself. Who knows, then, what my fortune will be in a tilt against the Amazons? And so to return to the dry bones of Chinese palæography.

There are to my knowledge five and only five specimens from the Honan find inscribed with genealogies. One is in the Wirtz Collection at Berlin, two in my own, and two in the British Museum. Of the latter, one is the "Sceptre" illustrated in *Man* for April, 1912, and one is a shoulderblade having on its upper surface a duplicate of the inscription on the Sceptre. Of this specimen Fräulein Bernhardt publishes a photograph as fig. 4 of her paper. Below it is the legend "Gefälschte Schrift auf einem Schulterblatt. (British Museum.)" And in the text, p. 17, she writes as follows: "Fig. 4 ist eine Nachbildung der Inschrift auf dem schönen Szepter im Britischen Museum; die Zeichen auf dem Schulterblatt rühren aber von einem Schreiber her, der weder das Material meisterte noch den Sinn dessen, was er schrieb verstand. Das letztere zeigt sich besonders in der sinnlosen Anordnung, bei der die Zeilen nicht beachtet sind. Es ist ein ganz auffallendes Beispiel verständnislose Fälschung." I had examined this shoulderblade soon after the Museum acquired it, and since reading Fräulein Bernhardt's paper I have made a special visit to reinspect it. I can only say that having done so, I demur altogether to her impugnement of its genuineness. To me, at any rate, the characters, far from being the work of a forger who was not master of his material, seem cut by a hand both firm and fine. The surface of the bone is clean and intact. While as for the "senseless arrangement" of the characters, as the author calls it, it is precisely the same as that adopted on the shoulderblade in my collection,

an illustration of which appears as Fig. 8 of her paper, and against which Fräulein Bernhardi utters no unkind word. In short, I believe the British Museum specimen, however odd we may think it to find the same inscription on two such different relics, to be perfectly genuine; and, what is more, I am sanguine enough to think that Fräulein Bernhardi, if she had seen the original instead of only a photograph, would have been of the same opinion.

The genealogy that follows differs from the four hitherto published by being inscribed on a form of honorific tablet known to the ancient Chinese as a *kuei pi*, 圭璧, made, as Dr. Laufer says (*Jade*, p. 167), by a combination of the tablet (*kuei*) and the disk (*pi*). He points out that the Chou Li (Biot, vol. ii, p. 524) attributes to it a length of 5 inches [Chinese measurement], and says that it serves in sacrificing to the sun, the moon, and the stars. Now, it is a noticeable fact that the example from my collection here illustrated, which has a length of $4\frac{2}{8}$ inches English, measures $4\frac{8}{10}$ inches of the Chou Dynasty foot, according to the larger of the two scales given by Wu Ta-ch'eng on the last page of the preface to his *Ku Yü T'u K'ao*, a dimension sufficiently close to the statement of the Chou Li. On the other hand, none of the thirteen examples of tablet-disk in my collection afford any confirmation by their inscriptions of the association of these objects with the worship of the sun, moon, and stars. Incidentally the inscriptions disprove a belief expressed by Dr. Laufer (*Jade*, p. 167) that the pointed end of the *kuei* is directed downwards. It is, on the contrary, the other way up. And naturally so, since the tablet half of these compound forms is of the type termed a *yen kuei*, 琰圭, or "pointed tablet", of which my collection has two examples.

And now to come to the specimen under review, H. 760. It is inscribed on both sides. On the upper part of

the *kuei* are seven characters, apparently recording the auspicious result of a divination. On the base, the left side of which is much pitted and worn, are the remains of one of the customary formulas, ending with the two characters 二吉, which I suppose, provisionally, to mean "doubly lucky". Below, as in a few other instances, there extend across the breadth of the base three curious wavy parallel lines, recalling primitive methods of representing the sea, or the stamp-defacing postmarks on modern envelopes, but having here I know not what significance. The *pi*, or central part, is mainly covered by a sequence of twelve of the time-cycle couplets. On the extreme right of these is the single word 卜, *pu*, to divine. On the opposite (left) side of the disk, are six characters in two columns, commencing with one that is equally familiar and unknown, followed by the words "tenth moon, fortunate (羊 standing for the modern 祥), ancestor Chia". So much for the reverse side.

The obverse surface divides itself, so far as the inscription is concerned, into a group of ten characters occupying the upper part of the tablet, and the main or genealogical portion filling the central disk and the small base of the tablet. The first group is arranged in three columns of three characters each, except the last, which has four. I transcribe it here as far as possible in modern script, using *x* and *y* for the two unknown members.

圭	<i>x</i>	甲	} = "On the day <i>chia tzü</i> , it was commanded <i>x</i> the <i>y</i> tablet, saying Prosperous exceedingly (lit. a thousand prosperities)."
日	其	子	
千	<i>y</i>	命	
吉			

On the central disk and the lower part, the text in modern writing runs as follows, *x* and *y* again standing for undetermined characters, and the romanized syllables Yin and Ch'an being inserted in place of two characters



*Bone Tablet-Disk with inscribed genealogy.
Height of orig. $4\frac{2}{8}$ inches.*

so seldom used that they are not available in the Chinese fount at our disposal. A, B, and C stand for unknown characters.

Ch'an	曰	Ch'an	曰	Yin	貞
孫	A	子	辰	子	<i>x</i>
曰	箇	曰	辰	曰	先
C	子	鳳	子	得	<i>y</i>
	曰	„	曰	得	曰
	B	弟	Ch'an	子	Yin

“An inquiry as to *x*. The preceding *y* was called Yin. Yin's son was called Tê. Tê's son was called Ch'ên. Ch'ên's son was called Ch'an. Ch'an's son was called ?Fêng. ?Fêng's younger brother was called A. Yin's son was called B. Ch'an's grandson was called C.”

I append a few notes to the above imperfect rendering.

It will in the first place be noticed that the descent proceeds regularly and directly through sons as far as the fifth stage. The sixth of the line, however, is not the son of the fifth, but his younger brother. The seventh stage shows a break, the relationship of the personage named Yin to any of the preceding line being ignored. He, also, leaves a son. But the last four characters, which are written horizontally on the base of the tablet, hark back to record a grandson of the fourth of the line, but whether a son of the fifth, or of the sixth, or of neither, we cannot tell, nor is it quite clear whether he is to be regarded as successor to the personage I call B, but presumably he is.

As to the characters themselves. I take the sign following the word *chên*, inquiry, to specify the object of the inquiry. It has interesting features and occurs several times on other bones, in several variant forms, but I must not here discuss surmises on unknown characters. The fourth character is curious and baffling. It occurs elsewhere twice only to my knowledge, and

then on carved objects in my collection. If we reason from the context immediately above and below it, some such word as "ancestor" seems to be required. The decipherment of both or either of these unknown signs would probably help us to understand how it is we find records of family descent upon these divinatory relics. The sixth character (which cannot be printed from the Chinese fount at our disposal) is composed of two 虎 *hu*, tiger, side by side, with 口 *k'ou*, mouth, below. Such a compound is not found in the dictionaries, but is probably a variant of one pronounced Yin, and written in the same way except that for *mouth* it has 曰 *yüeh*, to speak. The eighteenth character, *ch'an*, for similar reasons, may be described as 隹 *chui*, bird, with 攴 *pu*, to strike, on the right. Though not included in the Shuo Wên, it will be found in Kanghsi. The twenty-second character I transcribe as *Fêng*, phoenix, in accordance with Lo Chên-yü's identification on p. 11 of his recent volume *Yin Shang Chên Pu Wên Tzû K'ao*, which, on the whole, I think is to be accepted. The twenty-third character is practically our sign = (equals), used as we use the sign „ (ditto). The character transcribed 孫 *sun*, grandson, should be noticed. It is really what we may term a nonce-character, being the result of want of space, which has squeezed out the rest of the form 𠂔, as it is usually written in the ancient script.

THE DATE OF KANISHKA

AT the General Meeting of the 10th June, **Dr. THOMAS** read his paper on "The Date of Kanishka" (p. 627 above), and the discussion was continued by—

Professor RAPSON, who said :—I have read with great care Mr. Kennedy's articles on "The Secret of Kanishka", but have come to the conclusion that the fundamental views on which the whole argument is based are in some cases demonstrably incorrect and in other cases altogether uncertain. In support of this statement I rely on the careful and detailed examination which we have just heard from Dr. Thomas. On the present occasion I propose to confine myself entirely to the evidence afforded by the coins.

This numismatic evidence is most valuable in early Indian history. The barbarous hordes, who during many centuries poured into India from the north, usually imitated the currencies of the more settled kingdoms which they overran. The coins in this way often show unmistakably the process by which rule was transferred from one power to another. Thus, for instance, the growth of the Śaka power at the expense of the Greek kingdoms in the Punjab is illustrated by imitations of coins of Demetrius made by Maues, of those of Eucratides by Liaka Kusulaka, and of those of the Stratos by Rañjubula.

Now, Greeks and Śakas alike were overwhelmed by the Kushanas, who gradually established a great empire in Northern India. The coins of a number of Kushana princes are known. There is no doubt about their nationality, since they bore the name Kushana. There is equally no doubt that, if classified according to the

character of their coinages, these Kushanas fall into two well-defined groups, which for convenience may be called (1) the Kadphises group and (2) the Kanishka group. Numismatists have had usually no hesitation in placing the Kadphises group chronologically before the Kanishka group. Mr. Kennedy, however, has endeavoured to prove the opposite, a view which, in face of the available evidence,

✦ I regard as untenable.

The sequence (1) Hermæus, reigning alone, (2) *obs.* Hermæus, *rev.* Kujula Kadphises, (3) Kujula Kadphises alone, shows the transition of Greek to Kushana rule in the Kabul Valley. General considerations, the style of the coins, their debased portraiture, etc., make it in every way probable that Greek rule came to an end in India towards the end of the first century B.C. Now there are certain indications of date which seem to show that Kujula Kadphises, who thus succeeded Hermæus, lived either at the end of the first century B.C. or at the beginning of the first century A.D. In the first place, one class of his coins is characterized by a curious square form of the Greek alphabet, which was probably due to Parthian influence, and which made its appearance in Parthia first on the coins of Phraates IV (38–3 B.C.). Then on another class of his coins appears a Roman head which was palpably imitated from that of Augustus (B.C. 27–A.D. 14) or Tiberius (A.D. 14–37).

To turn to the other group of coins struck by Kushana kings. The coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, and ✓ Vāsudeva also form a sequence. They are followed by a series of coins attributed by Cunningham to the “Later Great Kushanas”, whose names are unfortunately not given in full but are apparently indicated by initials. But there can be no doubt that the Kanishka group of Kushanas and the Later Great Kushanas lead directly to a class of coins called by Cunningham “Scytho-Sassanian”, which are manifestly imitated from them.
✦

These are the result of Sassanian invasions of the Kabul Valley and bear the actual names of Sassanian kings, e.g. Hormuzd II (A.D. 301-10). To my mind it is inconceivable that the coins of the Kanishka group, leading up directly as they do to Sassanian types struck at the beginning of the fourth century A.D., can possibly be earlier in date than the coins of the Kadphises group, which are admittedly the immediate successors of the coins of a Greek king, Hermæus, whose date must be approximately in the latter part of the first century B.C. *

Mr. FLEET said:—We shall consider the numismatic argument, as laid before us by Professor Rapon, when we see his remarks in print and know exactly what they amount to. We are interested first in Dr. Thomas' paper, copies of which were obligingly sent out to some of us for perusal beforehand, and which was notified as the basis of this discussion.

In regard to one of Mr. Kennedy's arguments,—that relating to the silk trade,—Dr. Thomas has said (p. 643) that he misses "a note of date". I regret to have to say that on our side we miss, not only a note of date, but also any other kind of precision, all through Dr. Thomas' remarks. However, as far as I understand his position, I take it that, while following Professor Oldenberg in a general way, he is inclined to differ so far as to be disposed to place the initial date of Kanishka in A.D. 78. But he does not say so plainly. With characteristic caution, he does not allow himself to go nearer than to say (p. 650) that "if the Kanishka group [of kings], which followed [Wēmo-Kadphisēs] and instituted an era, failed to hit upon the year A.D. 78, they must have missed it by a miracle." He retains the possibility of the miracle having happened, if it should be wanted.

To any such view I am opposed. I hold, as Cunningham held at one time,¹ that Kanishka began to reign in B.C. 58, and founded the so-called Vikrama era which begins then. I should like to comment on much of what Dr. Thomas has said, and I shall hope to do so at a subsequent stage of the discussion;² because he has by no means read and weighed properly some of the various points and what has been written about them. But Mr. Kennedy and other scholars are to speak: and the time available to-day is very short. So I shall confine myself to three points.

The traditional date of Kanishka³

Speaking of the Buddhists and their tradition, Dr. Thomas has said (p. 649):—"When they state, as they sometimes erroneously do, that Kaniṣka's council was held 400 years after Buddha's decease, they add that it was 300 years after Aśoka, which places him [Kanishka] in the first century A.D."

But the Buddhist tradition does not add anything of the kind. The Divyāvadāna places a king Aśoka 100 years after the death of Buddha.⁴ So also do Hiuen-tsiang⁵ and I-tsing.⁶ But we can see that, while the tradition thus presented to us means the great Aśoka, also known as Dharmāśoka, grandson of Chandragupta, who was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha, it has confused him with an earlier king, Kālāśoka, who did reign 100 years after the death of Buddha. On the other hand, Kanishka is not mentioned by I-tsing and the Divyāvadāna. But the tradition of Gandhāra and Kashmir, reported by Hiuen-tsiang, places

¹ *Reports*, vol. 2 (1871), p. 68, and note.

² See p. 965 ff. below.

³ On this matter in full see my paper in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 979.

⁴ For references see *JRAS*, 1906, p. 883, and note 1.

⁵ For references see *JRAS*, 1906, p. 982, note 2.

⁶ See *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 982-3.

him 400 years after the death of Buddha.¹ It does not say that Kanishka came 300 years after Aśoka: and no such statement is found anywhere. The two statements about Kanishka and Aśoka are independent of each other. And it remained for a modern annotator to combine them, and to say, in a footnote to Beal's translation of the second passage in the *Records* containing the statement about Kanishka:—"That is, 300 years after Aśoka (B.C. 263—224), or about A.D. 75."² As far as I can find, it did not occur to Julien, the first translator of Hiuen-tsiang, to suggest any such deduction; or to Watters, who came after Beal, to endorse it. In any case, the inference is simply one of those tamperings with original statements, which make so much mischief. It ought not to have been brought into an up-to-date discussion such as this one is intended to be.

The Buddhist tradition, as reported by Hiuen-tsiang, placed Kanishka 400 years after the death of Buddha. We accept many other Buddhist traditions, whether we find them in Hiuen-tsiang's writings or in other works. And there is no reason why we should refuse to accept this one, and should class it off-hand as erroneous, as Dr. Thomas has done, except under the bias of an opinion to which acceptance of it would be at once fatal. This tradition takes us from B.C. 483, the year in which Buddha died,³ to B.C. 83, twenty-five years short of B.C. 58, which I say is the exact initial date of Kanishka as the founder of the so-called Vikrama era beginning in that year. It is plain that the statement is one in round numbers, like various other statements; and, indeed, like the statement which places Aśoka, as confused with Kālāśoka, 100 years after the death:

¹ For Hiuen-tsiang's words see JRAS, 1906, p. 979.

² *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 1, p. 151, note 97.

³ See my paper "The Date of the Death of Buddha" in JRAS, 1912, p. 239.

Kālāsōka did not begin to reign in that year; but he reigned from the year 90 to the year 118;¹ and the year 100 is a perfectly good statement in round numbers for him.

If I have seemed somewhat long over this simple point, I am sorry. The position is a frequent one: it is easy to make inside two lines an assertion the correction of which may require anything from one page to twenty or even more. On my next point, at any rate, my remarks will be short enough.

The weight of the gold coins of the Kanishka group

Some twenty years ago, the supposed discovery was made that the weight of these coins followed a standard which was adopted at Rome from B.C. 46 onwards. This, of course, would apparently be inconsistent with placing Kanishka in B.C. 58; unless, indeed, we might assume that he struck no gold coins during the first twelve years or so of his reign.

I have always had this point before my mind, as a difficulty attending the theory of B.C. 58. But I have always felt sure that sooner or later, in some way or another, it would be removed.² And that is precisely one of the things which Mr. Kennedy has achieved. He has shown plainly that the weight of these coins did not follow any such standard, but was adjusted to suit a ratio between gold and silver which prevailed in Western Asia before that time. In other words, he has given a clear reason for saying that the gold coinage of Kanishka is earlier than that of Julius Cæsar and comes before B.C. 46.³

¹ See Geiger's *Mahāvamsa*, translation, introd., p. 46: see also *ibid.*, p. 59 ff., regarding the confusion of Dharmāsōka and Kālāsōka.

² See, e.g., a remark in my *Indian Epigraphy*, in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. 2 (1908), p. 75.

³ See JRAS, 1912, pp. 996-1001.

The absence of the letter *h* from the coins of Huvishka¹

In the Greek legends on the obverses of the coins, which come from Northern India, from the dominions of the Kanishka group of kings, of a Satrap whose name as written in Kharōshthī characters was Kharaosta, I detected a letter *H*, meaning *h* (previously read as *M*, *m*), which gives Kharahōstēs as the Greek form of his name, and which I called (and still call) the Latin *H*.²

Before finishing a short paper on the absence of *h* from the Kushan coins, which stands just after the paper in which I mentioned the coins of Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs, I found, from seeing a few specimens, that the same letter meaning *h* occurs also in the legends on the obverses of coins of Nahapāna from Western India. Also, seeing a copy of the paper by Mr. Scott describing the coins of Nahapāna in detail with illustrations,³ I found that among the legends on these coins, which otherwise are in Greek characters, some, on evidently the latter issues, present also the Latin *P*, *p*. And I attributed the *H* on the coins, both of Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs, and of Nahapāna, to Roman influence.

Dr. Thomas has now shown us a table exhibiting, as he tells us (p. 643), an early alphabet which prevailed throughout Western Asia and is certainly not that of the Romans, and which presents a form closely resembling that of the *h* on the coins of Kharaosta and Nahapāna, or even practically identical with it. He has not told

¹ On this point see fully my paper "A Point in Palæography" in JRAS, 1907, p. 1041.

² See JRAS, 1907, p. 1029; and p. 1041 for a figuring of the word which has the *h*. It seemed better (and every consideration justifies the decision) to adopt the Latin *h*, rather than to assume a revival of the *h*-value of the Greek *ēta*, which had lost that value at some time about B.C. 350, when the *ēta* was cut in half vertically and developed into the rough breathing: see Taylor, *The Alphabet* (1883), vol. 2, p. 86, quoted by me in another matter in JRAS, 1908, p. 58.

³ JBBRAS, vol. 22, p. 223.

us what argument (if any) he would base on this.¹ But, in any case, the indications are plain, that the *h* which we have on the Indian coins was taken from the Latin alphabet, and not from any other source.

Now, the coins of Nahapāna show plain traces of Roman influence in another respect, at any rate; namely, in the heads on the obverses:² and it may be added that, while the characters of the legends on the obverses are Greek (except for the *H*, *h*, and *P*, *p*), the language of them is not Greek; they are a transliteration of the Indian legends on the reverses, with the introduction of certain mistakes such as an omission of the *a* of the genitive ending *sa*.³ Also, there is admittedly a clear sign of Roman influence, in the shape of an imitation of a Roman emperor's head,⁴ on the coins, from the same parts with those of Kharaosta, of a member of the Kadphisēs group of kings, bearing a name which is represented in Greek as Kozola – Kadaphes, whose date falls closely about A.D. 50. And that being the case, there can be, I think,

¹ While not disputing the importance of my determination of the *h*-value of the sign on the coins, he has severely said (p. 642) that my discovery "might deceive the very elect". Perhaps he will expound the meaning of this cryptic utterance in his final remarks: all that seems clear just now is that those alone who believe in his teaching are to be ranked among the elect.

² To such an extent that, as observed by a writer in JRAS, 1908, p. 551, "the headdress, the style of dressing the hair, the absence of moustache, and, above all, the shape of the head and features are very similar to the heads on coins of the Roman emperors of from 30 B.C. to 150 A.D., and the figures on these plates [Mr. Scott's plates 2 and 3], if examined with no previous knowledge of where they came from, might easily be mistaken for Roman coins, especially those of Alexandria bearing the Greek legends."

³ See the sample given by me in JRAS, 1907, p. 1044.

⁴ It has been proposed to recognize a likeness of Augustus (Professor Rapson, *Indian Coins* (1897), §§ 15, 66); or of Augustus or Tiberius (Mr. Vincent Smith, *Early History* (1908), p. 238, and Professor Rapson, p. 912 above); and also of Caius or Lucius, grandsons of Augustus (see JRAS, 1903, p. 30, n. 1). But all that can really be said is (I understand) that it is a Roman emperor's head of a style not later than about A.D. 60, but the exact original cannot be identified with any certainty.

no difficulty about finding a Roman influence on the coins of Kharaosta at the slightly earlier time which I mention below. However, we are concerned here with results, not sources; and my point is simply as follows:—

This letter H, *h*, is found in the legends, which except for it and the Latin P are in Greek characters, though poor ones, but not in the Greek language, on the coins of Nahapāna. But it is not found on any coins of the Kanishka series. And notably, it is not found on certain coins of Huvishka, on which it must inevitably have been used if it was known in India in his time; namely, on those coins which present the Hindū god Mahāsēna, but render his name in Greek characters by Maasēno, without the *h*.¹

For this reason, I say, Huvishka, and much more Kanishka, must have come before Nahapāna, who, whether he did or did not actually found the so-called Śaka era beginning in A.D. 78, was at any rate reigning in that year.²

But also, for the same reason, they must have come before Kharaosta, Kharahōstēs. Now, the latter was a grandson of Rājūvula, who was the father of Śoṇḍāsa.³ And we have for Śoṇḍāsa, as Mahākshatrapa or Great Satrap, a date in "the year 72" of some unspecified era.⁴ Except for one impossible view which would place Rājūvula in the period B.C. 125–100, and consequently Kharaosta about B.C. 75–50, it is, I believe, agreed by

¹ These coins were struck from various dies: for figurings of the word Maasēno on two of them, see JRAS, 1907, p. 1047.

² I hold that he did begin to reign in A.D. 78, and did found the Śaka era: see my remarks in JRAS, 1910, p. 820; 1912, p. 786; p. 992 below.

³ For these relationships see the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital, edited by Dr. Thomas in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 9, A on p. 141, and B on p. 143: the records being in Kharōshthī characters, Rājūvula, mentioned in them by the contracted form of his name, is spoken of as Rajula (= Rājūla) and Śoṇḍāsa as Śudāsa.

⁴ Professor Lüders' List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix, No. 59.

numismatists that Rājūvula and his connections are to be placed (roughly) about the beginning of the first century A.D. This view, which I accept, being taken, it follows, as a matter of common sense, to refer "the year 72", which we have for Śoṇḍāsa, to the era beginning in B.C. 58; with the result that it places Śoṇḍāsa in A.D. 15, and his nephew Kharaosta about A.D. 15-30. Accordingly, this letter *h* shows that Huvishka, and much more Kanishka, must have come before about A.D. 15-30.

When the long-wanted discovery is made, whether by excavation or by finding some new inscription on the surface, which will lift this question of the date of Kanishka above the sphere of argument and give us a definite result of any kind, it will be greeted with joy, I am sure, by all of us. Certainly, I shall welcome it, whether it endorses or upsets the view that I hold. Meanwhile, I can only speak according to my convictions, based on my understanding of such evidence as we have. It seems to me that, even on the three points with which I have dealt above, there is a conclusive case that Kanishka began to reign in the first century B.C. and about the middle of it. And common sense then compels us to refer the recorded dates of him and his successors to the only era which dates from that time, namely, the so-called Vikrama era beginning in B.C. 58; and, as we have for him so early a date as that of "the year 3", to place his initial date in B.C. 58 and to take him as the founder of the era.

At this point the discussion was adjourned, on account of other business. On the resumption of it, on the 24th June, it was continued by—

MR. KENNEDY, who said:—The difficulty of the Kanishka problem does not lie in the want of material. On the

contrary, our materials are more ample and precise than for any other period of Indo-Scythic history. But questions of contemporary Indian history and chronology, Indian literature and art, also questions of wider import—the history of Buddhism in India and China and the history of the trade of China with the West—are involved in the answer. These widespread ramifications lend an interest to the problem, but they increase the difficulty of co-ordinating the results.

In the "Secret of Kanishka"¹ I attacked the question from a somewhat novel point of view. A study of Hellenism in the East had convinced me that Kanishka must be assigned to the first century B.C.; but it was the history of the silk trade which led me to the publication of my views, because it supplied me with a key to the peculiarities of Kanishka's coinage. It is true that in this connexion I offered no proof of date; such proofs exist, and shall be given in due course; but they form an integral part of the history of the silk trade, with which, as I stated in my introduction, I hope to deal fully hereafter.² But I also brought forward two other lines of proof. Dr. Thomas has reversed the order I adopted, and it will be more convenient for the purposes of the present discussion if I follow his arrangement.

I. From, roughly speaking, 200 B.C. downwards, Indo-Greeks, Śakas, and Indo-Parthians used Greek and Kharoshthī legends on their coins. Kanishka has Greek legends, and he and his successors use only the Greek alphabet: Kharoshthī disappears. I argued, *first*, that Greek ceased to be a living language in general use east of the Euphrates after A.D. 100; and, *second*, that Kanishka and his successors knew Greek. As we are generally

¹ JRAS. 1912, pp. 665 ff., 981 ff.

² So also with the history of Yin-mūh-foo. It is intimately connected with the history of the embassies to and from China, and with the question of the route followed by the traders.

agreed that Wema Kadphises flourished c. A.D. 50-75,¹ it follows that the hundred years of the Kanishka dynasty must have preceded him. Dr. Thomas does not contest the first of my two propositions, but he is greatly astonished to find anyone maintain that Kanishka knew Greek. I am not singular in my opinion. Tarn discussed the question at some length, and concluded that Kanishka knew Greek.² And this was clearly Gardner's view, for he assigned the line of Kanishka to the second century A.D., and adduced the coins to prove that Greek was then known.³

I gave four reasons for my belief—

1. Kanishka's legend runs: *Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων κανήρκου*. This is not a tag, as asserted by Dr. Thomas. If it were such, we should have had the genitive *βασιλέως*, as on the coins of other rulers. Instead of that we have the nominative *Βασιλεὺς*. But the novel phrase contains a grammatical blunder: it puts the nominative *Βασιλεὺς* in apposition to the genitive *κανήρκου*.

A man who makes grammatical mistakes knows a language, even if he knows it badly. But this confusion of the nominative and genitive is not an ordinary blunder. It is a blunder which illiterate Greeks, and foreigners speaking Greek, were making elsewhere. I have given one instance from the coins of Seleucia.⁴ We find it also in Greek inscriptions in Egypt. A certain Isidora at Denderah dedicates a well and a *peribolos*: *ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀρτῶτος ἀνὴρ*, etc. Her brother sets up a *proscynēma*: *τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀπολλωνίου ἀδελφῆς*

¹ The period of Kozoulo Kadphises' activity falls after A.D. 25. Dr. Thomas puts the date of his death c. A.D. 40. I have given reasons for dating the conquest of Kābul and the death of Kozoulo Kadphises between A.D. 46 and 65. Mr. V. Smith puts the conquest of Kābul c. A.D. 60.

² JHS. 1902, p. 286.

³ Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Introd., pp. li, liii.

⁴ JRAS. 1912, p. 1014.

αὐτῆς.¹ How came Kanishka to blunder as illiterate Greeks blundered if he knew nothing of the language? Dr. Thomas is silent.

2. Kanishka employs a special sign to express the sound of *sh* in such words as Kushan and *shao*. He employs this sign in common with the Aramaic traders at the head of the Persian Gulf, who were accustomed to use Greek as a *lingua franca* in their commerce. Kanishka must have known enough of Greek to feel the deficiencies of its alphabet, and presumably he adopted this sign for the same reasons as these hybrid Greeks and Aramæans of the Persian Gulf. But this presupposes that he used Greek as they did. Dr. Thomas says a great deal regarding the origin of the sign; he even throws out the supposition that the Yue-che may have picked up the Greek alphabet in Bactria, where every trace of Greek had disappeared by 130 B.C.; but of my argument he takes no notice.

3. Down to Kanishka's time Greek uncials alone were used for the Greek coin-legends. Kanishka begins with uncials, but he presently changes to a beautiful cursive script, and his successors employ this script alone. This change of scripts is one of the strongest possible arguments, for it can only have been dictated by the convenience of the users—in other words, merchants who knew Greek and were accustomed to cursive Greek in their transactions. Two kings of Elam in the first century B.C. did exactly what Kanishka did. Their predecessors had employed only Aramaic legends; their successors did the same. These two kings dropped

¹ Letronne, *Recueil des inscr. Grecques et Lat. de l'Egypte*, i, pp. 99-100. Here are two other instances from Dittenberger, *Orientalis Græci Inscriptiones Selectæ*: No. 611 is from the Hauran, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος Τραϊανοῦ Νέρονος Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικοῦ Δακικὸς—a strange jumble; No. 660 is from the quarries of Hammamat, near Kossair, Ποπλίου Ἰουεντίου Ἀγαθοποῦς ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοήτης, etc. None of these examples is later than Trajan.

Aramaic and used only Greek, and the script they used was a cursive script.¹ If Kanishka flourished 50 B.C. they were his contemporaries. These arguments, drawn from daily life and contemporary history, are unnoticed by Dr. Thomas. On the other hand, he lays great stress on palæographical details which are distinctly inconclusive. To compare Kanishka's cursive alphabet with the Parthian uncials is a waste of time. The nearest congeners must be sought for in Egyptian papyri, and I have satisfied myself that there is a close resemblance between Kanishka's, or, better still, Huvishka's, script and the cursive of very early Roman papyri.²

4. Kanishka and his successors use the Greek alphabet correctly on their coins for a hundred years to express new names; and they have no other alphabet. When has it been heard that any people used only a set of unintelligible hieroglyphics on their coins, and used them correctly, if the language were unknown? We have many examples to show that a script becomes rapidly barbarous when the language falls into disuse, but not one to the contrary.

I might go farther, but let the above suffice. I have adduced four reasons to show that Greek was understood

¹ JRAS. 1913, p. 668.

² Anyone can form an opinion by comparing the coins in the B.M., or, failing that, in Gardner's work, plates xxvi-xxviii, with facsimiles of the papyri. I find both forms of *alpha*, also the rounded *sigma* and the *sigma* with its upper curve prolonged, on Huvishka's coins, and in pl. iv, p. 42, of Kenyon's *Palæography of the Greek Papyri*. The same *beta*, *eta*, *kappa*, *nu*, and *omicron* may be found in both. The date of the papyrus is A.D. 15. The rounded and the wedge-shaped *epsilon* on Huvishka's coins reproduce the two forms in the *graffito* of Dörion, the elephant hunter, given by Weigall, *Travels in the Upper Egyptian Desert*, p. 166—a *graffito* of presumably Ptolemaic times. For an example of the wedge-shaped *epsilon* on Huvishka's coins v. *Ardeikhsho*, Gardner, pl. xxvii, 9. The rounded beauty of the early Roman hand may, I think, be recognized in Kanishka's cursive, due allowance being made for the difference of material. Like the legends of the Elamite Orodes and Phraates, Huvishka's legends are turned sometimes inwards, sometimes outwards.

in the Panjāb in the days of Kanishka. Regarding two of these four reasons Dr. Thomas maintains a discreet silence ; regarding the other two I submit that he says nothing to the point. He is astonished to find that I should maintain in common with Messrs. Gardner and Tarn that Kanishka knew Greek, and he concludes that I have no case !

Dr. Thomas is even less happy in dealing with what I have called the direct evidence. This was threefold. I quoted the statement of an early Indian writer, preserved in a Chinese compilation of the fifth or sixth century A.D., to show that a Kushan kingdom, independent of Kābul, existed in Northern India in the first century B.C.¹ Pan-ku told us that Ki-pin (Kashmīr) possessed a gold currency in the same century, and as the Kushans were the only kings of India who minted gold they must have been at that time masters of the country. Lastly, I quoted Pan Yong's official report, made c. A.D. 125, and preserved for us by Fan Ye, to show that down to the time of his report the Bactrian monarchs ruled their dominions south of the Paropamisus through a viceroy.

Of these three pieces of evidence, Pan-ku's, as I pointed

¹ This author places the Yavanas in the north, the Śakas in the south, the Pahlavas in the west, and the Tushāras in the east. The location of the first three in the first century B.C. is historically certain. The Yavanas were in Kābul, as Dr. Thomas admits ; the Śakas in the lower Indus Valley, the Indo-Scythia of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy ; and the Parthians in Arachosia and the west. Dr. Thomas suggests that according to Chinese notions of orientation I should have allotted the Tushāras to Eastern Turkestan, a country with which they had never any connexion. Why I should adapt Chinese notions of orientation to the interpretation of an Indian author, or why I should commit a historical absurdity, I fail to see. An Indian author who put the Yavanas in Kābul and the Śakas in the lower Indus Valley would certainly regard the Panjāb or Hindustan as the east. Nor do I know from what source Dr. Thomas has derived his notions of Chinese orientation. Ideas regarding the cardinal points of the compass differ in different parts of China. As to Aśvaghosha, he employs a mode of speech which any inhabitant of Eastern Hindustan might use at the present day in speaking of the Panjāb.

out in my paper, is the weakest. The Indian coin which he describes in detail is of the first century A.D., and not of gold or silver, but of copper. The Parthian coin, too, mentioned by him is a first-century A.D. coin. On the other hand, considering the numerous transactions of the Chinese with Ki-pin in the first century B.C., and the exact nature of the information utilized by the official Chinese annalists, we are not entitled to set aside his evidence summarily, as Dr. Thomas does.

If Pan-ku is the weakest, Pan Yong is the strongest of our witnesses. Pan Yong was a younger contemporary of Wema Kadphises, and of all Chinamen the most qualified, both by his antecedents and his official position, to speak on the subject. And his statement bars any attempt to place Kanishka immediately after the Bactrian monarch, or between him and A.D. 125. Dr. Thomas entirely ignores Pan Yong's statement, and in this he merely does what every defender of the theory he upholds must do. They will not accept it, and they dare not contest it.

On the other hand, the statement that the Kushans were reigning in the Panjāb while the Yavanas were reigning in Kābul is dismissed with the remark that the writer was a Buddhist monk. It is easy to pooh-pooh an inconvenient witness, but, unfortunately for Dr. Thomas, the Buddhist monk turns out to be corroborated by an authority which admits of no denial.¹ We owe its discovery to Professor Sten Konow. The history of the Later Han tells us that Kozoulo Kadphises conquered

¹ Dr. Thomas has a somewhat summary way of dealing with inconvenient witnesses. If Pan-ku says that there was a gold currency of Ki-pin in the first century B.C., Dr. Thomas merely contradicts him, begging the whole question. The Buddhist monk gets even shorter shrift. When Ma-tuan-lin's account of the Śakas does not agree with his (JRAS. 1906, p. 189, n. 3), Dr. Thomas assures us that "the whole story seems incorrect" to him. At this rate one can build up any historical edifice one pleases.

Kao-fu (Kābul) and *Ki-pin* (Kashmīr): he was the first Kushan who had conquered Kābul. His son Wema Kadphises conquered *T'ien-chu*, i.e. India (here the Indus Valley and the Panjāb), *this being the second time the Kushans had conquered it*. The passage literally translated by Mr. Giles, of the British Museum, runs thus: "In his place was king again extinguished T'ien-chu (India)." "The word *again*,"¹ says Mr. Giles, "can only mean a second conquest."

There had therefore been a Kushan kingdom of *T'ien-chu* before Wema Kadphises—a Kushan kingdom, moreover, which had nothing to do with Kābul. And the history of the Later Han enables us indirectly to date this kingdom. It tells us that a Kushan *jab-gou*² established a petty principality in or just to the north of Gandhāra more than one hundred years before Kozoulo Kadphises. From a comparison of Sze-ma-t'sien and Pan-ku we learn that this petty principality must have been founded about 100 or 90 B.C. Fan Ye also tells us in his history of the Later Han that he excludes everything which happened before A.D. 25. We have therefore a Kushan kingdom of T'ien-chu which arose, flourished, and decayed between 90 B.C. and A.D. 25. And we gather from other Chinese sources that these Kushans were the agents who first introduced Buddhism into China. We must therefore admit the existence of a kingdom of Northern India in the first century B.C. which corresponds exactly with the kingdom we ascribe to Kanishka, and that on the very same authority which narrates Wema Kadphises' conquest of the country.

I wish to draw your attention to the nature of this evidence. Most of the evidence which deals with the

¹ *Fu*.

² Dr. Thomas might study the following passage with advantage: "Comme officiers, ils ont les *che-hou* (jab-gou), les *t'ele* (tegin) qui sont toujours pris parmi les fils ou les frères cadets ou les parents du Kagan"—Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 21.

problem of Kanishka is circumstantial, and, from the imperfections of our knowledge, there is generally a possibility of error. The statements in the history of the Later Han are based on official reports of contemporaries; chiefly on the report of Pan Yong. They are therefore evidence of the highest value, and cannot be set aside without most ample proof that they are wrong.

Dr. Thomas does not attempt so vain a task. He ignores the evidence altogether, as he had practically done with regard to my arguments regarding Kanishka's Greek. I maintain therefore that he has failed to invalidate or even touch a single one of my arguments. And if my two lines of proof be admitted, they are conclusive. The one posits a Kushan kingdom of *T'ien-chu* in the first century B.C.; the other forbids us to ascribe it to any one except Kanishka.

I turn to certain objections and misconceptions which it is necessary to clear up in order to a right understanding of the case—

1. I am asked why Kanishka coined gold, while silver and copper alone were minted in the Parthian Empire. The answer is obvious. Strictly speaking, as Mommsen says, the Arsacids did not coin at all.¹ The Greek cities in their dominions struck coins in their name, and subordinate kings did so in their own. To coin gold was an imperial privilege, an assertion of supreme authority.² To strike gold would have been an act of rebellion, and a proclamation of independence.³

¹ Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 12.

² JRAS. 1912, p. 1002.

³ Dr. Thomas repeats without a qualm the old story that the Kushans got their gold supply from Rome. I have pointed out (1) that gold came from Rome only in the shape of coined money; (2) that the finds of Roman coins in the Panjāb are remarkably few; (3) that no Roman coin has yet been found re-struck by a Kushan. Roman gold in the first century of our era went chiefly to Malabar. As to Dr. Thomas' remarks regarding certain coins with legends in a North Aryan language,

2. One difficulty which Dr. Thomas raises is, I think, peculiar to himself. The Greeks held Kābul in the first century B.C. Kanishka cannot therefore have invaded India by way of Kābul. Nor can he have entered India by way of Kashmir, for, says Dr. Thomas, invasion by that route is impossible. It is not only not impossible ; it has been done. In A.D. 747 a Chinese general carried his army of 3,000 men from Wakhan in the Pamirs over the Hindu Kush, and made Mastuj to the north-east of Chitral a Chinese province.¹ There are at least three passes from Wakhan over the Hindu Kush by which the valley of the Upper Indus can be reached—the Baroghil, which is only 12,400 feet high ; the Darkot, which was crossed by the Chinese when they invaded Mastuj ; and the Khora-bhort. But the matter is not open to question. We know that about 100 B.C. five Yue-che *jab-gou* established petty principalities north and south of the Hindu Kush. The first of these was in Wakhan, where the Oxus takes its rise, and which could be reached by the Yue-che living on that river.² The third principality was the Kushan, in or just to the north of Gandhāra. The Kushans must have come from Wakhan down the Indus valley, but the precise route by which they travelled is immaterial. Sufficient to say that in Gandhāra they were at once in a position to invade India. Of a *tribal* invasion of India by the Yue-che at this or any subsequent period, we have not the smallest evidence. We only hear of them as

I frankly confess that I do not understand them. The coins in question are of copper, and therefore only meant for local use. They have a lion or a Bactrian camel on the reverse, which points, like their legends, to an origin north of the Paropamisus, and the broken Greek would seem to indicate that they were struck by subordinates of the Kushan monarchs of Bactria. As they were struck for local use, they must have been in the popular tongue.

¹ Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. i, p. 52.

² The whole Yue-che horde was settled at the time on the north bank of the Oxus.

a governing class, or as traders; while the Kushans of Gandhāra appear to have consisted of only a small body of military adventurers. Once the Kushans were firmly fixed in their new seat, a military chief would have no difficulty in raising an army from the valiant mountain tribes around, together with volunteers from Central Asia, for the conquest of the plains; and early successes would attract recruits. The task need not have been a difficult one. The Panjāb was broken up into a number of small states; the Śunga dynasty of Magadha was hastening to its end. An army smaller even than Baber's would suffice.

3. There are few ideas harder to dispel than the supposition that Kanishka and Huvishka were masters of Kābul. In that case it would follow that they must be later than the Kadphises kings. But what is the evidence? The Wardak vase and the coins. Regarding the Wardak vase, I have already said my say, and a more competent hand has undertaken to discuss it. For the coins our chief authority is Masson. He opened a number of topes at Wardak and in the vicinity of the town of Kābul, and a very large number in the neighbourhood of Jalālābād. In many of these he found coin deposits. He also collected in three years nearly 7000 coins of all ages at Beghrām.

(1) In a tope at Guldāra near the town of Kābul he found three gold coins of Wema Kadphises with one of Huvishka. The other topes which yielded coins of the Kanishka dynasty were near Jalālābād. A tope at Chahār Bāgh contained twenty-eight copper coins of Kanishka. At Hidda, close by, a tope had a copper coin of Wema Kadphises with four copper coins of the "successors of Kanerkes". If we add the later find of the Ahin Posh stūpa (ten gold coins of Wema Kadphises, six of Kanishka, one of Huvishka, and three Roman aurei), we have four topes in all with Kanishka and Huvishka coins, and in three out of the four Wema

Kadphises also occurs. Against this, Masson sets down seven out of eleven topes at one single spot, Darunta, to the Kadphises kings,¹ who are represented with Sôtēr Megas in almost every coin-bearing tope near Jalālābād, and their coins in some cases number over a hundred at a time. The two topes near the town of Kābul which had coins yielded coins of Wema Kadphises.²

(2) It is impossible from Masson's description to assign all the coins he collected at Beghrām to their respective owners. But he puts down 695 to Sôtēr Megas, 593 to "Ermaios of Nysa and his family", 746 are of the "bull and priest-Okro" type,³ and therefore all, or almost all, of Wema Kadphises. Besides these there are 99 of Kadphises—2133 coins of the Kadphises kings, their viceroy, and their ally. And the list is incomplete. On the other hand we have only 28 coins of "Kanerkos", and 111 of the "Kanerki family".

What ground, then, have we for supposing that Kanishka and Huvishka were kings of Kābul? Their coinage was as abundant as that of the Kadphises kings, their reigns probably as long. And yet they are represented from Kābul by what is perhaps not one-twentieth of the output of the Kadphises kings, the real rulers of that country.⁴

The obvious explanation is that Kanishka and Huvishka did not possess Kābul. That their coins are found there at all is due to the people of Kābul, who were keen traders, as we are told; and in the course of trade they naturally brought a certain amount of foreign gold from India into their own country.

¹ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 91.

² Masson's report on his excavations is given in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 55 ff. The figures of his coin-finds at Beghrām will be found in JASB. 1836, p. 547.

³ *Okro* is the old misreading of *Oēsho* on the Kushan coins.

⁴ It is of course possible that Kanishka and Huvishka, one of whose capitals was Peshāwar, may have held both ends of the Khyber Pass, including Jalālābād. Hindu princes have done so, but I see no necessity for the supposition.

4. Professor Rapson bases his argument on what he considers an unbroken sequence of the coinage from Kanishka through Vāsudeva and the Later Kushans to the Sassanians and Guptas. But is the sequence unbroken? The Later Kushans imitate the coinage of Vāsudeva, not of Wema Kadphises. But they imitate it mechanically. Such knowledge of the Greek alphabet as is shown in Vāsudeva's coins has disappeared. The names of Kanishka and Vāsudeva are slavishly copied or blundered, according to the ability of the engraver; he is no longer able to express the name of the reigning sovereign, and Nāgari letters now make their appearance on the coins. There is clearly a break, or some cataclysm, between the time of Vāsudeva and these Later Kushans. And this is in keeping with what we know of Kushan history. I have treated fully of the history of the Later Kushans elsewhere.¹ I shall therefore merely summarize our knowledge—

(1) Down to *c.* A.D. 125 the Bactrian monarchs ruled their dominions south of the Paropamisus by a viceroy.

(2) Ptolemy, writing *c.* A.D. 150, describes a kingdom of the Kaspeiraioi, which embraced the Eastern Panjāb. The Kaspeiraioi, or Kashmiris, from the nature of the case, must have been Hinduized Kushans. Ptolemy's description is incompatible with the existence of any kingdom like that of Kanishka or Huvishka.

(3) At the commencement of the third century A.D. *T'ien-chu*, *Ki-pin*, and *Kao-fou* were ruled by three Kushan kings, who were independent of the Bactrian monarch. The king of *T'ien-chu* was the most important of the three, and was one of the four great "sons of heaven".

(4) About A.D. 280 the Sassanians entered into relations, at first hostile, then friendly, with the Kushan kings of Kābul. Hormisdas I married a princess of Kābul, and

¹ See farther on in this number of our Journal.

Indian symbols make their appearance on Sassanian coins, Sassanian symbols upon Western Kushan ones.

(5) Samudragupta, c. A.D. 350, was on friendly terms with these three Kushan kings, whom he designates respectively Devaputra, Shāhi, and Shāhanushāhi.

(6) About A.D. 450 Kidāra, or *Ki-to-lo*, crossed the Hindu Kush, and made himself master of Peshāwar and whatever territory the Indian Kushans still retained.

Throughout this history, from the time of Wema Kadphises downwards, there is no room for Kanishka.

The fallacies of the so-called numismatic argument remain to be dealt with, and the easiest way to dispel misconceptions is to explain the genesis of the theory which puts Kanishka after Wema Kadphises.

It appears to have arisen in a perfectly natural manner. Hermæus and Kozoulo Kadphises are associated on their coins. Hermæus naturally became the last of the Greeks, Kozoulo Kadphises the first of the Kushans. Cunningham identified *Yen-kao-chen*, who according to the Chinese conquered India, with Wema Kadphises, the son of Kozoulo. This made the chain complete. Other considerations tended to the same conclusion. The word Kushan is spelt on the Kadphises coins as *Korsou*, *Korsea*, and *Khoransu*; on the Kanishka coins it appears as *Koshano*.¹ The first three were taken to be tentative renderings; the last the final one.

So far as I know, neither Cunningham nor Lassen, the two greatest of early Indian archæologists and historians, ever got beyond this. Wilson alone appeals to numismatic details. He finds two monograms on the Kadphises coins; one of these they share with the Kanishka coinage. Wilson says: "The identity of the monogram that is retained, and the purer style of the Greek inscriptions on some of the coins, tend to show that Kanerki must have come next in succession to Kadphises."²

¹ ASI. ii, p. 64.

² *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 364.

With our fuller knowledge we can see how these eminent pioneers in Indian historical research went astray. We have learnt from the Chinese that Kozoulo Kadphises took Kābul from the Indo-Parthians, and we know that he adopted the current coin-types. We also know that Kanishka had only to do with the Panjāb, and that he instituted an entirely original coinage, which took its inspiration from the traders of the Persian Gulf. Wema Kadphises was king of Kābul before he was king of Northern India, and his coinage presents a conflated type which borrows from both his predecessors. Add to this that the Yavanas of Kanishka's dominions were illiterate mongrels who had long lived under Scythic rulers, who spoke bad Greek, who, like the "mean" Greeks of Babylonia and Egypt, bore indifferently Greek and native names, and whose gods had nothing in common with the patron gods of the Indo-Grecian kings; and contrast their condition with that of the Greeks in Arachosia and Kābul, who were long independent of native rule, who preserved their Hellenic *ethos*, and spoke good Greek down to the middle of the first century A.D. If we remember all this, we shall find a clear clue to the perplexities of the coinage.

Professor Rapson and Mr. V. Smith do not accept this solution; they are the chief exponents of what is called the numismatic argument, and Professor Rapson has appeared in its defence. I never rise from a perusal of Professor Rapson's writings without admiring the soundness of his learning and the thoroughness of his work. But he is no more infallible than the rest of us. I have already dealt with his special contribution to the present discussion. For the rest he relies on Dr. Thomas. And I can understand the difficulty which he experienced in mastering the contents of my paper, and assimilating propositions which appeared to him incorrect or uncertain. You cannot reverse the chronology of two centuries

without altering considerably your historical conceptions of the time. Ideas we have long entertained without question are not easily set aside, and it is hard to take in all the connotations and ramifications of a new theory, much less to accept that theory itself, until it is fully developed.

Let me in my turn enumerate some of the numismatic "certainties" which I have done my best to disprove, and which Professor Rapson has not attempted to defend. I shall classify them under three heads: mistakes of fact, illogical conclusions, and the confusion of things which ought to be kept separate.

1. *Mistakes of fact.*—Professor Rapson and Mr. V. Smith have stated in the most authoritative way that the standard weight of the Kushan gold pieces followed the standard weight of the Roman aurei. This was the most important point in the so-called numismatic argument. I have shown its fallacy. Professor Rapson says not a word in its defence, and what Mr. Smith has said will not rehabilitate it.¹

Mr. V. Smith bases the priority of Wema Kadphises on the greater wear and tear of his coins. I have shown by figures taken from Cunningham that the contrary is the case.

2. *Illogical inferences.*—Professor Rapson apparently, and Mr. V. Smith expressly, make the Mathurā Satraps the immediate successors of Strato II, on the ground that Rājūvula imitates Strato's coinage. I have shown that

¹ The so-called Roman head on certain coins of Kozoulo Kadphises, on which Messrs. Rapson and V. Smith lay great stress, is undoubtedly an imitation of an early Imperial head. A very competent expert pointed out to me that the arrangement of the hair, especially at the back of the neck, is characteristic of the Roman medals before Nero. On the other hand the fillet is looped in a non-Roman fashion, and there is no likeness to any individual emperor: so my friend said. Those who consider it a likeness cannot agree as to which of four persons it resembles. The question does not enter into my argument, as we are all agreed that Kozoulo Kadphises belongs to some date between A.D. 25 and A.D. 50 or so.

this is no necessary inference. The darics of the last Achæmenid circulated in Asia Minor for a century after Alexander; the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were current in Barygaza in the days of the *Periplus*; Roman coins were in use in Germany throughout the Middle Ages; and punch-marked copper, the oldest of all Indian coinages, was the sole copper coinage of the Gorakhpur bazar in 1885. Kanishka issued no silver coins, and Rājūvula imitated the silver coinage which was still current in the place.

3. *The confusion of things which ought to be kept distinct.*—This is the commonest error of all, and underlies a great part of Professor Oldenberg's well-known paper. I confess I get wearied in this maze of conjectures and probabilities where no firm footing is. To my mind the answer is obvious. Kozoulo Kadphises reigned in Kābul, and followed the lines of the coinage of that country. Kanishka reigned in the Panjāb and Hindustan proper, and instituted an entirely original coinage. Wema Kadphises came after both, and borrowed from both.

Dr. Thomas commits the same error when he says that it is extremely improbable Wema Kadphises should have revived the use of Kharoshthi legends after they had disappeared for a hundred years. The answer is that Kharoshthi never disappeared in the territory to which it really belonged, and from the coinage of that country. Wema Kadphises simply did what his father, and those whom his father imitated, had always been doing. The Panjāb and Kābul were as distinct then as they are now. Wema Kadphises united the two countries and their coinages.

Professor Oldenberg has done good service in drawing attention to the somewhat anomalous position of Vāsudeva, but I cannot assent to the argument he builds on the Ahin Posh find.¹ The Ahin Posh stūpa deposit contained

¹ For my paper on this find see JRAS. 1913, p. 371.

coins of Kanishka and Wema Kadphises with one of Huvishka, and three Roman coins, the latest Sabina's, c. A.D. 130. "Why is Vāsudeva absent?" asks Professor Oldenberg. And he answers: "probably because he was non-existent." Might not one ask equally well: why should Vāsudeva be present? The tope in question was not in his dominions. It was in all probability outside the dominions even of Kanishka and Huvishka. They had as little to do with it as the Roman emperors. Wema Kadphises is the only king whom we should naturally expect to find there.

The argument *ex silentio* is seldom conclusive; it is often dangerous. It is by a mere accident that Huvishka is represented in the Ahin Posh stūpa. At Peshāwar we have a find with Kanishka, Huvishka, Vāsudeva, and "Kadphises". Why is the other Kadphises missing? A reliquary at Mānikīāla contained coins of Huvishka with Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian coins, as well as coins of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Were there no intervening kings? These coins, like the Roman ones, seem to have been placed in stūpas along with gems, relics, and other valuable articles, as much-esteemed curios; and what can you argue from a collection of curios? We can safely infer that a stūpa was built after the latest of the coins found in it; but the actual age of the stūpa must be determined by quite other considerations.

Dr. Thomas complains of my "strange treatment of the Ahin Posh find"; he says I have disguised the circumstances in "a haze of inconclusive matter". Two arguments have been built upon this find: the one advanced by Professor Oldenberg which I have just dealt with; the other argument is Mr. V. Smith's. At the outset of the paper to which Dr. Thomas refers, I expressly stated that I was not dealing with the general numismatic argument; and to show the subject I was dealing with, I quoted Mr. Smith's words. Mr. Smith's reasoning was

based on the alleged freshness of the solitary Huvishka coin. He inferred from this circumstance that the stūpa was built during, or soon after, the lifetime of Huvishka ; and next that it was probably contemporaneous with Sabina (whose coin was in the deposit), or not much later. Professor Oldenberg endorsed this argument, and modified his chronology to suit it.

I replied (1) that there were coins of Wema Kadphises in this find as fresh as the one of Huvishka ; (2) I showed that, if wear and tear were to be taken as a criterion of age, the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka were on an average as old as, if not a good deal older than, those of Wema Kadphises ; (3) that the stūpa was probably of a much later age than Messrs. Smith and Oldenberg thought, and could not be assigned to any date supposable for Huvishka.

Whether these arguments be lucid or hazy, Dr. Thomas has not replied to them. On the other hand I entirely fail to understand the concluding portion of the selfsame paragraph. Dr. Thomas gives, from Mr. Allan, a list of localities where the coins of the Kanishka and the Kadphises groups have been found together. Without any attempt to distinguish hoards from tope-deposits or common "find-spots" (the list contains examples of all three), and without trying to weigh the evidential value of the material he is using, he proceeds: "In at least three cases [where coins of Kanishka are found in company with those of Wema Kadphises] the large collections represent neither Huvishka, nor Vāsudeva, nor Kadphises I, all of whom Mr. Kennedy supposes to have intervened. The reliability of inferences from such collocations is demonstrated in cases untouched by any doubt." *What does he mean?* Does he wish to suggest that, because examples of the two commonest of all Indo-Scythic coinages are found together without any others, the one king immediately succeeded to the

other? Mr. Allan's list was not necessary to prove such a collocation. The coins of Kanishka and Wema Kadphises were still circulating together in the Indian bazars in the year 1841, according to Wilson.¹ Much may be learnt from the collocation of coins, but not, I fear, by Dr. Thomas' methods.

And now I have done with objections. The chief difficulty is to put away old idols, and divest our minds of preconceived ideas. Verification is the test of every historical theory. And past experience makes me confident that the clues we now hold, and the results to which they lead, will stand that test.

Mr. VINCENT SMITH said :—The problem set may be regarded as comprising two questions, intimately associated and yet distinguishable; namely, the question of the date of Kanishka, and the question of the relative priority of the Kadphises group of kings and the Kanishka group. It is true that Cunningham, long ago, shared the opinion now advocated by Dr. Fleet and Mr. Kennedy that Kanishka's accession coincided with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. But when Cunningham professed that opinion he placed Kadphises I in 126 B.C.² It never occurred to him to suppose that the Kanishka group of kings preceded the Kadphises group. The theory that the Kanishka group came first was started by Dr. Fleet, and has received little support, in public at least, from Indianist scholars. Dr. Franke of Berlin, the eminent sinologist, certainly, has given his adhesion to the theory, but the reasons by

¹ "The copper coins of Kadphises and Kanerkes are found in considerable quantities in the hands of the money-changers of most of the large towns of Hindustan" (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 349). In a supplemental list furnished me by Mr. Allan I find that, in three cases out of seven, only Kanishka and Kozoulo Kadphises appear. Am I justified in supposing that the one came straightway after the other?

² ASR. ii, 67, 68, note.

which he supports his decision are extremely weak, and his advocacy is further weakened by his admission that he has little knowledge of Indian antiquities.¹ Practically, therefore, Dr. Fleet's only supporter in print is my friend Mr. Kennedy, whose ingenious and interesting speculations cover an enormous field. They are, indeed, so comprehensive that it is impossible to discuss them in detail without raising an infinity of side issues very remotely connected with the Secret of Kanishka. Many of Mr. Kennedy's supposed facts are obviously disputable.

Time being limited, I take advantage of Dr. Fleet's bold statement at the meeting a fortnight ago, when he said: "It seems to me that, even on the three points with which I have dealt above, there is a conclusive case that Kanishka began to reign in the first century B.C. and about the middle of it." So far as these three points are concerned there is no difficulty in showing that the case is very far from being conclusive. The points are:—

1. The failure of Huvishka's die-cutter to express graphically the medial aspirate, especially in the name Mahāsenā. Dr. Fleet, observing that Nahapāna and another prince, Kharahostes, whom I place earlier than Huvishka, express the aspirate by a character identical in form with the Latin *h*, argues that if Huvishka reigned in the second century after Christ that character should have been used in his coin legends. But it is easy to suppose that Huvishka's die-cutter may have dropped his *h*'s, and did not want to write them; or, if preferred, we may believe in local variations of script. Anyhow, no solid argument about the date of Huvishka is to be found in the fact that his die-cutter used the spelling Maāsena rather than Mahāsenā.

2. The traditional date of Kanishka as 400 years after the Nirvāṇa. This tradition is only one of many such. For instance, Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) reports another

¹ *Beiträge zur Türkvolker*, p. 100.

tradition making the interval 500 years,¹ while the *Rājataranginī* reduces it to 150 years.² The books and local chronicles are full of such traditional dates, almost all worthless. No "conclusive" evidence is obtainable from the 400 years tradition.

3. The allegation that the weights of the coins of Kanishka, etc., are not related to those of the Roman aurei. Nearly all numismatists, e.g. Cunningham, Percy Gardner, Professor Rapson, and myself, believe in the reality of the connexion. Mr. Kennedy thinks that he has disproved it. The discussion of his views on the subject would lead us very far afield and is impossible here, so I must content myself with saying that on a purely numismatic question I prefer the guidance of Cunningham and the experts of the British Museum. But I must make Mr. Kennedy a present of von Sallet's support; that eminent numismatist differed from the other experts, and saw no ground for thinking of the Roman aureus in connexion with the "staters" of the Kanishka series, which he preferred to regard as struck to the Attic standard, reduced.³ The question, clearly, is a technical one with two sides, and Mr. Kennedy's solution cannot claim to be "conclusive".

Thus the whole of Dr. Fleet's "conclusive case" as stated by himself disappears.

I know, of course, that there are other arguments on his side, but it is not possible for me to deal with more on this occasion, and I have, I fear, already exceeded the limit of your patience.

I mention merely one more point, arising from Mr. Kennedy's address to-day. He stated, as if the fact were accepted, that the Kanishka kings had nothing to do with Kābul. Has he never consulted *Ariana Antiqua*

¹ Watters, i, 224.

² Stein, trans., bk. i, v. 172.

³ *Nachfolger Alexanders*, pp. 79, 81.

and read the lists of coins found by Masson in the *stūpas* or *topes* of Afghanistan? Multitudes of coins of Kanishka and Huvishka were found associated with those of Kadphises II.¹ [I may note that I know of one case only, namely, at Mānikyāla, in which coins of Kanishka are associated with those of Kadphises I.]² Mr. Kennedy seems also to forget the inscription on the Wardak vase, dated in the year 51, in the reign of Huvishka, recently edited by Mr. Pargiter.³ I have not the slightest doubt that the Kanishka kings held the Kābul territory as an integral part of their immense empire.

Mr. BARNETT said :—I beg leave to make a few observations on Dr. Thomas' paper :—

1. The monuments of Gandhāra art connected with Kanishka are a two-edged sword. Granting, as M. Foucher contends, that they belong to a middle period in the history of the art, we must posit at least a century of growth between the atrocious casket of the Peshawar Stūpa and the mature works which are assigned by most antiquaries to the middle of the first century A.D. And this distance of time cannot be lessened by Mr. Vincent Smith's arbitrary assumption that Kanishka had good stone-carvers at his command, but only bad metal-workers; for the casket was so tremendously important that it could not be left to a bad workman in an age and district rich in the highest technical skill.

2. The case for Kanishka's Greek is stronger than he supposes. All Kanishka's coin-legends are in Greek letters, which must therefore have been at least almost as familiar in the Panjab as the Indian scripts. The explanation of this use of Greek letters is, according

¹ *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 347 seqq.

² Cunningham, *ASR.* ii, 162.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. xi, p. 202; and see *JRAS.* 1912, pp. 1060-2.

to Dr. Thomas, that the Scythian tongue of Kanishka was first committed to writing in Bactria in Greek characters; a theory as to which he uses the words "no doubt", whereas I feel much doubt, as I see no evidence whatever. According to Mr. Kennedy the explanation is that a Greek jargon was used locally as a lingua franca: this is supported by the fact that the coins show some knowledge, though an imperfect one, of Greek case-forms (*ἥλιος, σαλήνη*), which was not to be derived mechanically from Greek coins.

3. As to Dr. Thomas' statement that there is no reason for laying a special emphasis on the silk trade, I would remark that Vergil in his *Georgics*, ii, 121 (37-30 B.C.), thought differently.

4. As Dr. Thomas says, "the Chinese Life of Vasubandhu . . . places Aśvaghōṣa in the 500's" after the Nirvāṇa. The Chinese words mean most naturally, not the fifth century elapsed (501 to 600), but the fifth century *current*, i.e. the years 401 to 500.

5. He asks triumphantly why Professor Lüders, who has published an admirable edition of the fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas, should be opposed by Mr. Kennedy on the subject of his date. Are we to be responsible for the Professor's error?

6. He speaks of Aśvaghōṣa as a "contemporary and correspondent" of Kanishka. But though he was a contemporary, more or less, there is no good evidence that he ever had any correspondence with Kanishka.

7. Dr. Fleet does not claim that Kanishka started his era from a Council.

8. Dr. Thomas asks why Kozoulo Kadphises issued only copper coins. This is rather begging the question; because for all that we know he may have minted gold and silver too. But, granting the assumption, we find the answer in the words of Dr. Thomas himself in the early part of his paper: Kozoulo Kadphises was only a "chief",

a comparatively petty local ruler; his son Wēma was an emperor, with the title of such, and minted gold, like Kaniška.

9. The chief argument of Professor Rapson seems to be that the types of the coins of the Later Kushans are copied in those of some Sassanian kings, and therefore all the Kushans, from Kaniška onward, are comparatively late. With all respect I venture to say *non sequitur*. We do not know how many of the Later Kushans reigned, or what are the exact facts about all their mintages: hence, when, e.g., we find on a Sassanian coin degraded types which may be traced back to the coins of Vāsudeva, we cannot say how many Kushans used them before they were taken over by the Sassanians. Coin-types linger long in India: Professor Rapson himself in his admirable *Indian Coins* shows us how the type of the seated goddess, which appears on Kushan coins, is repeated again and again, even down to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

10. A very leading point of evidence in the case, in my opinion, rests upon the Chinese Buddhist literature, combined with the Tibetan work of Tāranātha. The tradition clearly makes Kaniška and Aśvaghoṣa contemporaries; but the slighting references to Kaniška in the Sūtrālamkāra make it likely that Kaniška died before the latter work was composed. The facts may be summed up thus:—

(1) A statement (see p. 915, above) which is presented in the form of a prophecy of the Buddha, quoted by Hiuen Tshang, assigns Kaniška to the 400th year after the Nirvāṇa (i.e. *circa* 83 B.C.).

(2) Paramārtha (see JRAS, 1905, p. 52) assigns Aśvaghoṣa and the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā to the "five hundreds" after the Nirvāṇa, i.e. to the fifth century *current* from 483 B.C.; i.e. to the period 83 B.C. to A.D. 17. Compare para. 4 above.

(3) Tāranātha speaks of successive generations of patriarchs — (a) Ghoṣaka and Vasumitra, under Kanishka, (b) Buddhadeva, (c) Nāgārjuna, who according to Hiuen Tshang lived under Śātavāhana (that is to say, he was supposed to have flourished *circa* 78 A.D.).

(4) A Chinese record (Nanjio, 1340) puts Aśvaghōṣa two generations before Nāgārjuna.

(5) The Buddhadeva mentioned by Tāranātha may well be identical with the Buddhadeva of the inscription K-L on the Mathura lion-capital. This confirms the view which would place the latter at the beginning of the first century A.D.

Aśvaghōṣa, then, may be assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C., and Kanishka would be an older contemporary, who may well have been crowned in 58 B.C.

Lieut.-Colonel WADDELL said:—The second source of evidence, mentioned by Dr. Thomas, for the date of Kanishka, is Gandhāra or Greco-Buddhist Art. As neither Dr. Thomas nor the other speakers have utilized this source, I propose to indicate here some of the chronological results which seem to me to issue from this evidence, especially as these differ considerably from the views hitherto held.

Upon the question of the relationship of Kanishka to Gandhāra art, current opinion is sharply divided. Mr. V. Smith states that the art of the Gandhāra school attained its *highest* development *during* the reign of Kanishka.¹ Dr. Vogel and Dr. Spooner, on the other hand, say "it is *certain* that the great *flourishing* period of Gandhāra art had *passed away*" *before* the epoch of Kanishka.² Whilst M. Foucher takes a *middle* view and considers that Kanishka occupied a *middle* period.³

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, 115, 1908.

² *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India*, 1908-9, pp. 33-4, 50.

³ *London lectures*, 1913. Cf. also *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, 1905, pp. 40-2.

Now, neither of these divergent views appear to me to be in keeping with the facts. Looking at the crude and debased style and workmanship of Kaniška's coins and relic-casket, few, if any, are likely to accept Mr. Smith's view that Kaniška's period represents the acme of Gandhāra art. The second view, that Kaniška's art was more or less "decadent", is more plausible; but it is opposed by known chronology. Taking even the earliest limit for the zenith of Gandhāra art, that of M. Senart (which is accepted by M. Foucher, though it is a mere conjecture), namely, "anterior to the second half of the second century A.D.,"¹ this date, when allowing for the art to become decadent, would necessitate the postponement of Kaniška's date to at least the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D., which is impossibly late.

The facts, on the contrary, seem to me to suggest that Kaniška's art is not really "decadent Gandhāra", but represents the initial or an early stage in the evolution of the Gandhāra school, which had its centre at Kaniška's Gandhāra capital and was probably founded by Kaniška himself, beginning with his debased imitations of the classic Roman art of his period, as seen on his coins and relic-casket.

This view is supported by the following facts and considerations :—

1. *There is no evidence whatever that Gandhāra or Greco-Buddhist art existed before the epoch of Kaniška.* The argument that Menander or Gondopharnes may possibly have introduced Greco-Buddhist art is a pure assumption, so far unsupported by any known fact. All research has hitherto failed to find any trace of ancient Greek sculpture or architecture in India. The only material art-vestiges of the Greek and Parthian period

¹ Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

are coins, and none of these bear any specific figure of Buddha or Greco-Buddhist art.

What do the Gandhāra sculptures themselves tell us regarding their dates? In addition to Kanishka's relic-casket and his coin bearing the figure of Buddha, both of which, although not dated, must fall within the lithic record of his era, 3-18, there are unfortunately only three dated Gandhāra sculptures known, namely, one from Hashtnagar (about 15 miles north-east of Peshawar, Gandhāra), one from Loriyān in the Swāt Valley, and one from Skārah Dherī (about 8 miles north of Hashtnagar). These are dated respectively in the years 384, 318, and 179, and are usually assumed to be in the Seleucidan era of the fourth century B.C. in order to fit them in conveniently with a supposed early epoch for Gandhāra art;¹ but we shall see that they are not altogether inconsistent with Kanishka's own era.

2. *The style of Gandhāra art is relatively late, and is incompatible with a date before the Christian era.* Fergusson pointed out that Gandhāra sculptures are much more Roman than Greek in their general design, and more *Byzantine* than either.² This fact was strikingly confirmed by the large collection of sculptures which I procured from Gandhāra and Swāt in 1895-6 for the Government museums, and it was expressly mentioned by me in my general report on these sculptures in 1897.³ Professor Ernest Gardner, to whom I showed the photographs of these as well as of some of the finest Gandhāra sculptures from elsewhere, remarked that in the treatment of their drapery, etc., they displayed the characters of *late Roman* and *Byzantine* schools, and that he should

¹ [Regarding these three dates see farther on, under Mr. Fleet's remarks on the Seleucidan era: it was proposed to refer the date of the year 179 to the Śaka era of A.D. 78, not to the Seleucidan era.—ED.]

² *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 182.

³ *Actes Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, sect. i, 246, Paris, 1897.

ascribe them to the fourth or fifth centuries A.D., or even later.

3. *The motive of Gandhāra art is largely late and incompatible with a date before the Christian era.* Its mythology is generally that of the theistic *Lalita Vistara*,¹ which is not placed before the Christian era. The conspicuous presence in the sculptures of the best period of *divine* Bodhisattvas, other than Maitreya,² of *Padmapāṇi*, i.e. Avalokita and others, implies a date *within* the Christian era, as Avalokita does not appear to have been evolved before the first or second century A.D.³

The four Buddhas also, figured on Kanishka's relic-vase (who represent possibly, I think, the four Buddhas of the quarters), are in two postures, neither of which is found in Hinayāna images, though common in Mahāyāna. And the two attendant figures on the lid are clearly the gods Indra and Brahma.

In the elaborately decorated Corinthian capitals, which form some of the finest specimens of Gandhāra art, Buddha is represented as seated amidst the acanthus foliage. But Fergusson has pointed out that this motive of a human figure thus seated, *first* appears in *late* Roman art, in the fourth century A.D., and it certainly did not become common till long afterwards, till mediaeval times. Yet it is found in the Gandhāra sculptures at their zenith.

4. *The zenith* of Gandhāra art was probably not reached until the third or fourth century A.D. (and not, as usually conjectured, in the first half of the second century A.D.). My later date, based on the figured

¹ This work, although referring to several divine Bodhisattvas by name, is held to belong to the Hinayāna Sarvāstivādins (H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 6), to whom Kanishka's relic-casket is dedicated and to whom his "Council" was restricted.

² The conception of Maitreya as a flask-holder, which is a common motive, as pointed out by Professor Grünwedel (*Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 130, 188), does not appear in the Hinayāna, but in the Mahāyāna cult.

³ JRAS. 1894, pp. 53, etc.; my article "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult", *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1912.

Corinthian capitals and the other motives and style of the finer sculptures, is in keeping with the mixed "Indo-Grecian" style found at Mathurā and Amarāvati. At Mathurā, the southern capital of Kanishka, the Grecian drapery does not appear before the epoch of Kanishka, nor in Amarāvati till about the beginning of the second century A.D. In both these centres it soon waned, coincident with the retirement of the Kushan power from Mid-India. Whereas in Gandhāra itself, where the Kushan power flourished till the fifth century, the art manifestly continued to develop, and seems to have suffered little decadence until the conquest of Gandhāra by the White Huns or Ephthalites at the end of the fifth century A.D.¹

I remarked during my visit to Eastern Gandhāra and Swāt that many of the finest sculptures were found superficially in the ruins and presumably of late date. Most of the sculptures which I collected for the museums had originally been obtained by various officers from villagers from unknown sites. But in the systematic excavations which I advised at Dargai (undertaken by Lieut.-Colonel Maisey) and at Loriyān and elsewhere, I observed that what were manifestly the latest images in situ were often of a fine type.

This later date for the zenith suggests the possibility that the high years of the three dated sculptures may fall within Kanishka's own Kushan era. These three are:—

(1) The "Hashtnagar pedestal",² in fairly good style, dated 384.

(2) The Loriyān pedestal of a Buddha,³ in less good style, dated 318.

¹ In 475 A.D. (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 20).

² V. A. Smith, JASB, 1889, p. 144 seq., and IA, 1889, p. 257; Bühler, IA, 1891, p. 394. For a record of this and other inscribed Gandhāra sculptures see Vogel, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India*, 1903-4, pp. 244, etc.; also R. D. Banerji's "Scythian Period of Indian History" in *Ind. Ant.* 1903, pp. 25, etc., for a useful summary and revision of the records.

³ Proc. JASB. 1898, p. 60; Senart, *Journ. As.*, 9^e, xiii, 526, 1899; Vogel, loc. cit., p. 245, No. 8.

(3) The Skārah Dherī image of Hārītī,¹ in Indianized style suggestive of the Mathurā school, dated 179.

The *paleographic* argument *against* the probability that the first of these belonged to the Kanishka era, which was advanced by Dr. Bühler, has now lost much of its force, as his classification-data have undergone considerable modification in the light of new material. His copy also of this inscription had evidently been so faulty that the date which he read as 274 is now read as 384, a difference both in hundreds and tens.² It is desirable therefore, in view of the great importance of this inscription as a criterion for Kanishka and his era, that its *paleographic* estimate be revised; and as the original sculpture is in the British Museum, it is easily accessible for this purpose.

Nor is the *debased* coinage of the Later Kushans necessarily inconsistent with the persistence or development of a relatively high sculptural art. Professor Rapson has mentioned that coinage is not necessarily an index to the art of the country. Nepal I would instance as a parallel case, where, with an equally debased coinage, is yet retained a relatively high standard of the mediaeval Buddhist art of India.

The discoveries of Sir M. A. Stein, Professor Grünwedel, and von Lecoq, in Turkestan, point to the persistence of a high standard of Gandhāra art in the north of India down to the fourth or fifth centuries.

For all these reasons, the *lowest* limit for the date of the Kanishka period of Gandhāra art cannot well be later than the first century A.D. What is its *highest* or remote limit?

A good criterion for this, is the occurrence of Buddha's image in a stereotyped form on Kanishka's coin, as well as the four Buddhas on his casket. In the great Stūpas of

¹ Vogel, loc. cit., p. 245, No. 12.

² Bühler, IA, 1891, p. 394; *Journ. As.*, 9^e, xiii, 536; R. D. Banerji, loc. cit.; V. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 248.

Bharhut and Sāñchi, which represent the more advanced *theistic* phase of early Buddhism, there is absolutely no trace of Buddha's image anywhere, and these Stūpas in their dates admittedly go down to the first century B.C. To allow for such a tremendous and revolutionary development, such as we see has already become accomplished and stereotyped in Kanīṣka's time, presumes at the very least one century. This would bring Kanīṣka's epoch within the first century A.D. Whilst, as a fact, the theory of divine Buddhas does not definitely appear crystallized in literature before that same period.

Thus, the lowest and highest probable limits for Kanīṣka both appear to converge in the first century A.D.

The evidence from Gandhāra art, therefore, seems to establish the following conclusions:—

1. Græco-Buddhist art did *not* arise *before the first century A.D.*, and is more Byzantine than Greek.

2. It was probably introduced by Kanīṣka with his debased copies of classic Hellenistic art of the Roman period.

3. It was developed under his Kushan successors, and was still in a high state in the third and fourth centuries A.D.

4. Kanīṣka's initial date, while it cannot be later than the first century A.D., cannot well be earlier than that same century, and it seems not inconsistent with the commencement of the Śaka era. The evidence of the Bharhut and Sāñchi Stūpas alone makes the date of 58 B.C. for Kanīṣka highly improbable, and almost impossible.

On the historical side of the debate, too much importance has been attached to the incidental mention in Chinese annals, that some Buddhist instruction was imparted to a Chinese official by a Yueh-chi king in the year 2 B.C., in the belief that this king was Kanīṣka and that it confirmed the conjectured date for him of 58 B.C. It is difficult to see how a king of that date (58 B.C.), who by

the record of his successor manifestly reigned less than twenty years,¹ could be alive in the year 2 B.C. The incident itself, besides, was of no great importance, and certainly was *not* the introduction of the Buddhist religion into China.

That great event took place in the year A.D. 67, and the circumstances recorded in contemporary Chinese chronicles appear to me to possibly associate Kanishka with this event. The history records in some detail that Buddhism was introduced in that year by two Chinese, who had spent two or three years in India studying Buddhism.² Now, this historical fact, I would suggest, is quite in keeping with Hiuen-Tsang's traditional account of the Chinese hostages of Kanishka. These, the pilgrim relates, were entertained by Kanishka in different monasteries for more than a year, and were honourably "returned to their homes" as Buddhist monks.³ The fact that they are called "hostages" implies a state of war between Kanishka and China, and Chinese history actually records that the Celestial Empire was at that time engaged in a campaign of conquest in Turkestan, that is, near the borders of Gandhāra. The date A.D. 67 is eleven years before the initial year of the Śaka era; but, before his coronation at Mathurā, which has been suggested to be the event commemorated by that initial year, Kanishka was presumably a petty king for many years in Northern India, so that the date of A.D. 67 might apply to him, if not to his immediate predecessor. This evidence, I venture to suggest, seems to associate Kanishka with that great epoch-making event of Eastern Asia—the introduction of Buddhism into China. It also tends to place him in the first century A.D., about the beginning of the Śaka era.

¹ Fleet, JRAS, 1903, p. 329.

² E. H. Parker, *China and Religion*, p. 75; and other authorities.

³ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i, 124-6, 292.

Mr. LONGWORTH DAMES said:—I propose to confine myself chiefly to the numismatic evidence as bearing on the order of succession of the groups of Kushan kings. It was on inferences from the coins that the hitherto accepted order was based by Masson, Prinsep, and Wilson, followed by E. Thomas, Sir A. Cunningham, and Professor Gardner. The fact that a Kushan king bearing the name or title of Kadphises succeeded to a Greek king named Hermaios was held to show that this king was the first of the Kushans to establish a kingdom south of the Paropamisus and in North-Western India; and all other points of difference between the coins of the two groups have been dealt with on the supposition that this was an indubitable fact. But now that the priority of the Kadphises group has been called in question on other grounds, it becomes necessary to reconsider the numismatic argument also.

What, then, is the inference we should draw from the coins themselves, independently of evidence from other sources? This may be considered under the heads of A, language and alphabet; B, design; C, the use of gold; and D, provenance.

A. *Language and alphabet*.—We find that the series of coins which we may call the Kanishka group makes use of one alphabet only, the Greek, and, except in a limited class of coins, in a cursive form. The language also is Greek in the class of coins just excepted, although without strict attention to grammatical rules. No use is made of the Kharōshthī alphabet, although we know from inscriptions that it was in use at the time. The Greek alphabet is fairly well maintained throughout the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka, but falls off in that of Vāsudēva.

The coins of the Kadphises group, on the contrary, following the precedent of those of the Greek and Śaka kings, are bilingual; but the Greek on the coins of Kujula

Kadphises is alphabetical only, while Wema Kadphises uses the Greek titles *basileus basileōn*, or *basileus* only, with *megas* or *sōtēr megas* occasionally added. The square type of Greek characters alluded to by Professor Rapson as found on the coins of Kujula Kadphises is found occasionally on those of Hermaios also.

After the disappearance of both these groups, we find a series of Kushan coins of barbarous fabric using an extremely corrupt Greek alphabet, but no Kharōshthī. Brāhmī letters, however, are found on many of them.

The inference to be drawn from these facts is, I think, that the first Kushan conquerors of North-Western India had become acquainted with the Greek alphabet, and even with a little real Greek, in their original home before they made their way south, and had not been sufficiently Indianized to make the adoption of Kharōshthī legends on their coins necessary to them. Kanishka found that the Greek alphabet was useful for trade purposes, and adhered to it.

When the second Kushan irruption, that of the Kadphises kings, took place, and the Greek state of Kābul was occupied in pursuit of an alliance which ended in absorption, the barbaric invaders naturally adopted the bilingual system they found in use there; as is evident from a comparison of the joint coins of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises. I may add that the occupation of Kābul by Kujula Kadphises seems to have been carried out in alliance with Hermaios against the Śakas or Parthians who had occupied it or were threatening it. These princes, like the Greeks, used the bilingual system, and it is natural that Kujula Kadphises should have followed the system he found in the country. His dominions were evidently small, and a gold currency was quite beyond his means. But Wema Kadphises, as soon as he possessed a wider sovereignty, adopted a gold currency in imitation of

the earlier Kushans, while adhering to the bilingual system adopted by his father.

The earlier Kushans, of the Kanishka group, pushed on into the Eastern Panjāb, and stuck to their own system, but their coins soon became barbarous. Nevertheless they outlasted the more recent invaders. The empire of Wema Kadphises seems to have died with him, and princes representing the traditions of Kanishka alone remained in Northern India.

For these reasons there does not seem to be any improbability,—though Dr. Thomas has urged it,—in the double alphabet being brought into use by the Kadphises kings after Kanishka and Huvishka had for sixty years or so persevered in the sole use of Greek. It was the natural result of the circumstances; and the continued use of the Greek alphabet (or as much of it as they remembered) was equally natural among the later representatives of the Kanishka line who carried on his traditions in the Panjāb or further east.

B. *Design.*—An examination of the designs on the coins leads to the same result. In a thoroughly Indianized kingdom the adoption of an eclectic mythology would have been an impossibility; but Kanishka, the head of a ruling race, could afford, like the early Mughal emperors, to neglect Indian religious feeling and adopt the circulating medium best calculated to serve his objects. He gave a place, of course, to Buddha whose creed he specially patronized, and to Śiva whose worship, as is well known, was not repugnant to the Mahāyānist Buddhism of the time; but he gave them only a small place. Huvishka follows the same lines, except that his coins show also some of the connections of Śiva—Mahāsēna, Skanda-Kumāra, and Viśākha; or perhaps we should say, one of his connections, his son Kārttikēya, presented in three forms. But in the coins of Vāsudēva we find the worship of Śiva under the name Oēsho in practically complete

possession. Two of the foreign gods still linger, Ardokhsho and Nanaia (who had perhaps become acclimatized and is still worshipped under the name of Bibi Nāni in the Bolan Pass and at the ancient shrine of Hinglāj in Las Bēla). But otherwise we find only Śiva and his bull Nandi on the reverses of the coins; the *triśūla* or three-pronged spear of the god is found behind the altar on which the king is sacrificing; and the king's own spear, held in his left hand, is sometimes converted into a *triśūla*.

Turning to the coins of Wema Kadphises, we find exactly the same Śaiva representations as on those of Vāsudēva. The only god on the reverses of his coins, whether gold, silver, or copper, is Śiva, sometimes alone but usually with his bull. In the copper coins (where the king stands, like Kanishka and Vāsudēva) the three-pronged spear appears, as in Vāsudēva's coins; but instead of being sometimes held in the king's left hand, it always stands behind the altar:¹ further, it has a battle-axe attached to its shaft; and it may be noted that on one small gold coin this three-pronged spear with the battle-axe takes the place of a figure of the god. It may be added that, in agreement with the fact that Śaivism and Buddhism were on friendly terms, the reverses show also the Buddhist emblem, the *triratna*, denoting "the three precious things": but the god is always Śiva, and none other. The three-pronged spear is not found on Kanishka's and Huvishka's coins, and Huvishka never appears in the standing attitude.

The natural inference from these facts is that Indianization was a progressive factor, and that Wema Kadphises, when he came into possession of a large Indian empire, found his fellow-tribesmen already devotees of an Indian religion, and, like Vāsudēva, had no alternative but to

¹ In some of the cases in which the king is shown sitting or only his head and shoulders are given, his helmet is perhaps surmounted by the head of a three-pronged spear.

adopt its emblems on his coins. It is incredible that a system like that of Kanishka and Huvishka should have been introduced after a purely Indian system like that of Wema Kadphises.

The coins of the Later Kushans adhere to the same system as that of Vāsudēva and Wema Kadphises; but the resemblance to that of the former is stronger. The degradation in style is considerable; comparable in fact to that shown at an earlier period in the Scythic imitations of the coins of Euthydemos and Heliokles, and it is of course possible that a considerable interval occurred between the last coins of Vāsudēva and their later imitations. The type of Śiva and the bull continues, but that of the seated figure of Ardokhsho or Lakshmi (imitated from a not very common coin of Kanishka) soon becomes predominant and prevails to the end among the coins derived from this type. In any case, the succession of types seems to follow naturally. I cannot, therefore, agree with Professor Rapson in holding that it makes it in any way inconceivable that the coins of the Kanishka group should be earlier than those of the Kadphises group. In fact, I think that a full consideration of the coins, from the point of view both of alphabet or language and of design, leads to a directly opposite conclusion.

C. *The use of gold.*—The adoption of a gold coinage by the Kushan kings, as opposed to the exclusive use of silver and copper by the Greek and Śaka princes, is one of the most remarkable features in the numismatic position.

It seems to me that Mr. Kennedy has now for the first time provided a probable explanation of the change, namely, Kanishka's interest in the trade-route between China and the Roman Empire. If Kanishka was the first to adopt such a coinage, while the Greek kings of Kābul and their Śaka-Parthian neighbours were still

using their system of silver and copper, there would be no cause for surprise in the absence of gold from the coinage of Kujula Kadphises, who occupied only a limited territory and continued its traditions; and it would be equally natural for Wema Kadphises, on attaining a widespread empire, to imitate the gold coinage already established by the emperors whom he succeeded.

D. *Provenance*.—As to the bearing of the find-spots of coins on the question of the extent of Kanishka's dominions, it is not easy to form an opinion until an authoritative list has been drawn up. In considering this point, it is necessary to observe that the Kābul Valley above the Khaibar Pass was not necessarily always under a united rule. It falls easily into two distinct portions, the lowlands from Jalālābād eastward, practically on the same level with Gandhāra, and the highlands of the Kābul plateau, 6000 feet in elevation. The lower valley may have been under the rule of the kings reigning in Gandhāra, while the upper was a distinct kingdom. This was the case at the end of the tenth century A.D., when Sabuktigin and Maḥmūd made war on Jaipāl: Kābul had long been in the possession of the Muḥammadans, while Lughmān and Nagrahār were part of the Hindū kingdom which had its capital at Ohind.

Most of the topes examined by Masson and Honigberger are in the low country near Jalālābād; as is also the Āhinpōsh Tope, examined by Mr. Simpson, the contents of which have led to so much discussion. The only tope in the upper valley, in which, as far as I know, any coins bearing on the question were discovered, is that of Guldāra (*Ar. Ant.*, p. 115) in which Masson found "gold medals of Kadphises, and of the earlier princes of the Kanerki family". The latter coins cannot be identified among the coins of Kanishka described in *Ar. Ant.*, pp. 365-70, although those of Kadphises are clearly specified on p. 354. As to coins found in topes, deductions

from wear and tear are most misleading and cannot be relied on. A short time ago I received in change a shilling of George III of 1816 in perfect preservation, and one of Victoria so worn as to be almost unrecognizable!¹ And gold coins especially, which travelled far and wide in the course of trade, prove nothing as to extent of jurisdiction.

Even in the lower Kābul valley very few coins of Kanishka have been found in topes; I think (in addition to the Āhinpōsh Tope) only in Hidda No. 4 and Chahār Bāgh No. 4. These were mostly of copper, and perhaps they would on this account be more valuable as evidence of local rule than those of gold. It is quite possible, though evidence is very scanty, that Kanishka's kingdom may have included the Jalālābād country, as part of Gandhāra, without extending to Kābul.

There is one other point,—not numismatic,—to which I would like to refer; namely, the question of a possible invasion of the Panjāb from the north. Dr. Thomas alludes to this as impossible, and says that the supposition of an invasion of India through Kashmīr was too much for Cunningham, and it is negatived by all recorded history. Cunningham's remarks² were called forth by Professor Gardner's supposition³ that Maues might have invaded India not through the Kābul Valley but through Kashmīr or Nēpāl. Cunningham rejected this on the ground that the Karakoram Pass is closed in the winter and could never be used by an army, even in summer.

Whether this is correct or not, is not easy to say. But there is another route which leads directly into Gandhāra and might well have been followed by a Kushan invader, that by Chitrāl. The Durāh Pass leads from the Warōj Valley, which is watered by an affluent of the Oxus, into

¹ [Compare the case of rupees, etc., of 1835 and 1840 mentioned in JRAS, 1913, p. 374, n. 4.—Ed.]

² *Coins of the Sakas*, p. 2, = *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 104.

³ Catalogue of Greek and Scythian Coins, introd., p. 40.

the Lutkho Valley watered by a stream which falls into the Kunar in Chitrāl. The valley on the Chitrāl side of the pass and that on the north side are occupied by kindred Ghalcha races, speaking closely related Iranian dialects, the Yūdghā and the Minjāni. The pass is 14,800 feet in height but quite practicable, with fertile valleys close to it on both sides. On emerging into Chitrāl, an invading tribe would find itself on the route which Alexander followed, and which our own army has recently traversed. The Baroghil Pass further north offers another line of approach from Wakhān, and one which leads by Yasin and Gilgit to the Indus Valley at Bunji, whence the modern route from Kashmīr would be available. The Kilik Pass also offers a very easy route, open the whole year, from the Tāghdumbāsh Pamir to Hunza-Nagīr and Gilgit. These Indus Valley routes offer the alternative line (avoiding Kashmīr altogether) by the Bābūsar Pass to the Khagan Valley and Hazāra (Uraśā) and so direct to Taxila, which might be valuable if both Kashmīr and Gandhāra were in hostile hands. These are not the only passes which would be open to an invader, and there can be little doubt that Kujula Kadphises did make use of one or other of these routes when he subdued the five Yue-che principalities already established before his time, and from Chitrāl he had an easy route to Kābul by the Kunar. Kanishka might therefore have used one of these routes at an earlier date. The Chitrāl route seems to me the most probable. It is quite clear of Kābul territory and gives direct access to Udyāna (the Swāt Valley) and through it to Gandhāra, one or both of which must have fallen into his hands.

Dr. HOEY said:—In the course of this discussion reference has been made not merely to the date of Kanishka but to the Samvat or Vikrama era, the Śaka

era, and the Buddhist Councils. These points are somehow, I feel sure, connected with each other, but how they are related is not quite clear at present. I offer a contribution, but have no desire to pose as an authority.

The Samvat era begins with 57 B.C., which is also the Chia-Rat year, the first year of the Chinese sixty-years cycle. This, it may be said, is a bare coincidence. The Prabhava or first year of the Hindu sixty-years cycle fell in 54 B.C. It is remarkable that the first year of a Chinese cycle should supersede the first year of an Indian cycle, so as to become the opening year of a new era.

Terrien de Lacouperie in his work on Chinese coins states (1) that it was in 57 B.C. that Kieu-tse-k'ho, Kujula Kadphises, subdued five Greek states, and (2) that it was also from this year that the Chinese began to date their coins. If the first statement be correct, we have an adequate explanation of the origin of the Samvat era, but he gives no authority. If the second be correct, it is also an explanation. I pronounce on neither.

It may be that the Śakas sustained some disastrous defeat in A.D. 78, and that from that year, in memory of the event, the victors founded a new era. A contributor has given an authority for this view.

An era useful to remember is the era of Mahāvīra, which the Jains place, one sect 470 years before 57 B.C., and the other sect 470 years before A.D. 78. The difference is between 527 and 392 B.C. Counting from the Samvat the Śaka era begins 134 years later.

But Professor Jacobi in the preface to his edition of the Kalpasūtra, published at Leipsig in 1879, calculated from 312 B.C., the year he took to be the *abhisheka* of Candragupta, back to 467 B.C. as a probable or possible date of Mahāvīra's death. The *abhisheka* of Candragupta is now placed apparently in 322 B.C. Thus 477 B.C. is possible for Mahāvīra's death.

As to the period of Kanishka and the year of his Council, the first point to be considered is the so-called prophecy by Buddha that Kanishka would appear 400 years after his Nirvāṇa. Yuan Tsang mentions this prophecy as current in Gandhāra, when he visited that country. The distinguished scholar who has placed Buddha's Nirvāṇa in 483 B.C. would place Kanishka in 83 B.C. But the year 483 B.C. does not come near enough to any date given for Mahāvira's death, which was the earlier event, to admit of both events having fallen, as is required, within Ajātaśatru's reign.

Csoma Körösi, in his abstract of the contents of the Dulva, states that Kanishka appeared upwards of 400 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa. The Dulva gives at the same time 110 years after the Nirvāṇa as the date of the First Council. Here comes in an interval of 110 years after the Nirvāṇa which seems to correspond to the term of 100 years from the Nirvāṇa covered by the prophecy, recorded by Yuan Tsang in connexion with Kashmīr, that Aśoka would appear 100 years after the Nirvāṇa. Sung Yun, when he visited Gandhāra, made a note of 300 years as the period which Buddha had foretold at which Kanishka would appear after the Nirvāṇa. Can all these periods and prophecies be reconciled?

I have turned to J. J. Schmidt's translation of Senang Satsen's Mongolian work, *Geschichte der Ost Mongolen*; and in it I find the period from the Nirvāṇa to the Second Council is 110 years, and Kanishka is placed at 300 years exactly after the Nirvāṇa. The First Council took place in the year after Buddha's death. It would seem as though Sung Yun had got hold of this reckoning.

The important question, therefore, is: when did Buddha die? His Nirvāṇa is an era-year.

Senang Satsen attributes the Council in the year 110 to Aśoka, if it be correct to hold that Ghassalang denotes Aśoka; but the Cullavagga (SBE, xxii, Kh. xii) nowhere

mentions Aśoka in connexion with the Vaiśālī Council, and in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha* (pp. 171 ff.) there is a history of the Vaiśālī Council, placed at 110 years after the Nirvāṇa, without any mention of Aśoka. It may be that no Council was held in Aśoka's reign, and yet he may be the Piyadasi of the Edicts; or Piyadasi may be someone else than Aśoka. It does not affect this discussion. So, I shall speak of "a Piyadasi".

What we now have to arrange is the dates for—

Mahāvīra's death.

Buddha's Nirvāṇa.

First Council.

Second Council.

"A Piyadasi."

Kanishka and the Third Council.

Senang Satsen gives in years of the sixty-years cycle three rival dates for the birth and death of Śākyamuni-Buddha. As we find scholars now agreeing to place the Nirvāṇa in the beginning of the fifth century B.C., I shall insert opposite these the dates B.C. for corresponding years in the cycle of that period—

		B. C.
1. Birth in	Ting-Ram year	554
Nirvāṇa	Ping-Tiger year	475
2. Birth in	Yi-Bull year	536
Nirvāṇa	Chia-Monkey year	457
3. Birth in	Mou-Dragon year	533
Nirvāṇa	Ting-Boar year	454
First year of era . .	Mou-Rat year	453
110th year	Ting-Bull year	344

In connexion with each Nirvāṇa year it is noted that Buddha was in his 80th year. Senang Satsen states that the first era is that according to those who measure the wheel of time, i.e. those who understand the cycle, as it would seem. The second is a reckoning according to a Pandit who visited Tibet in the eleventh century. The third is that of a Pandit Śākya, who went to India in 1208 A.D. to study. Why Senang Satsen accepts Śākya Pandit and rejects other reckonings he does not say, but

we note that he fixes the 110th year as a "Ting-Bull" year, and names the year after the Nirvāṇa "Mou-Rat" as the first year of a Buddhist time-reckoning.

Let me now show the comparative chronology on the basis of data already given—

	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
Mahāvīra's death	477	477	477
Buddha's Nirvāṇa	475	457	454
First Council	474	456	453
Second Council	365	347	344
"A Piyadasi"	?	?	?
Kanishka { at 300	175	157	154
{ at 400	75	57	54
	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
Kushān revival in Kashmir . .	125	143	146

I find that Yuan Tsang mentions that after Kanishka's death some local tribe re-established themselves in Kashmir, but in the 600th year after the Nirvāṇa another leader with Buddhist sympathies invaded the country and restored the Buddhist ascendancy. I have inserted this event in the table so that it may not be lost sight of.

It is worth noting that, while one of the two reckonings discarded by Senang Satsen leads to 57 B.C., the other leads to 54 B.C. Why did Śākya Pandit displace the former reckoning in favour of the latter?

We find in Rockhill (p. 233) that Aśoka's name occurs 234 years after the Nirvāṇa in connexion with the history of Li-yul. If I insert this date in the first of the three lists of events, I get opposite "A Piyadasi" 241 B.C., which fits the synchronism on which reliance is placed for the dating of the promulgator of the Edicts. But it is inconsistent with Aśoka's connexion with the Second Council. The exact 234 awakens suspicion. If we place Yuan Tsang's figure for Aśoka, 100 after the Nirvāṇa, beside this 234, we get an excess of 134 years, or exactly the difference of years from the Samvat to the Śaka era. This may make one pause before coming to a final conclusion.

My object is not to support any views, but to show the difficulties that have to be faced if we attempt to build

up history merely on prophecies recorded by the Chinese pilgrims. The course of events in North Indian history between Alexander's invasion and the rise of the Guptas may not be wholly as is usually accepted at the present time. It rests on many assumptions. It is easy to find fault with it, but it is not any gain to substitute one surmise for another. We want facts.

The discussion practically came to an end at this point. Mr. Fleet said that, as it was already late in the day, he would not occupy time with any of his further comments on Dr. Thomas' paper, but would send them to the Secretary to be attached to the other papers in due course. Dr. Thomas made a few remarks on some of the criticisms of his paper which started the discussion. And the President, Lord Reay, in the Chair, then dissolved the Meeting.

Mr. FLEET has contributed the following addition to his share in the discussion:— I give here some criticisms of Dr. Thomas' paper, with comments on various questions raised by him, which I was not able to offer during the actual discussion: and I combine with them a few notes on remarks made by the other scholars who have taken part in the debate. What I have to say will run to some length: but we have been challenged to a full inquiry; and many things have been said in quite a few words, especially about eras and dates, which cannot be answered as shortly. However, I venture to hope that some of my remarks may be of use for other purposes, besides the passing one of this discussion.

Miscellaneous remarks

P. 628. Demetrius may have enlarged Sāgala, and given to the place its other name Euthydemia:¹ but it

¹ We gather from Ptolemy that the city had this other name: *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 349.

seems probable that the city was not founded by him but existed under its own name from long before his time. Sāgala, Śākala, is the modern Siālkōṭ, in the Panjāb.¹ It is famous as having been the capital of Menander,² and, in later times, of the great Hūn king Mihirakula. The Milindapañha, which mentions it as the capital of Milinda (Menander), describes it as "a city of the Yōnakas (the Greeks) which was a general centre of trade."³ And there is a very interesting passage in the Mahābhārata, giving a curious account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding country, which represents them as an irreligious, impure, and dissolute people.⁴

P. 629. We can hardly assent to the view that Kozoulo-Kadphisēs was originally so great a person as to take Hermaeus, the last Greek king of Kābul, "under his protection": that would need at least a great king, if not an emperor. He was the head of the Kushans, one of the five princely families of the Yue-che or Tochāri who had established themselves in the region of the Hindu Kush. His coins give him no political title except that of

¹ See my paper "Sāgala, Śākala, the city of Milinda and Mihirakula", in the Acts of the Fourteenth Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1905; Indian Section, p. 164.

² As regards some of the conquests and the raids into the interior of India which are attributed to this king, see my remarks in JRAS, 1912, p. 791: the raids are only mentioned in some grammatical illustrations which may refer to any Greek king quite as well as to him, and in the apocryphal Yugapurāṇa chapter of the Gārgi-Saṃhitā, which only mentions the Greeks in general terms, without specifying any names. The idea of making the grammatical illustrations apply to him seems to have been started in 1861; and it was based on the discovery of one solitary coin of him at Mathurā: see Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, pp. 229, 234.

³ Not as being (as the translation says, SBE, vol. 35, p. 2) "in the country of the Yōnakas": the text, ed. Trenckner, p. 1, runs:—Atthi Yōnakānaṃ nānā-putābhēdanāṃ Sāgalan-nāma nagaraṃ. On the contrary, the work places it in Jambudīpa, India; see trans., p. 6.

⁴ Karna-parvan, Calcutta text, § 44, lines 2028-70. In the Sabhā-parvan, § 31. 1196, the city is mentioned as a trading-centre (*putābhēdana*) of the Madras.

yavuga, = *jab-gou*, *žab-gu*,¹ which belonged also to the head of each of the other four septs of the Yue-che. This marks him plainly as only a 'chief' or 'prince'; something distinctly less than even a king, much more an emperor. So also does the fact that his coins always mention him on the reverse only, and show on the obverse the bust, and in some cases the name, of Hermaeus.² He evidently rose to power as a subordinate ally of Hermaeus, and eventually annexed the territory of that king.

P. 630. A sentence on this page might have been better worded thus :—"We owe to Dr. Fleet the recognition, and to Pandit Radha Krishna the proof, of the existence of a king Vāsiṣka between Kaniṣka and Huviṣka ;³ and to Mr. R. D. Banerji and Professor Lüders the recognition of a second Kaniṣka, whom Professor Lüders places as reigning, at any rate in the year 41, at the same time with Huviṣka."⁴ I have not agreed as yet to the position assigned by Professor Lüders to Kanishka II ;⁵ and he himself has admitted that there are difficulties. And the credit for the actual proof of the chronological position of Vāsishka is due to Pandit Radha Krishna, who discovered his inscription which is dated, in words as well as figures, in the year 24.

P. 637. As regards the Chinese evidence, which has been quietly put aside by Dr. Thomas as being "for the most part a matter of general agreement", —(is his own view anything more than the general agreement of

¹ See JRAS, 1912, p. 668-9, and p. 1002-3 and note 1.

² Unless, of course, we assign to him (as we probably should do) the coins which give on the reverse the name Kuyula-Kaphsa, and on the obverse the name Kozola-Kadaphes, with a head which imitates a Roman emperor's head (see p. 918 above, and note 4).

³ [See, respectively, JRAS, 1903, p. 325 ; 1910, p. 1311.]

⁴ [Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, p. 828 : see also the translation of Professor Lüders' paper in *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 135.]

⁵ See my remarks in JRAS, 1912, pp. 100, 107.

a quite limited number of people?),— there can be, I imagine, at least no objection to noting that M. Sylvain Lévi arrived at the conclusion that Kanishka's accession must be placed about B.C. 50; and Professor Franke, that he must be referred to at any rate a considerable time before B.C. 2, and that there is no reason why we should not date him from B.C. 58.¹

Coins

Dr. Thomas has said (p. 632):—"The evidence which seems to me of primary importance is that of the coins."

We can only accept this view with a limitation. In all researches into the ancient history of India, the inscriptions must rank first, as the chief basis: then come the books, Indian and others; and then tradition, coins, and art. Still, in this particular case the coins certainly play a more than usually important part: and we have quite recognized that on our side. The numismatic argument, however, has been dealt with so fully by Mr. Kennedy, Dr. Barnett, and Mr. Dames, that I need not say much about it. I will confine myself to four points.²

1. As indicated by Professor Rapson (p. 911 above), when we find a ruler, B, imitating the coins of another, A, it naturally follows that B is to be placed after A. But it does not follow that B succeeded A at once, or even at all closely. This is illustrated notably by a case which Professor Rapson has mentioned; namely, that

¹ A very useful abstract of M. Sylvain Lévi's Notes on the Indo-Scythians may be found in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, pp. 381, 417 (see p. 419 for the result quoted), and 1904, p. 10, with a supplementary note at p. 116; and a similar abstract of Professor Franke's notes about the Sök and Kanishka may be found in the same journal, 1906, p. 33 (see p. 47 for the result quoted); see also his short paper in *JRAS*, 1907, p. 675, on the identity of the Sök with the Śakas.

² Dr. Thomas has referred vaguely to one certain case and one doubtful one of dated coins. There are, I think, several coins on which it has been proposed to read dates. But none of these dates, whether certain or doubtful, helps in our present inquiry. So it is not necessary to go into them.

Liaka-Kusulaka imitated coins of Eucratides.¹ The fact is unmistakable. But Eucratides came closely about B.C. 175. On the other hand, Liaka-Kusulaka is mentioned, as Satrap and as the father of Patika (or Padika), in the record of "the year 78" on the Taxila plate;² and through the mention of the Great Satrap Kusulaa-Patika (or Padika) in one of the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital,³ he is connected closely with Rājūvula and his son Śonḍāsa, for the latter of whom we have a date from Mathurā in "the year 72," which places him in A.D. 15 (see p. 919 f. above), and puts Liaka-Kusulaka about that same date. Thus, we have an interval of nearly two centuries between Eucratides and his imitator: and similar remarks, except that the interval was not so long, apply to the case of Rājūvula, whose coins imitate those of Strato I and II. It behoves us, then, to be cautious in whatever arguments we may base on the point that one ruler imitated the coins of another.

2. Professor Rapson has said (p. 912) that:—"Numismatists have had usually no hesitation in placing the Kadphises group [of kings and coins] chronologically before the Kanishka group."

We do not dispute in any way the view that, at some time closely about A.D. 50, the sovereignty in the Kābul territory passed from the Greek king Hermaeus to the Kushan prince Kozoulo-Kadphisēs, whose son Wēmo-Kadphisēs then established a Kushan empire in Northern India as well as in Kābul. We only say that there was a Kushan empire in India before that of Wēmo-Kadphisēs, and assign the foundation of it to Kanishka, whom, with

¹ The reference is to a small silver coin bearing the legend [A]AKO [K]OZOYAO, figured by Cunningham in his *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, pl. 1, fig. 9, and see p. 91, = *Num. Chron.*, series 3, vol. 9 (1889), pl. 13, and see p. 308. It is plainly an imitation of a small silver coin of Eucratides; *ibid.*, fig. 8.

² *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 55.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 144, G.

his successors, we consequently place before Wēmo-Kadphisēs.

The opposite view, that Kanishka came after Wēmo-Kadphisēs, was laid down nearly a century ago, when the inquiry into all these matters was in its infancy. The grounds for it have been indicated by Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Dames (pp. 933, 953, above). They seem strangely insufficient to justify the confidence with which the decision was made: and in fact, some of them would support equally well the view which we hold. Still, the decision was made and accepted; and it was followed so unquestioningly as to have created a sort of hereditary belief among numismatists, so strong as to preclude any reopening of the question by them. That, however, is no reason why it should not be reopened by others. We have reopened it; and we find our justification in every fresh point that comes to notice.

One good illustration of this has been given by Mr. Dames (p. 955), who has drawn attention to the manner in which the coins illustrate the development of Śaivism as a religion patronized by the State. There was a limited recognition of Śiva in the time of Kanishka: more recognition of him in the time of Huvishka: still more in the time of Vāsudēva: and finally, under Wēmo-Kadphisēs we have no god at all on the coins, except Śiva. To that I would add a remark.

On the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka we have what we may call the mythical representation of Śiva, sometimes with one head and sometimes with three or rather four heads,¹ and always with four arms. But on the

¹ Only three heads are seen; one facing to the front, the other two facing right and left sideways. Hindū art, if representing the god as four-headed, would have shown all the four heads facing to the front, as in well-known pictures of the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa. But these coins were made by Greeks or by Hindūs trained in Greek art: and we are to understand, I think, that there would be a fourth head, left to the imagination, at the back of the one which faces to the front.

coins of Vāsudēva, alongside of the mythical figure of the god, we have, for the first time in the Kanishka series, the entirely human form of him, with only one head and two arms. And this human form of him, alone, is found on the coins of Wēmo-Kadphisēs. If we are to follow Gardner,¹ and argue that the representation of Śiva in the mythical form is a development from the other figuring of him, and is therefore a reason for placing the coins of Kanishka after those of Wēmo-Kadphisēs, we must for the same reason place Kanishka's coins after those of Vāsudēva; which, however, is impossible, because Vāsudēva dates in the years 74 to 98 of the era in which we have dates for Kanishka and Huvishka ranging from the year 3 to the year 60. It is also to be noted that the bull, which almost always accompanies Śiva on the coins of Wēmo-Kadphisēs, makes its appearance, in the Kanishka series, for the first time on the coins of Vāsudēva. This is distinctly another plain indication that Wēmo-Kadphisēs came after Vāsudēva.

3. Dr. Thomas has given on p. 640 a table of alphabetic innovations in the Greek characters presented on the Indo-Bactrian coins. The table is capable of improvement. Still, it is good to find that it is being recognized at last that something may be done by attention to the details of the Greek alphabet as found on these coins. But exception must be taken to some remarks; and a question may be asked.

It is not quite right to say (p. 641) that the Greek alphabet on the coins of the Kanishka group is "characterized by certain cursive forms": nor did Mr. Kennedy put it in that way. Four classes of Kanishka's coins present on the obverses the legend—

BACIAEYC BACIAEWN KANHΠKOY,

¹ Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, introd., p. 59.

and on the reverses the names—

ΗΛΙΟC, ΗΦΑΙCΤΟC, CΑΛΗΝΗ, and ΝΑΝΑΙΑ.

Here, the characters, except for the special sign ρ for *sh*, are fine uncials, just as printed on this page, —much superior to anything on the coins of Nahapāna and on those of the Kadphisēs group,— without any mixture of cursive forms. All the other coins of Kanishka, and all those of Huvishka and Vāsudēva, present no uncial forms, but only a cursive script, and a fine one, too, which was, as Mr. Kennedy said, a new feature on Indian coins. There is no mixture of the uncial and cursive characters at all. The cursive script, by the way, is not illustrated in the table, except (imperfectly) by the letters η , *ēta*, and υ , *upsilon*.¹

As regards some other remarks on the same page: retrograde writing, whether of single letters or of whole words, is not found only on the coins of Nahapāna and those of the Kanishka group: and it gives no grounds for an assumption of synchronism. And the non-Greek language is not the same in both cases: on the coins of Nahapāna it is an Indian Prākṛit; but on the coins of Kanishka, where it is confined to those which have the cursive characters, it is the language of the Kushans.

As to the question: the coins of Wēmo-Kadphisēs do not present at all the cursive Greek characters which we have on the coins of the other group; except in two cases, those of the cursive *ēta* and *upsilon*, which are found on a few of them. Whence did his die-cutters get these exceptional letters, unless it was from the coins of the Kanishka group?

Again, we have the tribal or family name, Kushan, represented in Greek characters, in the genitive, in the blundered forms of *Korsnl* and *Koronl*, for *Koranou*, on the coins of Kozoulo-Kadphisēs, and *Khoransu*, for

¹ The *ēta* has been cut too square: the *upsilon* does not hit the mark at all; a nearer approach may be seen in JRAS, 1907, p. 1045, line 9.

Khoranou, on the coins of Kozola-Kadaphes.¹ The suggestion has been made that these were the earliest attempts to render the name in a Greek form:² and Dr. Thomas, I presume, would favour that view. But what is there in the Greek *rhō* to suggest its use in any way to denote a sibilant? Is it not plain that these forms are due to die-cutters who had before them the *Koshano* of the coins of the Kanishka series, and who failed to recognize the true form and meaning of the *rhō*-like sign, ϱ, which is used there to denote the *sh*?

4. At the opening of this discussion I was able to deal (p. 914 above) with only three points. Mr. V. A. Smith (p. 940) has confined himself chiefly to an assault on them; and he has not represented quite rightly what I said. I did not put forward these three points as being each of them conclusive in itself: I only claimed that they make a conclusive case, even without the other evidence, when they are taken all three together; which is quite another thing. His remarks on one of my points will be noticed in their place. The other two points relate to coins and come in here.

As to the weight of the coins of the Kanishka group, the less said the better; since, though Mr. Smith asserts that Mr. Kennedy's deductions are wrong, he has not offered anything in support of his assertion beyond a vague appeal to numismatists. But, by his own admission, at least one distinguished numismatist is not in agreement with him.

As regards the other point,—the absence of the letter *h* from certain coins of Huvishka,—I need only say that that king's die-cutters were not Cockneys, and there are no good grounds for accusing them of any tendency to drop their *h*'s in speaking, much less to omit them in writing if they had known a character whereby to express

¹ Gardner, *Catalogue*, pl. 25, figs. 3, 4, 5.

² Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. 2, p. 64.

them. It is out of the question that they would have transliterated the Hindū word *Mahāsēno* by *Maasēno* in Greek characters if they had known the sign which was available for the *h*.

Art

Under this head Dr. Thomas has said but little, beyond quoting (p. 632) M. Foucher's opinion that the works associated with Kanishka represent a middle period in the development of the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. He has referred, however, to the relic-casket from Kanishka's great Stūpa at Peshāwar, the chief and central figure on which is a figure of Kanishka himself. This has been illustrated in this Journal for 1909, at p. 1058, and quite fully in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1908-9 (published in 1912), plates 12, 13, at p. 50.

Mr. Marshall has attributed this casket to the decadent or even the final period, and has cited it as an argument against the view that Kanishka was mainly responsible for the rise and development of the Gandhāra school of sculpture.¹ It seems to me that Dr. Barnett's suggestion (p. 942 above) that the casket, and consequently Kanishka himself, belongs to an early stage in the Gandhāra art, is at least equally good.

Colonel Waddell's remarks on the general history of the Gandhāra art (p. 945) illustrate still further how divergent are the views of the specialists in this subject. And he has one of his dates wrongly: the date in the inscription on the pedestal of the Skārah Dherī image of Buddha is the year 399 (not 179): on this point see further p. 986 below.

What more need be said under this head? We cannot build up a political history and chronology on theories about art. We must first put together the history from the inscriptions, supplemented by the books, tradition,

¹ JRAS, 1909, p. 1059; and compare ARASI, 1908-9 (1912), p. 33.

and coins, and then trace the course of art by means of it. The other way cannot lead to any sound results.

Palæography

Coming at last to the inscriptions, Dr. Thomas has taken first the palæographic question. Here he has said first (p. 633):—"The Kharoṣṭhī of the Kanīṣka group is of a cursive type, obviously later than that of the Śaka satraps of Taxilā and Mathurā". By "Śaka satraps" he means (I gather) Rājūvula and Śonḍāsa, of whom we have Kharōshthī records on the Mathurā lion-capital,¹ and Liaka-Kusulaka and Patika (or Padika), of whom we have a similar record on the Taxila plate.² And in support of his statement he has referred us to Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, plate 1, where we find in cols. 8, 9, a Kharōshthī alphabet from the "Śaka" inscriptions, and in cols. 10-12 an alphabet from the Kushan inscriptions.

Now, in the first place, an artificial contrast between the two alphabets has been created by the style in which they have been figured. The alphabet in cols. 8, 9, has been drawn in broad thick strokes, but that in cols. 10-12 in quite thin ones.

Secondly, the figuring of these alphabets takes no notice of the fact that in the Taxila record, one of the bases of cols. 8, 9, and in the Wardak vase record, one of the bases of cols. 10-12, the letters were made, not by continuous strokes (as shown in Bühler's plate), but by lines of punched dots.

Thirdly, the original records, from which these alphabets have been put together, come from different localities and were written by different hands.

Fourthly, cols. 8, 9, appear to be based chiefly on the Mathurā inscriptions, which are on stone; whereas cols. 10-12 are based almost entirely on the Suē Vihār record, which is on metal: and there can often be traced

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 141.

JRAS. 1913.

² *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 55.

in Indian records a tendency to use a more cursive style of writing for those on metal than that favoured for the records on stone.

Fifthly, the Kharōshthī writing was of a loose style which lent itself very easily to different kinds of treatment, with results which are apt to be confusing.

If we compare the Suē Vihār record of Kanishka, dated in the year 11 (on metal),¹ and the Ara inscription of Kanishka II, dated in the year 41 (on stone),² appearances would quite justify us in placing the Ara record before the other: a position which, I imagine, no one would endorse. So also Mr. R. D. Banerji, comparing the Suē Vihār record and the Zeda inscription of the same reign and year (again on stone),³ found that the characters of the Zeda record are much earlier in form than those of the other.⁴ And I think that, if a comparison is made of the absolute facsimiles of the Taxila and Wardak records,⁵ consideration being given at the same time to the points mentioned above, it will be agreed that no grounds remain for saying either that the Kushan Kharōshthī alphabet is later than that of the "Śakas", or vice versa.

As regards the other alphabet, Dr. Thomas has said:—"Their Brāhmī [i.e., that of the records of the Kanishka series] is indistinguishable from that of the Western Satraps, who date in the so-called Śaka era, commencing in 78 A.D." For this he has referred us to Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, plate 3, where we find the Kushan Brāhmī alphabet in cols. 3-5, and the other (based entirely on one record) in col. 6.

We certainly cannot endorse the opinion that these two alphabets are "indistinguishable": there are some marked differences between them; notably in the letters, *α*, *ā*, *k*, and *r*. But further, into any such comparison

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 326.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 58.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, i, p. 136.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 31: I quite agree with him.

⁵ For the latter see *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 11, p. 210.

there ought to be taken also the alphabet from the Brāhmī records of one of the "Śaka Satraps", namely Śoṇḍāsa, which is given in cols. 1, 2, of the same plate. As regards this, moreover, it is to be borne in mind that we have only three bases for this "Śaka" alphabet, and they all belong to just about the same time, the year 72;¹ whereas the Kushan records range from the year 3 to the year 98 and are numerous, giving much more scope for variations in details. And it is also to be noted that various types of letters remained in use for long times during the period from about B.C. 150 to A.D. 320. If the inquiry is made in that manner and in that light, and is based on the records themselves, which are still more instructive than the tables which have been made from them, it will soon be seen that the "Śaka" Brāhmī records fall quite naturally into place, as regards both characters and language, as part of the whole series running from the year 3 to the year 98; and that there is no difficulty about placing the entire series between B.C. 58 and A.D. 42.

The fact is, palæographic inquiries are a rather complicated business. They require not only a knowledge and use of the published tables, but also a close scrutiny of the records themselves. And the difficulties attending them, and the necessity of not accepting apparent results too quickly, are well illustrated by the point that Mr. R. D. Banerji,² who went into this branch of our study somewhat deeply, could not account for the Mathurā inscription of the year 299,³ except by referring its date either to a Maurya era which never existed,⁴ or

¹ Namely, the Mōra and Mathurā inscriptions, Nos. 14, 59, 82, in Lüders' List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 40.

³ Lüders' List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 78.

⁴ See my remarks on the Hathigumphā inscription in JRAS, 1910, p. 824: and compare Professor Lüders' remark on the record, No. 1345 in his List:—"There is no date in this inscription." No evidence of a Maurya era has been adduced, except that which was mistakenly supposed to exist in this Hathigumphā record.

else to the Seleucidan era, which was never used in India, or else to some other era (not specified by him) beginning in the third or fourth century B.C. But I must not be understood as decrying the value of Mr. Banerji's inquiries: while there are various points in which we cannot at all accept his results, he has done some very useful work in this line; especially in bringing out the point that the Jain Brāhmi inscriptions of the Kushan period, as compared with the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical inscriptions, show decidedly advanced forms, which seem due, as suggested by him, to the mercantile habits of the Jains, creating a tendency to abandon archaic forms of writing and adopt a more cursive style.¹

Eras and dates

Our aim ought to have been to keep this discussion to the narrowest possible issues; not to bring up and start afresh the old complications with which it has been surrounded. And we ought properly to be considering only two eras; those of B.C. 58 and A.D. 78. Dr. Thomas, however, finding (p. 633) that some of the dates are of a "distinctly awkward character", —as they certainly are from his view of the whole matter,— has done so much, by his remarks about possible solutions, to prevent the reasonable course, that, not only must I say much more about these two eras, when their turn comes, than would otherwise be necessary, but also I must first say something about theories which it would have been better to leave forgotten.

We must note, in the first place, that Dr. Thomas would find one way out of his difficulties by saying (p. 636) that "there is no improbability in the supposition of several local eras". And other writers, more bold, have asserted that there were various different eras in those times.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 51-2

But where are those eras? None of them has ever been found, except the two well-known ones mentioned above. The practice of regnal reckonings, which is traced back in India to at least the time of Aśoka, is, no doubt, earlier everywhere than any use of eras: and even the use of an established era would not necessarily stop altogether a concurrent practice of citing regnal years; the case of Gondophernēs (see p. 1002 below) is a clear instance to the contrary.¹ But a regnal reckoning does not become an era until it has been continued, unbroken, through at least two reigns. Where is there any sound basis for holding that any regnal reckonings of the period B.C. 100 to A.D. 100 developed into eras, except those which began in B.C. 58 and A.D. 78?

Dr. Thomas has sought to justify his statement by saying (p. 636, note 3) that "at the present day about twenty eras are employed in India." The eras and miscellaneous reckonings in use in India in the present day certainly do number about twenty: and there have been others, too, which have died out.² But this has no bearing on a question of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. The growth of all these numerous reckonings has been a gradual work of time: apart from the two in which we are interested, —and apart from the religious era of the Buddhists dating from B.C. 483, and that of the Jains purporting to date from B.C. 528, which do not figure in any records of the period with which we are dealing,³ — the earliest of them only dates from A.D. 248 or 249, and the next from A.D. 320.

¹ So also, in later times, the Chalukya kings of Bādāmi dated some of their charters in the years of their reigns alongside of the years of the Śaka era: see, e.g. Kielhorn's *List of the Inscriptions of Southern India*, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, Nos. 3, 9, 27-30, 32-34, 49.

² See my account of the Hindū eras and other reckonings in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. 14 (1910), pp. 495, 498.

³ The Buddhist era had not commended itself to any general use, but was confined to esoteric Buddhist circles. As to the Jain era, it is a question whether it was devised before the fifth century A.D.

There might be something in this idea of various eras, if we had a number of rulers with dates ranging about the same time; say, the year 50 or 75 or 100. But that is not the case. We have Kanishka, with years ranging from 3 to 11 or (?)19;¹ Vāsishka, with years from (?) 19 or 24 to 28; Huvishka, with years from 31 to 60;² Śoṇḍāsa, with the year 72; Vāsudēva, with years from 74 to 98, and, alongside of him, Moga, with the year 78; Gondopherneś, with the year 103; and an unnamed Kushan king, with the year 122. These figures suggest at once a continuous series: and it will be shown in the sequel that they work out as such.

The only Indian eras dating from, and in use in, the period with which we are dealing, are the so-called Vikrama era beginning in B.C. 58 and the so-called Śaka era beginning in A.D. 78. The other suggested or asserted various eras are nothing but a convenient dream, evoked under the stress of difficulties such as those which Dr. Thomas represents. And I contend that, when any historical results lead us to recognize a reckoning dating from about B.C. 58 or A.D. 78, then common sense compels us to adopt the established era which begins in that year, instead of imagining some other reckoning which is straightway made to begin at about that time but is not allowed to be that era itself.

Omitted hundreds

It can only be under the influence of the dream of various eras that Dr. Thomas has recalled attention (p. 633) to the exploded idea of "suppressed centuries" or "omitted hundreds".

¹ For the record of the year 19 see Lüders' List of the Brāhmi Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, No. 918. It was by pure conjecture that the editor of the inscription, Dr. Bloch, referred it to "Kanishka or Huvishka". The king's name is quite illegible. The record is certainly not one of Huvishka: the choice lies between Kanishka and Vāsishka.

² For the record of the year 31, see Lüders' List, No. 13a.

This idea was started in 1874 by Edward Thomas,¹ who proposed to interpret the dates of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva:—

1. As dates, with the hundred omitted, of the fourth century of the Seleucidan era of B.C. 312: with the result, if we take the whole range of recorded years from 3 to 98,² of the years 303 to 398, = B.C. 10 to A.D. 86.

2. Or as dates, with the hundred omitted, of the third century of the Parthian era of B.C. 248: result, the years 203 to 298, = B.C. 46 to A.D. 50.

Professor Dowson made a prompt protest against this idea; pointing out that, while we have the habit colloquially of saying, e.g., 75 for 1875, we never follow such a practice in dating formal records, and that any such system "would entirely defeat the object of putting a date upon a monument intended to endure for a long period":³ because, of course, after a certain lapse of time no one could know what century such a date as "the year 3" or "the year 98" might belong to. The idea, however, unluckily met with favour in other quarters; so that, since then, it has been used to interpret the Kushan dates:—

3. As dates, with the hundred omitted, of the fifth century of the Seleucidan era:⁴ result, the years 403 to 498, = A.D. 91 to 186.

4. As dates, with the hundred omitted, of the second century of the era of which we have the year 72 for

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, vol. 2 (1876), p. 31; and see his letter to the *Academy*, dated 16 December, 1874, reproduced there on p. 32.

² E. Thomas had the year 98 for Vāsudēva; but the year 9 was the earliest date then known for Kanishka.

³ *JRAS*, new series, vol. 7 (1875), p. 382.

⁴ Cunningham (1892), *Coins of the Kushāns*, p. 5, = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. 12, p. 44: and later Bühler (1896), *Indische Palæographie*, § 19, B; the text says the "fourth" century, but that is a slip for "fifth",—the century beginning with the year 401; see the English version, *Ind. Ant.*, 1904, appendix, introductory note, p. 3, note 2.

Śonḍāsa and the year 78 for Moga:¹ result not exactly determinable; but the years 3 and 98, as meaning 103 and 198, were to run from some time in the first half of the first century A.D.

5. As dates, with the hundred omitted, of the third century of the Śaka era:² result, the years 203 to 298, = A.D. 281 to 396.

6. As dates, with the hundred and thousand omitted, of the thirty-third century of a reckoning, used in Kashmir and some neighbouring parts, which has its starting-point in B.C. 3076:³ result, the years 3203 to 3298, = A.D. 127 to 222.

Even the latest supporters of this theory of "omitted hundreds" have discarded it: and we had thought it to be so thoroughly laid aside as to call for no further comment or even allusion.⁴ As, however, most unhappily, Dr. Thomas has referred to it, I have had to notice it. But it seems enough to say that any system of counting by omitted hundreds was quite foreign to the Hindūs until the eighth century A.D., when there was started in Kashmir the Laukika or Lōkakāla reckoning, "the popular reckoning", made by omitting the hundreds (including of course also the thousands) of the Saptarshi-samvatsara, "the years of the Saptarshis, the stars of the Great Bear",

¹ Bühler (1896), *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. 10, p. 173: whether this suggestion, dated 20 April, 1896, is to be taken as earlier or later than the other suggestion (referred to in the preceding note) in his *Indische Palaeographie*, which was published in 1896, I do not know.

² D. R. Bhandarkar, *JBRAS*, vol. 20, p. 297.

³ V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1902, p. 175; 1903, p. 7: at the same time it was proposed (1903, p. 45) to explain the year 72 of Śonḍāsa and the year 78 of Moga as meaning the years 2972 and 2978, = B.C. 105 and 99. The idea of applying this reckoning had been suggested, in fact, by F. S. Growse in 1877, in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 218, but only vaguely, without an indication of any particular century of the reckoning.

⁴ If, by chance, anyone should ever wish to revive it in any form let him first discover (as I have suggested in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 981) a record of Kanishka with a date ranging (say) from the year 91 to 100, or a record of Vāsudēva with a date ranging (say) from the year 1 to the year 10.

which is also known as the Śāstra-saṁvatsara, "the years of the scriptures". The earliest recorded date in the Laukika reckoning is one of "the year 89", meaning 3889, = A.D. 813-4, given by Kalhaṇa.¹ The reckoning in this abbreviated form had plainly only been invented shortly before that time. It was introduced into India, where (as also in Kashmīr) it still exists in the Kāngrā District and some of the neighbouring hill-states, between A.D. 925 and 1025.² Even so, however, the introduction of it did not lead to any general imitation of the system in India, so as to result in other reckonings being abbreviated in the same way: instances of such an effect are quite rare, and are found in only a few late Vikrama dates.³

¹ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, 4. 703.

² For further information about this reckoning, reference may be made for the present to my account in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. 13 (1910), p. 499. Properly speaking, the names Laukika and Lōkakāla belong only to the reckoning with the hundreds omitted; and they are found used, I think, only with it. The other names belong properly to the full reckoning only, but are sometimes found coupled with the abbreviated reckoning.

³ On the great rarity of such cases, compare a remark by Professor Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 22, p. 1096. Even the few instances which are forthcoming are not of a complete and convincing kind: thus:—

The Girnār inscriptions of A.D. 1232 cite the years 76, 77, and 79, but explain them as meaning 1276, 1277, and 1279, by mentioning first the year Vikrama-saṁvat 1288: *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, appendix, No. 212.

A manuscript of A.D. 1527 gives its date as *saṁvat Āshāḍhādi 83 varshē*, etc., by which it means the Vikrama year 1583 in the Āshāḍhādi variety: *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 360, No. 167.

These are the only real instances that I can quote: and perhaps the second of them was not actually intended, but (see Professor Kielhorn's remarks, loc. cit.) is due to a careless omission of the figures 15 after *saṁvat*, which would transfer it to the same class with the following three cases, which are only of a partial nature:—

A manuscript of A.D. 1477 gives its date as *saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādi 34 varshē*, etc., meaning the Vikrama year 1534 in the Āshāḍhādi variety: *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 32, No. 47.

A manuscript of A.D. 1523 gives its date as *saṁvat pañchadaśa 15 aṣṭau 80 pravartamānē*, etc., meaning Vikrama 1580: *ibid.*, p. 33, No. 49.

A manuscript of A.D. 1643 gives its date as *saṁvat 16 Āshāḍhādi 99 varshē*, etc., meaning Vikrama 1699 in the Āshāḍhādi variety: *ibid.*, p. 171, No. 101.

The complications created by this proposal for interpreting the Kushan dates are evident. Its absurdity, as regards the more recent applications of it, is shown by the fact that it has to ignore at least two dates in which the hundreds were not omitted; namely, (1) the Panjtār date "the year 122; in the reign of the great king the Gushan",¹ and (2) the Mathurā date "in the year 299 of the great king, the over-king of kings".²

It may be added that, as far as I can ascertain, no instance has ever been established of a Seleucidan or a Parthian date being recorded in omitted hundreds. There is, in fact, no sound reason for thinking that this irrational method of recording dates was used in ancient times in any territory which comes in any way within the scope of our inquiry.

The Seleucidan era

Equally unhappy, if not more so, is the invitation of our attention (p. 636) to Dr. Vogel's view that the Seleucidan era of B.C. 312 "accounts for the high numbers [of years], such as 318 and 384." There is no basis for this view, except in a theory about art, and in a mistake about a third date which Dr. Thomas has not mentioned.

Dr. Vogel was dealing with three inscriptions:³ one, dated in "the year 318", on the Loriyān Tangai statue of Buddha; a second, dated in "the year 384," on the Hashtnagar statue of Buddha;⁴ and the third, on the Skārah Dheri image of Hārītī. The date in the

¹ Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. 5, p. 61, plate 16, No. 4: and see better, for the word *rajami*, JASB, vol. 23 (1854), p. 705, plate.

² Lüders, *List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 78.

³ ARASI, 1903-4 (published in 1906), p. 259. On this matter compare my remarks in JRAS, 1907, p. 184.

⁴ Col. Waddell has asked (p. 950 above) that this date should be examined again. The pedestal bearing the record is in the British Museum: and I am able to say, from an excellent squeeze for which I am indebted to Sir C. Hercules Read, that the figures are unmistakably 300, 80, and 4.

last-mentioned record had been read as "the year 179" or "the year 191".¹ Dr. Vogel followed the reading "179". His view was that the *Hashtnagar* statue belongs to the flourishing period of the *Gandhāra* art, which he would place in the first two centuries A.D., though the eminent authority Grünwedel holds that the *Gandhāra* school only began about A.D. 30.² And though he thought the *Loriyān Tangai* statue to be inferior to the other, still, allowing for the difference in locality, with the chance that so good an artist may not have been obtainable for it, he found no difficulty in placing it somewhat earlier than the *Hashtnagar* statue. On the other hand, he stamped the *Skārah Dherī* image as a piece of "very degenerate *Gandhāra* art", to be placed after the other two.

He was thus faced by the problem (devised by himself) of having to place the two statues in the first or second century A.D., and to make the year 179 give a date later than the years 318 and 384. And he solved it, on the basis of the dream-theory of various eras, by applying two reckonings, both of them quite foreign to *Gandhāra*. He referred the *Loriyān Tangai* and *Hashtnagar* dates to the Seleucidan era, with the result of A.D. 6 and 72; and the *Skārah Dherī* date (in spite of recognizing that "unfortunately there is no indication of the Śaka era having been in use in *Gandhāra* at so early a time") to the Śaka era, with the result of A.D. 257.

But, in the first place, there is not a shadow of a sound reason for thinking that the Seleucidan era ever found its way into use in Indian records, any more than there is for thinking that an Indian era ever met with acceptance in the Seleucidan and Parthian kingdoms. Even by the Parthians, as shown by their coins, the Seleucidan era

¹ *Varsha ekumaśītīśatimāḥ*, or *vashra ēkanavīśatimāḥ*.

² *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (1893), revised translation by Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India* (1901), p. 5.

was used but rarely and sporadically before the year 275, = B.C. 38-37, and with regularity only from the year 353, = A.D. 41-2.¹

Further, the date in the Skārah Dheri inscription is distinctly the year 399.² This corrected reading places the image after the two statues, as wanted by Dr. Vogel. Referring the years to the Vikrama era, we have (taking into consideration the months which are given) A.D. 262, 328, and 343, as the equivalents of the three dates. And Grünwedel has intimated that these results are quite appropriate ones for the sculptures to which they belong.³

The Parthian era

Just as unhappy is the reference (p. 636, note 3.) to the Parthian era of B.C. 248 as a possible solution of Indian dates.

We have been spared, so far, any complications based on this reckoning; though they were once threatened.⁴ It is to be hoped that they are not to be started now. Even the Parthians themselves did not use their era on their coins:⁵ and only three inscriptional instances, found in Parthian tablets from Babylon, seem to have been traced; the only complete one is a record of B.C. 105, which cites "the (Parthian) year 144" and "the (Seleucidan) year 208".⁶

¹ See Wroth's Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia, p. 153 ff. for dates from A.D. 41-2 onwards, and pp. 99-149 for dates from B.C. 38-37 to A.D. 26-7: see also introd., p. 65.

² The expression is *vasha ekunachadusatimaṣ*, "in the four-hundred-less-by-oneth year"; using a well-established Hindū method of denoting 'three hundred and ninety-nine.'

³ Op. cit. (note 2 on p. 985 above), p. 84: he has said so specifically in respect of the Loriyān Tangai and Hashṭnagar dates: the Skārah Dheri image was not known when he was writing.

⁴ See p. 981 above.

⁵ Except perhaps in one very questionable instance: see Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia, p. 21, note 3.

⁶ G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* (1875), p. 389.

The Śaka era of A.D. 78

An important point about the so-called Śaka era of A.D. 78, and one which should always be borne in mind, especially in connection with any theory which would allot the foundation of it to Kanishka, a king of Northern India, is, that its whole history marks it emphatically as a southern reckoning. It is the great historical reckoning of Southern India, just as the Vikrama era of B.C. 58 is of Northern India. Also, from some time not very long before A.D. 500 it has been the second astronomical reckoning of the Hindūs, used in the *Karaṇas* or works dealing with the practical details of the astronomy and calendar; to such an extent, indeed, that we may almost say that it superseded altogether the Kaliyuga reckoning, which was the first astronomical era. To this last circumstance is due the fact that it spread from its original home in Kāthiāwār and neighbouring territories to all parts of India, and even to Cambodia, Java, and Ceylon. But there is a difference between special application and general use for everyday purposes: and the areas of the real practical use in past times of the Śaka and Vikrama eras, and of a third one beginning in A.D. 1119, are well sketched in a passage which defines the Vikrama era as the reckoning of Mālwa, Delhi, and those parts; the Lakshmaṇasēna era as the reckoning of Bengal; and the Śaka era as the reckoning of Gujarāt (in Bombay) and the Dekkan.¹

The name of this era is found first, with certainty, in an astronomical date of the year 427, falling in A.D. 505, apparently from Gujarāt, which speaks of it as the Śaka-kāla, "the Śaka time; or the time or era of the Śakas".² But the era itself is traced, without a name, from the year 41 to the year 310, in the inscriptions of Nahapāna from Nāsik and in the inscriptions and on the

¹ Akbarnāma, trans. Beveridge, vol. 1, p. 21-2.

² See JRAS, 1910, 819.

coins of his successors, the so-called Western Kshatrapas or Satraps, from Kāthiāwār and the northern parts of Gujarāt. And so foreign was the use of it to Northern India outside those territories that, apart from a few cases in astronomical writings, the first known instance there is found in the Dēogaḍh inscription of A.D. 862 from the Lalitpur District, United Provinces;¹ in which, however, the Śaka year 784 is given only as a subsidiary detail alongside of the Vikrama year 919 which gives the real dating of the record. Even when, through its use by astronomers and in almanacs, it had made its way into Northern India, it figures there only to a very limited extent in comparison with the Vikrama and other northern reckonings. The next known instance is in an inscription of A.D. 1137-8 from Gōvindpur in the Gayā District, Bengal.² And almost the next is one of A.D. 1204-5, in the second Baijnāth Prasasti from the Kāngrā District, Panjāb.³ I mention this last instance because it gives the nearest approach for the use of this era to the Gandhāra country, which, however, with its capital, whether Peshāwar or Taxila, is still a far cry from Kāngrā.

Hitherto we have known only one Śaka era; that which begins in A.D. 78. Dr. Thomas, however, not content with it, would try to persuade us (p. 636) that there were two Śaka eras, as follows:—

1. A real Śaka era, founded by Śakas, and beginning in the first century B.C., and possibly, but not necessarily, in B.C. 58; to which (he says) we may refer the dates of [the year 72 for Śonḍāsa], the year 78 for Moga, and the year 103 for Gondophernēs.

¹ Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, appendix, Nos. 14, 352.

² *Ibid.*, No. 362. The records Nos. 354 to 361, with dates ranging from A.D. 1018-9 to 1135-6, belong properly to Southern India; as also do various other records now standing in the Northern List.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 351. Its date is there given as Śaka 726, = A.D. 804-5; but it is known now that the real year is 1126, = A.D. 1204-5; see ARASI, 1905-6 (published in 1909), p. 19-20.

It will be time enough to consider this theory when he can give a substantial shape to his idea, and can point out the individual Śaka king who may have founded such an era, and the year in which the event may be placed if it is not to be referred to B.C. 58. For the present, the idea is too nebulous to be capable of discussion.

2. A nominal Śaka era; namely, the well-known one which begins in A.D. 78.

In one sense I agree with Dr. Thomas in regarding this as being only nominally a Śaka era. I hold (see p. 992 below) that the founder of it was not a Śaka, and that the name of the Śakas became attached to it under the influence of a mistaken tradition.

But that is not his meaning. He has stated a "rather surprising fact" (p. 635), which certainly does startle me: namely, that this era was "known in Southern India by the name of the people, the Śakas, whose overthrow it commemorated". He has quoted Albērūnī as his authority for this statement (p. 650). And he has taken it to be literally true—(if it should prove to be the case that Kanishka began to reign in A.D. 78)—that an overthrow of the Śakas is the event from which the era dates.

It is certainly the case that Albērūnī, writing in A.D. 1030, does report a belief that the era of A.D. 78 commemorates a victory over a cruel and tyrannical Śaka king by king Vikramāditya, who, he says, fought the Śaka and killed him "in the region of Karūr, between Multān and the castle of Lōnī":¹ and (we may add) he goes on to observe that this Vikramāditya can hardly be the one who founded the era of B.C. 58, because there was so long an interval between the two events. Whence Albērūnī got all the details of his story (there are others than those which I have given), is not apparent: probably

¹ *Albērūnī's India*, trans. Sachau, vol. 2, p. 6. Karūr seems to be the 'Kahrur, Karrur', of maps, about twenty miles north-east of Bahāwalpur.

in part from local tales. But we can go back to earlier times for at any rate the leading idea.

Bhaṭṭotpala, who wrote his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* in A.D. 966, says in his remarks on the term *Śakendra-kālāt* in 8. 20 :¹—"There were some barbarian kings called Śakas: the time at which they were slain by Vikramādityadēva became popularly known as the Śaka(kāla):"² by which he means the era of A.D. 78.

The leading idea of this belief, however, is carried back to more than three centuries before even Bhaṭṭotpala. Brahmagupta (wrote A.D. 628), the head of a school of astronomers at Bhinmāl in the Jōdhpur State, Rājputānā, teaches us how to get the number of years of the Kaliyuga and of the Kalpa for any desired time, by saying that a certain number of years of the Kali age had elapsed *Śak-āntē*, "at the end of the Śaka", and that a certain number of years of the Kalpa had elapsed *Śakanṛip-āntē*, "at the end of the Śaka king";³ by which

¹ The various terms used by Varāhamihira to denote the era of A.D. 78 are (1) *Śakendra-kāla*, here (8. 20) and in *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 12. 2; (2) *Śakabhūpa-kāla* in *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, 8. 21; and (3) *Śaka-kāla* in *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, 13. 3, and *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 1. 8: there is nothing in these terms, or apparently anywhere in his writings, to lead us to think that he himself (he died in A.D. 587) thought that the era began with a destruction of the Śakas.

² Bhaṭṭotpala's words are:—*Śakā nāma Mlēcchha-jātayō rājānas=tē yasmin=kālē Vikramādityadēvēna vyāpāditāḥ sa kālō lōkē Śaka iti prasiddhah | tasmāch = Chhakendra-kālāt Śakanṛipa-badhād = ārabhya*, etc. Under 13. 3, he explained *Śaka-kāla* by *Śakanṛipa-kāla*.

³ *Brahma-Siddhānta*, ed. Sudhakara Dvivedi, p. 8, verses 8, 9. The commentator, Prithūdaka (who seems to date from about the same time with Bhaṭṭotpala), explains *Śak-āntē* by *Śaka-kālāt=prāk*, "before the Śaka time or era", and *Śakanṛip-āntē* by *Kalp-ādē = ārabhya Śaka-kāl-āvadhaū*, "from the beginning of the Kalpa up to the Śaka time or era": he does not add any remarks. Brahmagupta's exponent, Bhāskarāchārya (wrote A.D. 1150), divided the compound into *Śakanṛipasy=āntē*, "at the end of the Śaka king"; *Siddhānta-Śīromaṇi*, ed. Bapu Deva Sastri, p. 12, verse 28.

In another place in his *Siddhānta* (p. 410, verse 1), in laying down the epoch Śaka 550 expired, Brahmagupta used the expression *Śaka*, 'of or

he means at the beginning of the era which starts in A.D. 78.

But Albērūnī and Brahmagupta represent Northern, not Southern India. And as another sample of the loose stories which were current there, did not Albērūnī also report a statement about the Gupta era of A.D. 320 —(a point about which Dr. Thomas has remained silent)— that :—“ People say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that, when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era ”?:¹ whereas we know that this era dates from the rise to power of the first Gupta king, Chandragupta I.

Still, to such extent as Bhaṭṭōtpala may have been a southerner, we may take it that this northern belief about the origin of the Śaka era was also current in the south in the tenth century. But, in that case, it was only a later southern belief.

The early southern belief was quite different. The Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-5 is dated “when there have elapsed 556 years *Śakānām bhābhujām*, ‘of the Śaka kings’ ”;² which is hardly consistent with the idea of an era dating from the destruction of them. And the matter is made clear by the Bādāmi inscription of

relating to the Śaka’. The only other place in this work in which he has mentioned the era by name seems to be the verse in which he tells us that he was writing, at the age of thirty, when there had elapsed 550 years *Śaka-nripānām*, “of the Śaka kings”; op. cit., p. 407, verse 7. There appears to be some doubt about the reading here. The editor has quoted this verse with the reading *Śaka-nripālāt*, “from or since the Śaka king”, in his *Gaṇakatarāṅgiṇī* or “Lives of Hindū Astronomers”, p. 18; and again even in the introduction, p. 1, to his edition of the work itself. And Bhau Daji also had the reading *nripālāt* from manuscripts; JBBRAS, vol. 6 (1861), p. 27, note †; and JRAS, new series, vol. 1 (1865), p. 410. Weber seems to have suggested that *nripālāt* is a mistake for *nrip-āntāt*; *Sansk. Lit.*, p. 259, note 287. So also might be *nripānām*. But, also, neither of them conflicts necessarily with the expressions *Śak-āntē* and *Śakanrip-āntē*.

¹ *Albērūnī's India*, trans. Sachau, vol. 2, p. 7.

² Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Southern India*, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, No. 10.

A.D. 578, which is dated "when there have elapsed 500 of the years from the anointment of the Śaka king to the sovereignty".¹

Our general knowledge of Indian eras teaches us that this—the anointment of a king, the beginning of his reign; not his overthrow—was the real origin of the reckoning.² Whether the king from whom the era dates was really a Śaka, as was believed by the Hindūs who fitted the era with its name, is another question. I hold that the era was founded by the Kshaharāta king Nahapāna, who reigned in Kāthiāwār and over some of the neighbouring territory as far as Ujjain from A.D. 78 to about A.D. 125, and held for a time Nāsik and other parts in the

¹ Kielhorn, List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, No. 3:—Śakanṛpati-rājyābhishēka-samvatsarēshv-atikrāntēshu pañchāsu śatēshu.

² The Hindūs themselves, of later times, seem to have been much exercised in their minds over the idea that an era known as Śakanṛpā-kāla, "the time of the Śaka king or kings", should commemorate a destruction of the Śakas. Bhāskarāchārya, the exponent of Brahmagupta, giving the same rule, says in his *Siddhāntaśirōmaṇi*, l. 28 (written A.D. 1150), that a certain number of years of the Kali had elapsed *Śakanṛpasy-āntē*, "at the end of the Śaka king". The *Vāsānā-vārttikā* commentary (A.D. 1621) analyzes *Śakanṛpa* as *Śaka-nṛi + pa* from *pā, pāti*, 'he protects or governs', and says:—"The Śakas were certain men whom Vikramāditya protected; whence he was called *Śakanṛpa*, 'protector or lord of Śaka men'; the name being given to him just as that of *mṛigapati*, 'lord or protector of animals', is applied to the lion, though he takes the life of animals; according to the saying of Bhaṭṭōtpala [quoted on p. 990 above, note 2]. It is well established among people, both high and low that the end of Vikrama was the beginning of Śālivāhana" [the later reputed founder of the Śaka era].

Another commentary, the *Marīchi* (A.D. 1635), analyzing in the same way, but taking *pa* from *pā, pibati*, 'he drinks', in the sense of *mārayati*, 'he destroys', says:—"Vikramāditya slew some barbarian men named Sakas, and so was called *Śakanṛpa*, 'drinker up (slayer) of Śaka men': the meaning of 'at the end of him' is 'at the beginning of the era of Śālivāhana'. In the summing-up verse about the six era-kings in the Kali age, beginning 'Yudhishtīra, Vikrama and Śālivāhana' [quoted by me from almanacs in JRAS, 1911, p. 694: it is also found in the *Jyōtirvidābharaṇa*, *ibid.*, p. 697], it is said that the era of Śālivāhana began directly after the end of the era of Vikrama."

north of Bombay, and who seems to have been a Pahlava or Palhava, i.e. of Parthian extraction.¹ On this point, and on the circumstances in which the name of the Śakas came to be connected with the era at some time perhaps not very long after A.D. 400, reference may be made to what I have written elsewhere.² I have only to add that it is not impossible, though it remains to be proved, that Chashtana, who was Nahapāna's co-regent or viceroy at Ujjain and was the ancestor of the Western Kshatrapas, may have been a Śaka.³ If so, then, as it was the Western Kshatrapas who actually established the era, by continuing Nahapāna's regnal reckoning, the era would be a real instead of a nominal Śaka era.

As regards the northern story about the origin of the era, it may be added that tales about Vikramāditya and the Śakas surround also the era of B.C. 58 : and one of them actually reverses the story about the era of A.D. 78, by saying that it was founded by a Śaka king who destroyed the house of Vikramāditya. This is in a version of the Kālikāchāryakathā,⁴ which says that, when there had reigned for a long time some Śakas who were defenders of the Jain faith, there arose a king of Mālava, named Vikramāditya, who destroyed the Śakas, founded the era known by his own name, and reigned at Ujjain : but when 135 years had elapsed, there arose another Śaka king, who, in his turn destroyed the house of Vikramāditya, and set up his own era in the place of the other one. The legends about both the eras seem to be of Jain

¹ Nahapāna's capital, Minnagara, seems to be the modern Dohad in the Pañch Mahāls ; see JRAS, 1912, p. 788. In addition to his co-regent or viceroy Chashtana at Ujjain, he had a similar representative named Bhūmaka in Kāthiāwār.

² JRAS, 1910, p. 818 ; 1912, p. 785.

³ Nahapāna's son-in-law Ushavadāta, son of Dīnika, was a Śaka : see Lüders, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix, No. 1135. So the Kshaharātas and the Śakas were at least on very close terms.

⁴ Peterson, Third Report on Sanskrit MSS., p. 32, and extracts, p. 26.

origin. And the ultimate basis of them is to be found, in my opinion, in the point that in early times, alongside of the word Saka, Śaka, as a tribal name, there were in use the forms Saka, Śaka, = Sakka, Śakka, corruptions of Śākya, 'a Buddhist'.¹ I find in these legends a reminiscence of early rivalry and conflicts, with alternating success, between the Buddhists and the Jains.

The Vikrama era of B.C. 58

We come at last to that era, the so-called Vikrama era, beginning in B.C. 58, which interests us most particularly, because it gives all that is wanted for settling the chronology of the period with which we are concerned.

As has been said above (p. 987), this era is the great historical reckoning of Northern India, just as the Śaka era of A.D. 78 is of Southern India. And another point to be noted is that it is not, and we may safely say that it never has been, an astronomical reckoning.² Consequently, there is no reason for thinking that,

¹ See JRAS, 1905, pp. 646, 647; and p. 649 for the forms Sakka, Śakka.

² Sh. B. Dikshit said in his *Bhāratīya-Jyōtiḥśāstra* or "History of Indian Astronomy", p. 371, that the Vikrama era is found used along with the Śaka era in "one or two, or a few, astronomical books (*ek dūn jyōtiṣha-granthānt*)." He did not name these works: but the context makes it plain that he meant some rather late writings: and there is of course a difference between taking a Vikrama year as an epoch or basis of calculation, and, on the other hand, simply citing such a year along with the Śaka year, as is done habitually in almanacs. In Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, p. 40, note 2, we are told that:—"The Vikrama era is never used by Indian astronomers." So, also, Dikshit said in his book mentioned above, p. 372, that the Kaliyuga and Śaka eras are used in works dealing with astronomical calculations (*jyōtiṣha-gaṇita-grantha*), but the Vikrama and "other" eras are not so used. Here, again, we have a statement in the present tense: but it cannot be doubted that he meant to tell us what has always been the practice. For my own part, not in any direction have I found the slightest indication that the Vikrama era may be classed as an astronomical reckoning. It is an instructive point, that no instance is forthcoming of the epoch of a Karāṇa, or practical work on the astronomy and calendar, being laid down as the year so-and-so of the Vikrama era: it is always a Śaka date that is found used in such works.

like the Kaliyuga era of B.C. 3102, it is an artificial reckoning, invented at some later time and set back to its starting-point in B.C. 58. We have no good grounds for believing otherwise than that—like the era of A.D. 78, which, as has been said, is traced from its forty-first year onwards,—it existed from its very beginning. Indeed, I gather that even Dr. Thomas does not dispute that: only (p. 636–7), while preferring to refer the dates of the years 72, 78, and 103, not to this era, but to some mysterious other era beginning at about the same time, he contends that, if, instead of that, these dates are to be referred to the era of B.C. 58 itself, then this era must have been a Śaka era, founded by some Śaka ruler whom he has refrained from pointing out by name.

As regards other points, Dr. Thomas has said (p. 634):—“Originally, however, it [the era of B.C. 58] was designated in connexion with the country of Malwa, . . . Its earliest recorded year is 428, equivalent to A.D. 372. That its prior period was of more than local range is an assumption, not, however, an incredible one, . . .”

Now, the assertion that the date in the year 428 is the earliest recorded Vikrama date, simply begs the question: we say that the recorded dates in this reckoning run back to the year 3. But also, Dr. Thomas' reference to this date is misleading in another direction. The inscription containing this date is a record of a Varika chief, and does not include any mention of the Mālavas or their country.¹ Its year, “the year 428 (expired)”, certainly is the year 428, elapsed, of the era of B.C. 58.

¹ Kielhorn, List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 1. It is to be remembered that Professor Kielhorn was dealing only with the inscriptions from about A.D. 400 onwards. He did not touch the Kushan dates at all, except in a remark in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 26, p. 153, where he drew attention to the point that they always denote the word ‘year’ by *samvatsara* or its abbreviations, whereas the records and coins of the Western Kshatrapas (dated in the Śaka era) always use the word *varsha*.

But there is nothing in the record itself to mark it as such. It is the locality of the record, —Bijayagadh or Bējēgadh, in the Bharatpur State, Rājputānā,— taken of course with its characters as indicating its period, which shows that its year is a year of the era of B.C. 58. The first instance of a connection of the name of the Mālavas with the era is found in the inscription from Mandasōr, in Western Mālwa, written in the year 461 (expired), in A.D. 405, which speaks of the reckoning as *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta*, “handed down traditionally by the Mālava tribe”.¹

¹ This is a new record, quite recently brought to notice by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 161. That the perpetuation of the reckoning of B.C. 58 was due to its being preserved and handed on by the Mālavas, who were a leading people among the subjects of the founder of it, and that it thus acquired its earliest known appellation, has been pointed out by me on several occasions: see, e.g., *JRAS*, 1905, p. 233; 1907, p. 171.

In his remarks on this new record, in commenting on a term, *kṛita*, used in it and elsewhere, the meaning of which is not yet apparent, Mr. Bhandarkar has said (loc. cit., p. 163):—“It is not safe just at present to make an assertion on this point, but it appears to me that what is now known as the Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years and was consequently originally known as *Kṛita*, which means ‘made’”. Before advancing such a proposition, he should have looked into the facts: as I have had occasion to remark above, it may be safely said that this era has never been used as an astronomical reckoning, and there is no good reason for thinking that it is an artificial reckoning, invented for such or any other special purposes.

Dr. Thomas, of course, did not know this record of A.D. 405 when he was writing. The record which he should have cited as giving the earliest known instance of a name for the era, is the Mandasōr inscription of “the year 529 expired”, in A.D. 473, which presents also an earlier date, the year 493 expired, in A.D. 437, and uses with that earlier date the expression *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā*; Northern List, No. 3. A similar expression, *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt*, is found in the Mandasōr inscription of the year 589 expired, = A.D. 532-3; Northern List, No. 4. I rendered these expressions, for reasons which I gave, as denoting a reckoning dating from “the tribal constitution of the Mālavas”; *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 87, 158. Professor Kielhorn said in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19 (1890), p. 56, that *gaṇa-sthiti* should be taken as equivalent to *gaṇanā*; “by or according to the reckoning of the Mālavas”. I have never felt quite sure as to the appropriateness of this correction. Still, I accepted it, and acted in accordance with it. It is now upset,

But there is no proof that we have here the "original" designation of the era, and that it was founded by the tribe of the Mālavas. Current appellations are no proof of origins. The present name of the era of B.C. 58 is, and has been for many centuries, "Vikrama-saṃvat"; due to an Indian belief that the era was founded by a king Vikrama, Vikramāditya, who began to reign at Ujjain in that year: and European scholars at first accepted that belief, and acted on it in shaping their views about ancient India. Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A.D.: and it has shown further that, not merely in A.D. 405, but for nearly five centuries from that time on to A.D. 879, the era was known as "the reckoning of the Mālavas, the years of the Mālava lords, the Mālava time or era".

So, again, from the thirteenth century a name of the era of A.D. 78 has been Śālivāhana-śaka, "the era of Śālivāhana". But we know that this reckoning was not founded by any king named Śālivāhana.

There is also another case in point. There was an era of Central India, dating from A.D. 248 or 249, which was known from the tenth century onwards as "the Kalachuri or Chēdi years". But it was not founded by any Kalachuri king or other ruler of Chēdi. It is traced back in Western India to A.D. 494, when it bore the name of "the years of the Traikūṭakas".¹ But even so, we have no reason for thinking that we have got to the bottom of the matter, and for believing that this era was

of course, by the new inscription which is mentioned above. But my translation of *gaṇa-shiti* by "tribal constitution" is not restored: as indicated by Mr. Bhandarkar, we must translate the two expressions in which it occurs by some such words as "according to the usage of the Mālava tribe".

¹ As shown by the Kanheri record of the year 245; Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 393.

founded by a Traikūṭaka king; any more than we have for inferring from the records of the period A.D. 405 to 879 that the era of B.C. 58 was nothing but a tribal reckoning.

We may easily find, even yet, an earlier name for the era of B.C. 58: and, in fact, the newly discovered Mandasōr inscription of A.D. 405 (see p. 996 above) does seem to give another name of it; in addition to speaking of it as "handed down traditionally by the Mālava tribe", the record mentions it as *Kṛita-saṃjñita*, "marked by the appellation Kṛita",—an expression which is for the present obscure.¹ But it is probable that—like the era of A.D. 78, for which a name, connecting it with the Śakas, is traced with certainty only from A.D. 505,—it ran through a very long period without any appellation at all. And, as regards ultimate origins, all our knowledge of Indian eras teaches us that it was founded by a king, not by a people.

¹ The same term is implied in the Bijayagaḍh inscription of the year 428 (expired), in A.D. 372 (Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 1), and the Gaṅgdhār inscription of the year (?) 480 expired, in A.D. 423 (ibid., No. 2), which otherwise do not present any name for the era: in these two records we have *Kṛitēshu* in apposition with *varsha-śatēshu* and *vatsarēshu*; and (by the way) in the second of them we have also another puzzling term, which may be meant for, or may actually be, *saumyēshu*.

It is hardly possible that *Kṛita* and *Kṛita-saṃjñita* can be intended (as Mr. Bhandarker has thought) to discriminate one or the other of the Kārttikādi and Chaitrādi varieties of the era which now exist: for one reason, it is questionable whether the Chaitrādi year was in use at all in that early time, and much more so whether it could have been used then with the era of B.C. 58. It seems just possible that an explanation may be found in a statement of Hiuen-tsiang, who says that, after the death of Kanishka, the sovereignty of Kashmir was seized by a race named *Ki-li-to*, the members of which suppressed the Buddhist religion and held the country until the 600th year after the death of Buddha (A.D. 118), when they were overthrown and Buddhism was restored by a king of Himātala, of the Tukhāra country: Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 1, p. 156; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. 1, p. 278. But I can only offer this as a mere conjecture: and the name *Ki-li-to* is explained by the Chinese as meaning 'bought' (op. cit., pp. 150; 265), which points to *kṛita*, instead of *kṛita*.

As regards the other point, of the era of B.C. 58 having in its early period a more than local range limited to Mālwa, I contend that, even if this is an assumption, the assumption is a well-founded one. But I say, rather, that it is an unavoidable inference.

We have four crucial dates, of the years 103, 318, 384, and 399; and two eras, those of B.C. 58 and A.D. 78, by which to interpret them. The record containing the first date gives it as the date of king Gondophernēs:¹ the other three records give the dates of three pieces of sculpture of the Gandhāra school.² All the four records come from the Gandhāra country in the extreme north-west of India: and I understand that, whatever may be the differences of opinion as regards details, there is a well-founded general agreement that the latest limit for the Gandhāra school of art is about A.D. 400. And they are all in the Kharōshthī characters, in respect of which we can hardly believe that they remained in use anywhere in India, even in Gandhāra, for any long time after A.D. 375, when the power of the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta, with all that went with it, had made itself felt by the rulers of that region, the Daivaputras, Shāhis, and Shāhānushāhis.

To say nothing of the fact that there is no evidence (see p. 988 above) that the use of the Śaka era of A.D. 78 ever extended to Gandhāra or anywhere near it, an interpretation of these dates by the Śaka era would give an impossible result in A.D. 181 for Gondophernēs, and for the three pieces of sculpture results in A.D. 396, 462, and 477, which seem wholly inadmissible from the points of view of epigraphy and art.

On the other hand, the application of the Vikrama era of B.C. 58 gives a thoroughly good result in A.D. 47 for Gondophernēs, and places the three pieces of sculpture in A.D. 262, 328, and 343, well within the later limit which

¹ Regarding this king, see p. 1002 below.

² See p. 984 above.

is admissible for them as specimens of Gandhāra art, and for the records themselves as being in the Kharōṣṭhī characters.

In these circumstances, I say, common sense leaves us no option, except to interpret these four dates as dates of the era of B.C. 58, and so to find it established that this reckoning was in use in Gandhāra by at any rate the beginning of its second century.

But, if the era of B.C. 58 was by origin only a tribal reckoning started in Mālwa, how did the use of it spread so early to Gandhāra? On the other hand, if the era was started in Gandhāra, how did its use come to spread to Mālwa? Either event can only be attributed to the era being the royal reckoning of a king who ruled over both the territories, or whose successor did so. Such a king we find in Kanishka. And it will be shown farther on (p. 1005) how the attribution of the founding of the era to him gives an intelligible chronology for the period in which we are interested.

It has to be added that Dr. Hoey has suggested a theory about the origin of this era (p. 961 above) which is as startling in its nature as it is refreshing as a novelty. He would have us think that the reckoning began in B.C. 57 (instead of 58), and that it was started by Kozoulo-Kadphisēs, under some Chinese influence, because the Chinese began to date their coins in B.C. 57, and in that same year there began a "*chia*-rat" year, the first year of a Chinese sixty-years cycle.

I suspect that Dr. Hoey is indulging in a little humour, and wishes us to think really of a "cat-and-mouse" year rather than a "*chia*-rat". In any case, his suggestion does not call for serious criticism.

Mañēs and Moga

Among matters of detail in which Dr. Thomas has found himself to be in difficulties, one (pp. 636-7) is the

case of the king named Moga, for whom we have a date in "the year 78" in the record on the Taxila plate.¹

It is to be regretted that there should have been revived in any way the proposal to identify this king with Mauēs: and surely the suggestion that, if we separate the two persons, we have no inscriptions of Mauēs and no coins of Moga (p. 634), is a peculiarly weak basis for identifying them.

The identification has nothing to rest on, except a quite mistaken idea —started by someone who had not the knowledge that is necessary for understanding the Indian records, but perhaps excusable in view of the way in which translations of the record have been worded,— that the Taxila record is dated in "the 78th year of the great king Moga", and so indicates an era founded by him. It is really dated "in the year 78; on the fifth day of the month Panēma of the great king Moga":² and so, not only does it place Moga himself in the year 78 of an era founded by someone else, but also it probably marks him as beginning to reign in that same year.

Against the identification of Moga with Mauēs it is first to be noted that the fine coins of Mauēs place him closely about B.C. 120; or perhaps historical indications require us to put him even earlier, about B.C. 135. On the other hand, through the mention of Patika (or Padika), son of the Satrap Liaka-Kusulaka, in the Taxila record, and the mention of the Great Satrap Kusulaa-Patika (or Padika) in one of the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital,³ Moga is connected closely with

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 55.

² See the text and translation given by me in *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1014.

³ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 144, G. There were evidently two Patikas: the second of them, mentioned as simply Patika in the Taxila record, was the son of Liaka-Kusulaka; the other, the Great Satrap Kusulaa-Patika of the Mathurā inscription G, seems to have been either the father or a brother of Liaka.

Rājūvula and his son Śoṇḍāsa: and another of the Mathurā inscriptions gives for Śoṇḍāsa, a date "in the year 72".

Who can doubt that these two dates, the years 72 and 78, are dates in one and the same era? Indeed, even Dr. Thomas seems inclined to admit this much (p. 636). But, except for one impossible view which would put Rājūvula in the period B.C. 125-100, it is, I believe, agreed by numismatists — (and I am certainly with them on this point) — that he and his connections are to be placed (roughly) about the beginning of the first century A.D. It follows, as a matter of common sense, to interpret the year 72 for Śoṇḍāsa as a year of the Vikramā era of B.C. 58; rather than to invent an otherwise unknown era beginning at about that same time. This places Śoṇḍāsa in A.D. 15. And Moga, for whom we have the year 78, comes to A.D. 22, about a century and a half after Mauēs.

Gondophernēs

Another ruler about whom Dr. Thomas is in difficulties (pp. 633, 636) is Gondophernes, "with his curious double figure $\frac{26}{103}$ ", which is given by the record of him in the Takht-i-Bahai inscription.¹

The record gives first "the year 26 of the great king Guduphara", and then "the year 103" of some reckoning which it does not explain. There should be no difficulty in seeing that the year 26 is the 26th year of the reign of Gondophernēs. As regards the other year, even Dr. Thomas admits that "Gondophernes was certainly ruling in the year 103 of an era commencing in the first century B.C." Surely, then, there should be no hesitation about referring the year 103 to the established Vikrama era of B.C. 58; instead of having recourse, as in other

¹ Regarding this record, see fully my remarks in JRAS, 1905, p. 229; 1906, p. 706; 1907, p. 1039.

cases too, to some otherwise unknown era beginning at about that same time.

This places Gondopernēs in A.D. 47, which suits exactly the Christian tradition which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas the Apostle.¹

For the rest, and as regards Dr. Thomas' difficulty in the shape of overlapping dates, the case is simple enough. The record on the Taxila plate gives a date for Moga in A.D. 22, and is fairly understood as showing, by certain territorial details stated in it, that he was then reigning at Taxila, in the Rāwalpīṇḍī District: while the inscription from the Takht-i-Bahāī hill in the Yūsufzai country, some fifty or sixty miles to the north-west of Taxila, shows that Gondopernēs was reigning over the territory which included that hill in A.D. 47, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, and fixes the beginning of his reign in A.D. 20 or 21. But Gondopernēs, as is shown by the places whence his coins come, — Beghrām near Kābul, Kandahār, Sēistān, and Sind, as well as the Panjāb, — was the ruler of a very extensive territory. There is no necessity to assume that he began his career at Taxila, and reigned there during the whole of the twenty-six years mentioned in his record, and made conquests from that place. Following other writers, we may safely hold that he rose to power in Arachosia, and extended thence his sway until, at some appreciable time after A.D. 22, — say about A.D. 30 or 35, — his dominions included at last the Yūsufzai country and Taxila.

Kanishka and his Council

It is hardly right to say (p. 649) that I make the reign of Kanishka, or its "legitimation", begin with the Buddhist Council which he convened. That is a view of

¹ For a clear and compendious account of this tradition, see Mr. W. R. Philipps' article on "The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India" in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, pp. 1, 145.

Mr. Kennedy which I do not share ; as, surely, my remarks showed plainly.¹

In dismissing off hand as erroneous the Buddhist tradition that Kanishka's Council was held 400 years after the death of Buddha, Dr. Thomas has said that the Buddhists "add that it was 300 years after Aśoka, which places him [Kanishka] in the first century A.D." Regarding the mistaken nature of this assertion, see p. 914 above.

Dr. Thomas has said (p. 649, note 1) that Hiuen-tsiang reports another tradition placing Kanishka's Council 500 years after the death of Buddha ; that Sung-yun puts it at 300 years ; and that the *Samyuktaratnapitakasūtra* says 700 years.

In respect of the 500 years, reference may be made to what I say just below, on Mr. Smith's remark about this statement. As regards the other two statements, Sung-yun and the *Sūtra* are not Hiuen-tsiang.² It is open to us, I think, to weigh traditions and discriminate between them, just as in the case of other evidence. And I think that the statement of the 400 years, agreeing as it does with all the historical indications, is entitled to acceptance.

As regards varying traditions about the date of Kanishka, Mr. Vincent Smith reminds us (p. 941) that Kalhana places Kanishka 150 years after the Nirvāṇa, the death of Buddha.³ I am afraid that he has not studied enough all that has been written about the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Kalhana, who wrote in A.D. 1148-9, was not reporting traditions : he was putting together

¹ JRAS, 1913, p. 95. Dr. Barnett at any rate, has understood me correctly (p. 943 above), without having to ask me as to my meaning.

² As regards Sung-yun I may refer to my remarks in JRAS, 1906, p. 989. For the statement of the *Sūtra*, quoted by Dr. Thomas from M. Sylvain Lévi's account of that work, reference may also be made to the English abstract of M. Lévi's account in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 382.

³ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I. 172.

a chronology: and (as samples of his results) he placed the great Maurya king Aśoka (B.C. 264–227) towards the close of the period B.C. 2448 to 1182, and he had to give to Raṇāditya I a reign of three centuries (A.D. 222 to 522) in order to square his arrangements.

Mr. Smith says further that Hiuen-tsiang reports also a tradition placing Kanishka 500 years after the death of Buddha. But that is not the case.¹ This tradition only places in the year 500 a certain great Arhat from Kashmīr, who spoke of the Council as having been held “in these latter times” or “in recent times”; a statement which is not at all inconsistent with the year 400, in round-numbers for 425 or possibly a slightly higher figure, as the date of the Council itself.

Dr. Hoey, also, has given us (p. 962) some remarks on varying traditions as to the time from the death of Buddha to the Council of Kanishka. I would point out to him that the Ceylonese chronicles leave no room for doubt that a Council was held in the time of Aśoka the Maurya, as well as in the time of his predecessor Kālāśoka, and that, consequently, Kanishka's Council was the fourth (not the third): also that I place Kanishka's initial date in B.C. 58 (not 83), and that the real interval between the Vikrama and Śaka epochs is 135 years (not 134). For the rest, I fear it can only be said that his researches into the dates of the deaths of Mahāvira and Buddha do not help in our present inquiry, whatever they may do in any other line: as regards Buddha, there is nothing so clear and reliable as the statements of the Ceylonese chronicles, which have the effect of placing his death in B.C. 483.²

Chronological results

Dr. Thomas finds indications in certain overlapping dates (pp. 633–5) that I have not considered fully the

¹ See my remarks in full on this point in JRAS, 1906, p. 990.

² See JRAS, 1912, p. 239.

consequences of referring all the dates to one and the same era ; that of B.C. 58. But any seeming difficulty disappears at once, when we look into a few details. I give my reading of the history of the period.

B.C. 58 to A.D. 3. This time is covered by the reigns of Kanishka, Vāsishka, and Huvishka, for whom we have records which range from the year 3 to the year 60.¹ These three kings are Kalhaṇa's "Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka".²

From a remark on p. 630 I gather that Dr. Thomas holds, as I do, that the two Sārnāth inscriptions, —one on the back of a colossal statue of a Bōdhisattva, the other on a stone shaft which once carried an umbrella placed over the statue,— which are expressly dated in "the year 3 of the Great King Kāṇishka", establish Kanishka's sovereignty as far east as Benares. A suggestion has been made, indeed, that this is not the case, and that the Great Satrap Kharapallāna and the Satrap Vanaspara, who are mentioned in the records as having a part in the acts which were registered, did so in the course of a pilgrimage, and had come to Sārnāth from Mathurā.³ But it is out of the question that a local independent

¹ Lüders, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nos. 925, 927, 56.

² Rājatarāṅgiṇī, 1. 168 :— Hushka-Jushka-Kanishk-ākhyās = trayas = tatr = aiva pārthivāḥ. Kalhaṇa has mentioned them in this order, not by way of fixing the succession, but because it was convenient to use a compound word, and necessities of metre and rhythm (to say nothing of a rule of grammar) required him to place the longest base, *Kanishka*, last. Under the influence of his first mention of them, he has spoken in 8. 3412 of *trayō = tsa Hushk-ādyāḥ* ; "and then the three, Hushka and the others."

³ See *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 173. I do not raise any objection to Dr. Vogel's view that the image and the umbrella and its post came from Mathurā : why not ? : there is, I believe, no stone, at any rate of a suitable kind, anywhere near Benares ; and there was water-carriage all the way from Mathurā to that place. As regards the other point, he would probably have hit the mark if he had said that the Bhikshu Bala, who gave the image and the umbrella and its post, was a pilgrim from Mathurā : we find the same person making gifts at Sahēth-Mahēth in the year 19 : see Lüders' List, No. 918.

king, or any of his representatives, would allow to be set up in his territory public records expressly dated in a year of some other king; an act of notification which would be distinctly a mark of sovereignty over the locality in which such a record stood exposed to view. The Sārnāth inscriptions establish the sovereignty of Kanishka over the Benares territory. And so also the Sahēth-Mahēth inscription of the year 19, on a colossal image of a Buddha or a Bōdhisattva,¹ establishes the sovereignty of him or his successor in the Bahraich and Gonda Districts, some 160 miles north of Benares.

On the other hand, there is no evidence that the power of Kanishka and Vāsishka extended beyond Gandhāra into the Kābul territory.

As to Huvishka, the case is somewhat different. From one of the Stūpas at Khawat in the Wardak district, about thirty miles west of Kābul, we have the relic-vase inscription,² which is dated in "the year 51" of evidently the Kushan era, and names "the Great King, the Overking of kings, Hoveshka", among the persons whose welfare the donor of the relic had in view when he interred it. But this record was not set up exposed to public view: it was at once buried out of sight. Accordingly, it does not provide the same argument about sovereignty which is furnished by the Sārnāth and Sahēth-Mahēth records: it does not suffice to prove that even Huvishka extended his power into Afghanistan. Thus, there is nothing which makes the power of Kanishka's line clash in any way with that of the last Greek kings of Kābul, or even with the rule of the last one or two members of the line of Mauēs.

¹ Lüders' List, No. 918. It was by pure conjecture that the editor of this record, Dr. Bloch, referred it to the time of "Kanishka or Huvishka". The king's name and titles are quite illegible. The record is certainly not one of Huvishka: the choice lies between Kanishka and Vāsishka.

² *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 11, p. 210.

As regards the route by which Kanishka entered India, —(another point which seems to trouble Dr. Thomas, p. 634),¹— since the Kushan principality, whence Kanishka came, either was Gandhāra or else (more probably) was immediately on the north of Gandhāra,² he had good access to India down the upper Indus valley without going anywhere near the Greek kingdom of Kābul or even trespassing on the territory of the contemporaneous king of the line of Mauēs. On this matter see also remarks by Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Dames (pp. 929, 959, above).

It may be added that the localities and dates of the inscriptions seem to show that Kanishka, on entering India, pushed straight on to Mathurā, established his power there first, and extended it thence to Benares and back to the north-west and Kashmīr.

A.D. 3 to 17. From between the years 60 and 74 we have no record mentioning a Kushan king. But we have the Mathurā inscription mentioning the Great Satrap Śoṇḍāsa, which is dated in the year 72, with a month which places it in A.D. 15.³ And this brings into the same interval the two other records of Śoṇḍāsa, not dated, from Mōra and Mathurā,⁴ of which the first (only extant in part) mentions him as “the son of the Great Satrap Rājūvula”,⁵ and the second styles him

¹ I freely give up my suggestion, made in JRAS, 1903, p. 334, that Kanishka reached India from Khotan through Kashmīr. [I did not mention “the pilgrims’ route (via the Swat Valley)”, to which Dr. Thomas has referred; p. 635, note 1.] The idea of a route through Kashmīr seems to have been suggested first by Gardner, who conjectured (Catalogue, introd., p. 40) that the people over whom Mauēs ruled “had entered India not through the Kabul Valley, but through Kashmīr or Nepal.” Cunningham negatived that (*Coins of the Sakas*, p. 2, = *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. 10, 1890, p. 104); but not in any unpleasant terms.

² See JRAS, 1912, p. 669.

³ Lüders’ List, No. 59.

⁴ Lüders’ List, Nos. 14, 82.

⁵ This is the ‘Rañjubula’ of some writers. See my remarks on the name in JRAS, 1907, p. 1024, note 2, and p. 1027, note 4. If the Kharōshthī legends on his coins are to be taken as giving an *anusvāra* in the first syllable, then the name will be Rāñjūvula.

"the Lord (*svāmin*) and Great Satrap Śoṇḍāsa"; and also the inscriptions, in intrusive Kharōṣṭhī characters, on the Mathurā lion-capital,¹ which mention the Great Satrap Rajula (= Rājūla, Rājūvula), his son the Satrap Śuḍasa (= Śoṇḍāsa) and his daughter's son the Yuvarāja or heir-apparent Kharaosta, and further the Satrap Khardaa, and (apparently as deceased) the Great Satrap Kusulaa-Patika and the Satrap Mevaki-Miyika. As these last-mentioned records give to Rājūvula the higher title which belonged in A.D. 15 to his son Śoṇḍāsa, they must be placed before that year. It is to be added that the coins of Rājūvula which have Greek legends on the obverse style him "King of kings" and "Saviour (*sōtēr*)":² it would seem, then, that he was for a time actually a king: as such he may have been the immediate predecessor of Moga.

The explanation of all this seems plain: namely, that, for some reason or another, —whether a failure of issue to Huvishka, or an act of rebellion on the part of his Satraps and Great Satraps,—there was a cessation of the Kushan sovereignty for the time being after Huvishka.

A.D. 17 to 41. After that, we have records of Vāsudēva, with dates ranging from the year 74 to the year 98.³ Like the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, his coins name him as a Kushan, with the imperial title *shāonāno-shāo*: and he seems to be a Hinduized Kushan,—a Kushan with a Hindū name, and probably born from a Hindū mother,⁴—who claimed to belong to the line of Kanishka. He re-established the Kushan power, but held only the central and eastern parts of Kanishka's dominions, with

¹ *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 141.

² See, e.g., *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1027.

³ Lüders' List, Nos. 60, 76.

⁴ Compare, e.g., the case of the well-known Ushavadāta, who had this Hindū name (Rishabhadatta) though he was a Śaka, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Nahapāna: it would seem from this that Ushavadāta's mother was a Hindū: and Nahapāna himself seems to have had a Hindū wife, since the name of his daughter, Ushavadāta's wife, was Dakhamitrā (Dakshamitrā); Lüders' List, Nos. 1132, 1134. We have another instance of Hinduization in the case of the Śaka Agnivarman; Lüders' List, No. 1137.

apparently the eastern end of the Panjāb: he did not recover the rest of the Panjāb, nor Kashmīr.

From this same period we have the first record which is supposed to create a difficulty by giving an overlapping date; namely, the record on the Taxila plate,¹ which gives a date in the year 78, falling in A.D. 22, for the Great King Moga and his Satrap Liaka-Kusulaka. But the record comes from, and belongs to, Taxila, in the Rāwalpīṇḍi District of the Panjāb. And the answer to the assertion of difficulty is found in that fact, coupled with the point that that territory was certainly outside Vāsudēva's dominions.

A.D. 41 to 65. From this period we have the second record which is supposed to create a similar difficulty. It is the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription, from the Yūsufzai country,² which gives a date in the year 103, falling in A.D. 47, for the Great King Guduphara, Gondophernēs. It is also dated in the 26th year of the reign of Gondophernēs, whose initial date it thus places in A.D. 20 or 21.

But this last date, though it overlaps, does not clash with the dates either of Vāsudēva or of Moga. The record comes from, and for its date in A.D. 47 locates the sovereignty of Gondophernēs in, a territory which was outside the dominions of Vāsudēva. While, as regards Moga, all difficulty disappears if we follow the quite sensible view that Gondophernēs began his career not at Taxila but in Arachosia, and that it was by gradual extension of his power that he acquired the Panjāb, Taxila, and the Yūsufzai country.

The next inscription which we have, mentioning a king, is the Panjtār inscription,³ which is dated "in the year 122; in the reign of the Great King, the Gushan". The record does not mention the king by name: but it belongs to the

¹ See p. 1000 above.

² See p. 1002 above.

³ Cunningham, *Reports*, vol. 5, p. 61, and plate 16: for the word *rajami* at the end of line 1, see better the plate at JASB, vol. 23 (1854), p. 705.

time of Wēmo-Kadphisēs ; and the king may be either that king himself, or, as Mr. Kennedy prefers to hold, his Indian viceroy, Sōtēr Megas, "the Nameless King".

The equivalent of the date of this record is in A.D. 65. If we place the end of the reign of Gondophernēs about A.D. 50, that leaves fifteen years for the establishment of Kozoulo-Kadphisēs at Kābul and the conquest of India, that is, of the Panjāb and adjacent parts, by his son Wēmo-Kadphisēs. We need not go here beyond this point: the subsequent history is dealt with by Mr. Kennedy in a paper on the Later Kushans.

Mr. THOMAS makes the following remarks in reply to the criticisms on his paper:—

It would not be justifiable in replying upon our interesting discussion to enter fully into all the arguments which have been adduced. But I may hope to deal with the points which have any particular significance in the observations of Dr. Fleet, Mr. Kennedy, Professor Barnett, and Mr. Dames.

Dr. FLEET seems to find (p. 913) a suspicious caution in my conclusion concerning the date A.D. 78. The expression criticized was dictated simply by a desire to keep on a level with the evidence. If reason should some day be found for placing the initial date of Kanīṣka not exactly in the year A.D. 78, but in some near proximity, say in A.D. 70 or 80, I should be prepared for such a contingency. What I do not regard as within the bounds of possibility is a date in the first century B.C.; this the mere palæographical facts suffice to exclude. Wherever we find Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī records of the Śaka princes of Northern India, they exhibit an earlier type than these of the Kanīṣka group.¹

¹ See, as regards the Brāhmī, Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, pp. 195-6; Vogel, *ibid.*, viii, p. 175; Lüders, *ibid.*, ix, p. 247; and especially the valuable paper of the Abbé Boyer in the *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, vol. xv, pp. 565 sqq., where details are given.

Dr. Fleet still dwells (pp. 914-16) upon the 400 years mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang (alone), a matter which is in my view almost too slight for mention. What value could in any case be attached to an Indian tradition, if it was a tradition, reported in the seventh century A.D., concerning a ruler who in Dr. Fleet's view commenced his reign about 700 years earlier? But when we find that a previous traveller in the sixth century gives the period as 300 years, and that Hiuen-Tsang himself elsewhere speaks of 500 as the date of Kaniska's Council,¹ facts to which attention has been drawn by both Mr. Vincent Smith and myself, to pick out the number 400 is merely arbitrary.

As regards the association of the 400 years (for Kaniska) with the 100 years (for Aśoka), Hiuen-Tsang, who records the two intervals on consecutive pages (of Beal's translation), would indeed be a strange witness if he were capable of not having connected them.

That the errors in Buddhist dates are in part due to a confusion of two Aśokas is not improbable, and the question has been discussed by Geiger in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (Introduction, pp. 59 seqq.). But I do not see the bearing of the matter here.

Dr. Fleet attributes (p. 916) to Mr. Kennedy the observation that the weight of the Kushan gold coins was based upon a certain numerical ratio. But Mr. Kennedy did not, and could not, claim originality in this respect, the observation being borrowed from Cunningham. He infers (1912, pp. 997 seqq.) that the Kushan weight could not at the same time have been based upon that of the Roman *aureus*, an inference from which Cunningham refrained. But, even were the inference admitted, nothing positive follows, since the ratio, which according to

¹ Dr. Fleet's method of meeting this difficulty (p. 1005 *infra* and ref.) requires that a certain Arhat, in speaking of a council, of which he had himself been a member, as having taken place "in recent times", is referring to an event to be dated at least a century earlier.

Mr. Kennedy (p. 998) remained constant from B.C. 100 to A.D. 100, will have been introduced by Wima Kadphises and retained by Kanishka.

As for the argument (pp. 917-20) that the letter H, found on a coin of Kharahostes (say about the commencement of the Christian era) and on some of those of Nahapāna (say about A.D. 120), must inevitably have been employed on those of the Kushan Huviṣka, if a contemporary of the latter, I may add to what has already been said by Mr. Vincent Smith and myself the fact that it is often absent from the coins even of Nahapāna.¹ And this is a stronger case than anything urged by Dr. Fleet, seeing that the symbol in question was *certainly* known to those who failed to use it: we cannot say the same of those who supplied the coins of Huviṣka; for he represents a different race and dynasty from Kharahostes. But even Kharahostes himself furnishes a proof of the futility of the argument from non-appearance of the sign for H: for the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Mathurā, which possess, of course, and do not need to import, a sign for the *h*-sound, omit it in this very name. Accordingly I regard this argument as quite devoid of cogency.

Mr. KENNEDY returns at length to his argument from the use of Greek, which in his papers he has treated as a matter of the first importance.

He says (p. 922) that "Dr. Thomas is greatly astonished to find anyone maintain that Kanishka knew Greek". I submit that I did not express astonishment, and the feeling which I did not analyse or formulate was occasioned by another (specified) cause (p. 638). How could Mr. Kennedy, after writing so much concerning Kanishka and his coins, possibly be under the impression (and could even have conveyed to Dr. Fleet the impression, p. 96)

¹ As indicated above (p. 643), I think this H to be not Roman, but Aramaic (it is no accident that it is found only on Śaka-Pahlava coins); nor do I agree that the Roman P *p* appears on Nahapāna's issues.

that they exhibit only Greek characters and the Greek language, when the great majority of the legends are in another tongue (pp. 638-9)? He now explains (pp. 928-9, n. 3) that "the coins in question are of copper, and therefore [beside the point as] only meant for local use". And yet about half of them, not to mention the bulk of the coins of Huvīṣka and Vāsudeva, are of gold.

As regards a knowledge of Greek (pp. 931-3) on the part of those who superintended the supply of the coins (for to speak of Kanīṣka as personally concerned in the matter is both unreasonable and unnecessary), and as regards the extent to which Greek may or may not have been understood in Kanīṣka's dominions, I have said no word; nor did I consider the incorrectness of the Greek deserving of even a mention.¹ For the former abstention the sufficient reason is that we have (at any rate so long as the date is under discussion) no evidence, excepting that of the coins, which supply practically only a single tag. But Mr. Kennedy says (p. 922) that it is not a tag by reason of the nominative βασιλεύς, other rulers using the genitive βασιλέως. But Kujula Kadphises uses βασιλεύς, and Wima Kadphises uses βασιλεύς; and so do Abdagases, Orthagnes, Pacores, Soter Megas, while the acknowledged successors of Kanīṣka have no Greek at all. The plain conclusion is that Kanīṣka's βασιλεύς is borrowed from the rulers whom we regard as his predecessors. And the grammatical blunder in the Kanīṣka coins is due not to any knowledge of the declension of Κανηρκης, but to ignorant coiners, who attached to the nominative βασιλεύς, which they found on the coins of Kadphises, a form terminating in the ου, which they found on those of Menander, Azes, Azilises, Vonones, Gondophernes, and

¹ The mistakes which Mr. Kennedy cites (pp. 922-3 and n. 1) from Egyptian and other sources are no evidence of a *decaying* knowledge of Greek. They are popular or half-educated Greek, similar to the use of "you and I" after verbs and prepositions in bad English. Grammatical errors are not rare even in official inscriptions of Attica.

many others. Or will Mr. Kennedy really put Kanishka before Abdagases, Kadphises, and others, whose nominatives have nominatives in agreement with them, *on the ground of the blunder?*

Then as regards the "beautiful cursive script"¹ and the special sign for *sh*: who would guess from Mr. Kennedy's statement that the "conventional" view, which he is opposing, is that both² are borrowed from the Kadphises group and the Indo-Scyths and Indo-Parthians? And, when he says that "to compare Kanishka's cursive alphabet with the Parthian uncials is a waste of time", who would guess that all the signs of cursive origin, except *h* (I here disregard the special sign for *sh*), occur on the Parthian coins? It is quite true that the *hand* (*Α* for *A*, *H* or *M* for *M*, etc.) is more cursive on the Kushan coins, and in this respect Huvishka's coinage is rather advanced than that of Kanishka. But it may be remarked (1) that a more cursive writing is not a sign of earlier, but of later date, and (2) that the writing on Kanishka's coins is not more cursive than on those of Kujula Kadphises and Wima Kadphises, whence in our view it was borrowed. It may be remarked that it is only a question of employment.³ All the forms (including *h*) are found in Greek MSS. of earlier date, and therefore must have been known wherever Greek was cursively written.

The suggested importation of the *sh*-sign from Elam is also a matter in regard to which Mr. Kennedy's evidence (1912, pp. 1010-11) reduces itself to nothing. He quotes only a single coin, belonging, he says, to the middle of the

¹ The statement (p. 923) that Kanishka "begins with uncials" and changes to the cursive is, of course, quite unfounded; in the use of a slightly varying alphabet he simply follows the practice of his predecessors.

² The fact that Kujula Kadphises uses *P* and not *p* for *sh* makes no difference, and probably points to the origin of the latter.

³ Similarly Mr. Tarn assumes (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxii, p. 286) that "the changes in the Greek letter-forms corresponded to those in Greek letter-forms elsewhere". The changes after Kanishka are, however, from this point of view of insignificant magnitude.

second century A.D. But his authority (v. Sallet) regards the sign as a mere variant of *rho* (p for P). Considering that an ordinary P occurs on another coin of the same king, and that Mr. Kennedy's reading compels him to invent a name Oshobazes (in place of the known form Orabazes), there is not much to be said for a p = sh in Elam.¹

Then "Kanishka and his successors use the Greek alphabet correctly on their coins for a hundred years to express new names" (p. 924). In general, who doubts this (though there are very strange variations in their ways of representing such names as Mihra (Mithra), Athsho, etc.)²? As I have pointed out (p. 641), the Greek alphabet was the one in which they wrote their own language, into which in fact the names are adopted. Mr. Dames (p. 954) seems to accept my suggestion as to how this came about, while Professor Barnett (p. 943) doubts it, and Mr. Kennedy (p. 923) excludes it on the ground that in Bactria "every trace of Greek had disappeared by 130 B.C." I regard this objection as specially unfortunate: it is (1) baseless (as we have no ground for making it), (2) improbable (since the Greeks had in B.C. 130 occupied Bactria during 200 years), and (3) contrary to fact (since Kadphises, who was ruler of Bactria, and whose disconnexion from India is specially emphasized by Mr. Kennedy (p. 936), writes his "Scythian" coin-legends only in a Greek (square and cursive) alphabet). Add to this that only Greek letters are used by three rulers, namely, Sanabares, Hyrkodes, and Heratis, whom Mr. Gardner considers to have belonged only to the country beyond the Hindu-Kush. My suggestion was therefore too diffidently put forward: it is nearer to a certainty than to a conjecture.

¹ Note also that a somewhat similar p, which certainly is a *rho* (see above, p. 630 n.), is read as sh by Cunningham in the word XAPOBAΛΛANO.

² We should, however, say sixty years, since Vāsudeva adds no new name, except his own.

The later corruption of the Greek writing, on the coins of the successors of Vāsudeva, will have been caused by Hinduization and the disuse of their own language.

The only other point connected with the alphabet is Mr. Kennedy's imputation (p. 936) of error in the statement that Wima Kadphises would not probably have revived the Kharoṣṭhī on his coins after a break of a century. I said "the first Kadphises"; but that is immaterial. Mr. Kennedy means that the continuity, broken in India, was maintained outside. But then Wima Kadphises (or his viceroy) did employ the Kharoṣṭhī during a long reign in Northern India, and then it disappears there once more. Two disappearances instead of one have certainly no advantage in point of simplicity.

Mr. Kennedy observes (p. 922) that I do not contest his proposition that Greek ceased to be a living language in general use east of the Euphrates after A.D. 100. A reason for not contesting the proposition, beside that indicated above, is to be found in the fact that it is a mere proposition, for which no solid grounds were given. Moreover, the proposition is couched in fallacious terms. On the one hand it may be denied that in the countries specified Greek was ever in general use, and on the other a limited use, sufficient to account for any amount of Greek on coins, is not excluded. The proposition seems to me, therefore, meaningless. But it is surely singular that Mr. Kennedy should have overlooked a remarkable application of it to the very case which he is considering: for Greek totally disappears from the coins of Huviṣka, who, according to the common view, succeeded Kanīṣka within a very few years of A.D. 100. The rule which he sets up would, therefore, if it were well founded, not conflict with the received date.

After this it is needless to notice the citation (p. 925) of Professor Gardner and Mr. Tarn, who certainly would not have found in the Scythic coins of Huviṣka a proof

that Greek was a living language in India during his time. In quoting the former Mr. Kennedy displays in a high degree the quality of the Indian bird which is said to take the milk and reject the water: since he accepts the speaking of Greek and denies the century. And he is also rhetorically inaccurate (pp. 922, 925) when he says that Messrs. Gardner and Tarn maintain that Kanishka knew Greek.¹

As regards the trade, Mr. Kennedy admits (p. 921) that he has not produced evidence of date. So I pass on to the two pieces of direct evidence. I am arbitrary, it seems, in questioning the value of an extract from a lost Chinese translation of a certain *Samyuktāgama*. Not to dwell upon this, let me mention that I have specially contested Mr. Kennedy's interpretation of the passage.

That according to the system of the Chinese Buddhists India is the South is beyond all question,² and the Tibetans naturally agree. But it is also the view of the Indian Buddhists, and in fact of all Indians, that India is the southern part of Jambudvīpa. And when Āśvaghōṣa (Mātṛceta) addresses Kanishka, if it is indeed he, as ruling the north, where in fact the Yue-tchi are usually placed, this well agrees with the tradition concerning the poem, which relates to the time of his first invasion, and with its general tenour. The passage from the *Samyuktāgama*, on the other hand, would refer to an earlier period, when the Yavanas were still in Bactria, and the Tushāras, or Yue-tchi, were still to the east. Mr. Kennedy's statement (p. 925 n.) that the Tushāras, i.e. Yue-tchi, never had any connexion with Eastern Turkestan is in contradiction with every history of the Yue-tchi.

As regards the Kashmir gold coin (pp. 925-6), I do not find that I am less regardful of the Chinese statement

¹ Mr. Tarn, however, writes "Kanishka's die-sinkers, if they possessed Greek in any sense as a living tongue".

² See my ref., *supra*, p. 648, n. 1.

than is Mr. Kennedy himself. We both deny that the gold coins as described had any existence; and I have adduced the fact that none of them have ever been found, an argument of some weight in connexion with objects so numerous and so dispersed as coins. The difference is that Mr. Kennedy supposes the coins to have been wrongly described, having really been Kushan coins. And here he is less fortunate than I; for he is in conflict, as I have shown (p. 648), with a second Chinese authority, according to which Kashmir was not at the time under the Kushans. And this contradiction applies not only to the particular point, but to the whole theory. This history of the Earlier Hans definitely states the position of the Ta Yue-tchi as north-west of Kashmir, and it gives the positions of the five kingdoms without a hint that a single one of them had already (as Mr. Kennedy supposes) conquered Kashmir and India (Wylie's translation in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. x, pp. 34, 41).

To continue the subject of coins, "Dr. Thomas repeats without a qualm the old story that the Kushans got their gold from Rome" (p. 928 n.). I do indeed, if we understand by Rome the Roman Empire and in particular Syria, where the abundant supply of gold and gold coins is remarked even by the Chinese (Huth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 41-2). I thought in fact that this was Mr. Kennedy's own view. As regards coins and the stated absence of restruck specimens, he might have mentioned the view of Cunningham¹ "that the Roman gold *denarii* . . . were *recoined* as *dinârs* by the Kushân princes". There seems to be little advantage in constructing a difficulty, of which there exists so old and obvious a solution.² Also the statement that the finds of Roman coins in Northern India are remarkably few

¹ *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, i, p. 22.

² Mr. Tarn, however, accepted the re-striking (op. cit., p. 276, n. 42).

should be proved, if it is to replace that of Cunningham that "many specimens have been extracted from the stūpas in the Kabul valley and the Panjāb".

Mr. Kennedy has dealt at some length (pp. 930-1, 937-8) with the question of coin-finds, and in particular he has now explained the absence of coins of Vāsudeva from the Ahin Posh hoard. The tope in question, he says (p. 937), was not in Vāsudeva's dominions. But there is absolutely no proof of this: and how will he explain the similar cases occurring at spots which he himself would not separate from Vāsudeva's rule?¹ Also Huviṣka is represented in the hoard: this, says Mr. Kennedy, is a mere accident. Now it was to exclude the supposition of accident that I cited a number of similar cases. Mr. Kennedy asks (in italics), "*What does he mean?*" But I can rely upon my hearers to judge with Professor Oldenberg² that a sufficient number of similar "accidents" excludes the accidental. Mr. Kennedy quotes Wilson to the effect that the coins of Kanīṣka and Wima Kadphises were still circulating together in the Indian bazars in 1841: does he say that those of Kujula Kadphises and Huviṣka were not?

Then he comments (pp. 930-1) upon a preponderance in number of the Kadphises coins found in Kabul, as compared with those of the Kanīṣka group, and concludes that the latter did not rule in Kabul. He says that at Darunta alone Masson sets down seven out of eleven toposes to the Kadphises kings, i.e. to the exclusion of the Kanīṣka group; and why not, since, as we say, the Kadphises kings came first? The toposes furnishing the Kanīṣka coins will be the later ones. And this argument cannot be reversed, because, as Mr. Kennedy points out, the cases where the Kanīṣka coins occur without those

¹ See the list given above, p. 645 n.

² See his paper in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*, 1910, pp. 427-41, especially p. 438

of Wima Kadphises are extremely rare. Then in his final total for Begram (p. 931) he includes among his 2,133 coins of the "Kadphises kings" 593 of "Ermaios of Nysa and his family", 99 of Kadphises I, who, as he did not rule in India at all, must be expected to have preponderated in the Kabul country, and 695 of *Σώτηρ Μέργας*, of whom the same can perhaps be said. I do not understand why the 746 of the "bull and priest-Okro" type must almost all be ascribed to Wima Kadphises, since the only ruler who combines the Śiva and bull with the signs read as Okro is Vāsudeva. On the other side Mr. Kennedy leaves out of account the "Couch-lounger, one foot up", 231 coins (Huviška); the "Elephant-rider", 129 coins (Huviška); and the "Very rude, reverse female with cornucopia", 274 coins (Kaniška and Huviška); in all 574 coins of the Kaniška group, omitted in Mr. Kennedy's total of 139¹! These numbers rather notably qualify the figures given by Mr. Kennedy; and there are further qualifications, due to the indefiniteness of Masson's descriptions, and perhaps also to the insufficiently representative quantity of 2,000 coins as compared with the 30,000, which according to Masson were annually discovered. Accordingly, I think that the facts either prove nothing at all regarding a preponderance of the coins of the Kadphises group in Kabul, or prove the opposite of Mr. Kennedy's contention. In reality, however, nothing is proved, since nearly all the coins are of copper, in which sort the Kadphises group might perhaps preponderate even in India (see p. 645 n., the Kalka-Kasauli Road find). The only legitimate comparison would be between Wima Kadphises and Kaniška and Huviška, with distinctions as to types and metals (see also p. 1039 *infra*).

Mr. Kennedy's account of the Begram coins is, therefore, of the same order as his statements concerning the language

¹ Mr. Kennedy's total of 28 for Kaniška omits 68 found in the year 1834 alone (Masson, J.R.A.S.B., 1834, p. 163).

and the metal of the coins of the Kanishka group. It is not a case of subtlety or sophistication, into which a disputant may easily be betrayed, but plain mis-reporting (perhaps due to haste) of facts which anyone can check; a form of error specially undesirable, since, when unsuspected, it may mislead. In the case of a Manikyala find we learn only half the circumstances. "A reliquary at Mānikīāla," we read (p. 937), "contained coins of Huvishka with Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian coins, as well as coins of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Were there no intervening kings?" The very magnitude of the interval—for Yaśovarman is assigned to about A.D. 740—should have more strongly drawn Mr. Kennedy's attention. Cunningham states¹ that the "Sassanian" coins were approximately contemporary with Yaśovarman, and he propounds the theory that an old stūpa, dating from the time of Huvishka, had been opened and rebuilt in the days of the former. This is not a conjecture, since the reliquary is marked by a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, apparently of Huvishka's time, while a second similar inscription was found in the same tope. It would seem, therefore, that there were two deposits, separated in time by about 600 years at least, and both included only approximately contemporary coins.

There is, moreover, a second Manikyala find which in itself is fatal to the whole theory: I refer to the tope explored by General Court.² In this case the "three cylindrical caskets of copper, silver, and gold, placed one inside the other, and each containing several coins of the same metal, were enclosed in a stone niche which was covered by a large inscribed slate". Now the inscription is of the year 18, and it refers to Kanishka. The gold coins are of Kanishka, the silver ones are Roman denarii of the last years of the republic, and the copper coins are of

¹ *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. ii, p. 160. He says "Sassano-Arabian".

² Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 seqq.

Wima Kadphises and Kujula Kadphises. It is not possible to doubt that the year 18 is a Kushan date, or that the inscription covered the coins; whence it follows inevitably that Wima Kadphises and Kujula Kadphises belonged to an earlier period. What more is needed? The fact that there are no coins of Huviṣka or Vāsudeva, or of any later rulers, is in full harmony with what Mr. Kennedy designates Mr. Thomas' "methods"; but it is not needed for the complete demonstration.

"One difficulty which Dr. Thomas raises is, I think, peculiar to himself" (p. 929). This refers to the fact that I noted the improbability of an invasion of India via Kashmir. This route had to be mentioned, being that actually suggested by Dr. Fleet; and the difficulty had previously been raised by Cunningham, who knew the country. Mr. Kennedy, however, claims that the thing has been done, seeing that in A.D. 747 a Chinese general carried an army of 3,000 men from Wakhan over the Hindu Kush and "made Mastuj [*sic*; read 'Yasin and Gilgit'] a Chinese province", which Sir M. A. Stein describes as "a memorable exploit". Considering how far these places are from Kashmir, this is an insufficient retort. It means, however, that Mr. Kennedy gives up Dr. Fleet's proposal,¹ and suggests another possibility, upon which again I have commented in a note (p. 635). Mr. Dames also mentions (pp. 959-60) the same possibility, but I have nothing further to observe concerning it, more especially as it might be suggested that penetration rather than actual invasion may have been the course of events (see Mr. Kennedy's remarks, pp. 929-30).

In the immediately preceding sentence I had mentioned that the Kushans were actually in possession of Kabul. As Mr. Kennedy admits (p. 930), "it follows, of course, that in that case they must be later than the Kadphises kings." This is a valuable admission. Mr. Vincent Smith

¹ As now does Dr. Fleet himself (p. 1008 n.).

has well developed (pp. 941-2) the argument from the Wardak stupa and its vase-inscription dated in the 51st year of Huvīṣka. If Mr. Kennedy builds any hope upon the possibility of dispelling the supposition based upon this inscription either by any contentions of his own or by the agency of "a more competent hand", I do not doubt that he will be disappointed (see pp. 1038-9 *infra*). He might as well attempt to disconnect the Peshawar stupa from the rule of Kanīṣka in Gandhāra.

But I have, it seems (p. 926), ignored the evidence of Pan Yung, which Mr. Kennedy regards as specially significant. The Historian of the Later Hans, whose information concerning the western countries is stated to have been based upon the report of that person, who died in A.D. 124, mentions that "at this time they [the people of India] all depended upon the Yue-tchi: the Yue-tchi had killed the king and installed a chief to govern this population". M. Chavannes observes (*T'oung Pao*, II, viii, 193) that the phrase "at this time" probably means "at the epoch when Pan Yung wrote, towards A.D. 125". This seems to have misled Mr. Kennedy, who concludes that India must at that time still have been governed by a viceroy. Considering that the invasion of Wima Kadphises, narrated on the previous page of the same work (in M. Chavannes' translation)—"in his turn he conquered India and there installed a chief to administer it"—is obviously the event referred to, and considering that it probably took place about A.D. 50-60, we can see that the Yue-tchi "had" done as the historian says. That India was still in A.D. 125 governed by a viceroy (and therefore not by Kanīṣka or Huvīṣka) does not seem to be implied, nor need Pan Yung have known how it was governed in his time. Also, if in A.D. 125 all India was a single dependency of the Yue-tchi, how do we explain the existence only twenty-five years later of the kingdom of the *Κασπειῶται*, as conceived by Mr. Kennedy (see pp. 1026-7)?

And then we have the new argument based upon the word "again" (pp. 926-7). In his first article (1912, pp. 675-6) Mr. Kennedy gave a translation of the passage in question by M. Chavannes, who renders the word *fu* by "in his turn": it was translated to similar effect by Franke, who in his well-known paper gives, and defends, the signification "further". The appropriateness of these renderings in their context is patent, and persons like myself, who are not Sinologists, can recognize analogous transitions of meaning in other languages (*πάλιν*, *ad*, *iterum*, *wieder*, *again*). Unfortunately, what is *a priori* reasonable in translation is not always in agreement with exact scholarship; and Mr. Kennedy has consulted Mr. Giles of the British Museum, who says, "The word 'again' can only mean a second conquest." I do not feel sure that Mr. Giles has been made acquainted with the point at issue or with the authority guaranteeing the accepted translations. Nor do I feel sure that these are excluded by his statement, since the previous sentence in the Chinese does mention a conquest, namely, of Kabul and Kashmir, P'u-ta, etc. But what is quite certain is that no rendering could imply so much as a previous conquest by *other Kushans*, who are not at all within the purview of the context, immediate or remote, and who, moreover, are otherwise unknown to Chinese historians. And, when Mr. Kennedy adds (p. 927) that the history of the Later Han "tells us that a Kushan *jab-gou* established a petty principality at or near Gandhāra more than one hundred years before Kozoulo Kadphises", here also there is matter for reflection. The five Yue-tchi principalities in their ensemble constituted only a part of the Yue-tchi dominions¹ and of the kingdom established by Kadphises I. Of these principalities the Kushan was only one, and its union with the other four was the work of Kadphises I, himself a Kushan. If then the Kushan Kaniška preceded

¹ See Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 203, n. 3.

Kadphises, he had indeed started with a modest capital (some principality in the Swat Valley ?) for the conquest of India; and the Chinese writer seems quite unaware of what the petty principality had, on this supposition, achieved. It seems to me that when Kanishka stamps on his coins the words "King of kings, Kanishka the Kushan", he does so in the pride of a name already famed by the exploits of Kadphises I¹ (who calls himself "the Kushan chief") and of Kadphises II, the conqueror of India.

Then Mr. Kennedy constructs a historical scheme covering the period from A.D. 125 to 450, which he says excludes the possibility of inserting the dynasty of Kanishka anywhere in the period. "Ptolemy, writing c. A.D. 150, describes a kingdom of the Kaspeiraiοi, which embraced the eastern Punjab (and we may add the country as far east as Mathurā and Kanyakubja). The Kaspeiraiοi or Kashmiris, from the nature of the case, must have been Hinduized Kushans. Ptolemy's description is incompatible with the existence of any kingdom like that of Kanishka or Huviska."

Ptolemy's description is confined to these few words: τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν (i.e. from the country about Sāgala) πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κατέχουσι μέχρι τοῦ Οὐινδίου ὄρους Κασπεираῖοι, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πόλεις αἷδε, and he then enumerates the cities, which seem to include in disguised forms Lahore, Thanesar, Indraprastha, Benares, and Kanouj, not to mention Mathurā. Now it was the Abbé Boyer who first in recent times drew attention to the passage, a fact which Mr. Kennedy fails to note. The Abbé Boyer, curiously enough, draws from it a conclusion precisely the opposite of that of Mr. Kennedy, and, as it seems to me, with absolute justification. He points out² that, whereas it appears from the *Periplus*, which gives information relating to about the middle of the first century A.D., that

¹ The conquest of Kabul from the Parthians was pointed out in this Journal for 1906 (pp. 193-4), and was supported by a classical reference.

² *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, vol. xv, p. 579, 1900.

the Kushans were still in Bactria, we find them here in the middle of the second century masters of Hindustan under the name *Κασπεῖραιοι*. And there is a very strong reason for identifying the *Κασπεῖραιοι* with the kingdom of the Kanishka dynasty; for Ptolemy knew that the name properly belonged to Kashmir, and it is only under the Kanishka dynasty that we have an empire covering so large a part of Hindustan and having its head-quarters in Kashmir. Why does Mr. Kennedy say that Ptolemy's description is incompatible with the existence of any kingdom like that of Kanishka or Huviska, or let us say of Vāsudeva, since Huviska's last date is A.D. 78+60=138? Perhaps because of what is *not* included, namely, the country of the Pāṇḍavas (about Sāgala), and that of Uraśa (about Taxilā), and Gandhāra.¹ Does he then conceive the possibility of a kingdom embracing Kashmir, Lahore, and Delhi without including Sāgala and Taxilā? The map does not favour such a possibility. But in reality Ptolemy does not exclude any of the mentioned countries: his method is to speak not of rulers, but of peoples; and the only reason why he designated the eastern part of the Kushan empire by the general term *Κασπεῖραιοι* was that he had not at his disposal for this region any tribal or national names.

As regards the supposed Śaka-Pahlava interposition between Huviska's last date (60) and the first of Vāsudeva (74; Mr. Kennedy says² 80), it would have been convenient if we had learned definitely which of the Śaka and Parthian kings preceded Kanishka and which succeeded Huviska. Pending such information, we may remark that Kanishka in the third year of his reign has at Benares two satraps, Vanaspāra and Kharapallāna, who bear distinctively Parthian names. Considering his relations with the Parthians, this can only be explained by their

¹ But of Vāsudeva Mr. Kennedy says that "his rule extended apparently over the Eastern Panjāb, and no farther" [west] (1912, p. 673).

² JRAS, 1912, p. 673.

having been there before his conquest. Now the Parthians follow the early Scythians, Maues, Azes, and others, who form a well-defined group, and the inscriptions which mention Vanaspāra and Kharapallāna exhibit a later form of Brāhmī than does that of Śoḍāsa in the year 72.¹ Therefore, Kanīška is later than the Parthians, and later than the group (including Moga) which belongs to the time of Śoḍāsa and Ranjubula; and his era was not that including the years 72 and 78.

And now I think that I have considered all the main points of Mr. Kennedy's defence. As I have pointed out, his cardinal and inexplicable error lay in taking for Greek what is not Greek, and what every book on the subject has discussed as not Greek. Having based a case thereupon (and upon the matter of the silk trade), he has cast around in every direction for arguments, adopting in particular practically all Dr. Fleet's contentions. Stating his views positively, he has in several cases not been careful to let his reader know what is the alternative. Regarding his argumentation I must leave others to judge, as they will also judge my own.

Concerning Mr. DAMES' reasonably argued communication I have very little to say.² But, since he has dwelt upon the question of continuity, I append two tables, representing a part of the evidence of the coinage. The tables name only princes who certainly ruled in India (for which reason Kadphises I is omitted), the first in the received order, the second in that proposed by Dr. Fleet and Mr. Kennedy. They speak for themselves: but I may be permitted to call attention to two features of the second. The first is that Ranjubula and Kharahostes are made to intrude the Greek and Prakrit languages and the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet right into the reign of Vāsudeva and as far east as Mathurā, when and where all three had long been

¹ See Dr. Vogel's remarks in *Epigraphia Indica*, viii, p. 175.

² As regards the passes, see my reply to Mr. Kennedy.

disused; and similarly Kadphises comes with his Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī after Vāsudeva. The second circumstance is that neither of these interruptions has any effect upon the development, the later Kushans placidly continuing the degradation which commenced with the last-named. It is true that Mr. Kennedy finds (p. 932) in the history of the Vāsudeva coinage evidence of a cataclysm. But numismatists had hitherto rather dwelt upon the absence of even a break, and we may doubt whether Mr. Kennedy would have found any signs of a cataclysm, if the cataclysm itself, in the form of Wima Kadphises' invasion, had not been supplied by his general theory.

EVIDENCE OF COINS

1. *In the received order*

KINGS AND SATRAPES.	LANGUAGE.	SCRIPT.	TYPES.
1. Menander.	Greek and Prakrit.	Greek and Kharoṣṭhī.	Pallas (generally).
2. Azes group.	„	„	Zeus, Pallas, Bull, Nike, etc.
3. Ranjubula.	„	„	Pallas and Lakṣmī.
4. Kharahostes.	„	„	Lion.
5. Kadphises II.	„	„	Śiva and Bull ¹ (generally).
6. Kanīška.	Greek (incorrect) and Scythian.	Greek.	Very various, Greek and Iranian.
7. Huviška.	Scythian.	„	„
8. Vāsudeva.	„	„	Śiva (generally without bull); rarely Nānā.
9. Later Kushans.	„	„	Imitations of Nos. 6-8.

¹ Mr. Dames in discussing this type (pp. 955-6) neglects the fact that Śiva appears on Indian coins as early as B.C. 100 (see Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 66 seqq.; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 43). It seems to me that Kadphises II combined a Śiva taken from the Gondophernes line with the bull taken from the Śakas, etc., and that Vāsudeva in adopting the type added the "Okro" (or however it is to be read).

2. *In the order proposed by Dr. Fleet and Mr. Kennedy*

KINGS AND SATRAPHS.	LANGUAGE.	SCRIPT.	TYPES.
1. Menander.	Greek and Prakrit.	Greek and Kharoṣṭhī.	Pallas (generally).
2 (?). Azes group.	„	„	Zeus, Pallas, Bull, Nike, etc.
3. Kanīṣka.	Greek (incorrect) and Scythian.	Greek.	Very various, Greek and Iranian.
4. Huviṣka.	Scythian.	„	„
5. Ranjubula.	Greek and Prakrit.	Greek and Kharoṣṭhī.	Pallas.
6. Kharahostes.	„	„	Lion.
7. Vāsudeva.	Scythian.	Greek.	Śiva (generally without bull): rarely Nānā.
8. Kadphises II.	Greek and Prakrit.	Greek and Kharoṣṭhī.	Śiva and Bull (generally).
9. Later Kushans.	Scythian.	Greek.	Imitations of Nos. 3, 4, and 7.

I come now to the observations of Professor BARNETT.

As regards *yavuga*, I founded no argument upon the translation "emperor", concerning which I may refer to my paper.¹ But the statement (p. 944) that Kujula Kadphises was only a comparatively petty local ruler does not square with the fact that he was at the head of the five Yue-tchi principalities and acquired Kabul, Arachosia, and Kashmir. Also the suggestion that "for all we know he may have minted gold and silver too" (as well as copper) is extremely unlikely, since surely in that case *some* specimen would have been found among the thousands of his coins.

¹ Mr. Kennedy also has referred (p. 927, n. 2) to this error, which does not appear in the printed paper, "chief" being substituted (p. 629). The recollection to which the oversight was due is mentioned in a note.

As regards the art (p. 942), it seems strange to speak of growth, when we have the early Greek coins to show that it commenced with the finest Greek technique and subsequently underwent only degradation ; we need only compare the coins of Kanishka, poor as they are, with those of Vāsudeva and his successors. On this point I regret to find that Colonel Waddell (pp. 943 seqq.), who is so familiar with Gandhāra art and whose paper contains so much valuable matter, takes a view opposite to that of M. Foucher (not, however, as concerns the coins, p. 950).

Concerning the case for Kanishka's Greek and his supposed knowledge of case-forms, I may refer to what I have said in reply to Mr. Kennedy (pp. 1014-15).

The citation (p. 943) of Vergil's *Georgics* is quite beside the mark. Mr. Kennedy has alluded to the passage (1912, p. 985), and this and other classical references to the silk trade may be found in the ordinary books of reference. But how can Professor Barnett have overlooked the fact that we are speaking of the *Periplus* and importation of silk from India, a matter to which Vergil does not refer either in the *Georgics* or anywhere else?¹

Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (p. 943). That the phrase "in the five hundreds" means in the century 500-99 is affirmed by Professor Takakusu, who in the passages to which I have referred (p. 646) expressly adopts this interpretation. The authority of this most competent scholar is not in the least invalidated by the assertion that the phrase would "mean most naturally" 401-500 : the question is what in Chinese it does mean. Moreover, such a supposition would also conflict with the very probable dates for Vasubandhu and others, based

¹ As a matter of fact, Vergil does not refer to trade at all, whether via India or via Parthia, or by any other route ; he writes merely the line—

"velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres."

upon the expression "in the nine hundreds", which occurs in the same treatise.

"He asks triumphantly" (I would omit this word) "why Professor Lüders . . . should be opposed by" (read "to") "Mr. Kennedy on the subject of his date. Are we to be responsible for the Professor's error?" (p. 943). I think that the date of the MS. in question is a matter concerning which we are not in a position to question the authority of the distinguished Berlin scholar, who is our sole source of information concerning it.

"He speaks of Āśvaghoṣa as a contemporary and correspondent of Kanīṣka" (p. 943): and no doubt I should have been more reserved, as I have myself more than once¹ remarked that the delicate question of the identity of Āśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa, the author of the letter, is still unsettled. But I rather think that M. Lévi accepts the identification²: and certainly the former poet in his *Sūtrālamkāra* speaks (but *not* slightly) of Kanīṣka of the Kuśa race, and the latter's Kanika is also of the Kuśa race. But the importance of Professor Barnett's objection will appear when it is pointed out that, if Āśvaghoṣa is not Mātṛceṭa, I might have cited *two* contemporaries who mention Kanīṣka without referring to a Buddhist era founded by him. That Āśvaghoṣa was not a young man at the time of Kanīṣka's Council, and therefore, according to Mr. Kennedy, in B.C. 58, we may incidentally infer from Paramārtha's statement of the reason for his invitation to take part in it: "he was well versed in the *Vyākaraṇa* treatise, in the four Vedas, in the six *Vedāṅgas*, and was conversant with the *Tripitakas* of all the eighteen schools. He was the Laureate of Literature, the Treasury of Learning, the Home of every Virtue" (Professor Takakusu's translation, p. 12).

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, pp. 349-50; *Kaṇḍavacanasamuccaya* (Bibl. Indica, 1912), pp. 25-9.

² *Journal Asiatique*, sér. ix, vol. viii, p. 449.

"Dr. Fleet does not claim that Kanishka started his era from a Council" (p. 943). But Mr. Kennedy, with whom I was arguing, does so. Concerning Dr. Fleet I did not mean to imply (p. 649) that he adopted the view, but only that he came to the help of Mr. Kennedy with the suggestion (p. 95).

Buddhadeva of the Mathurā inscription may, according to Professor Barnett (p. 945), be the Buddhadeva mentioned by Tāranāth (who, by the way, finished his work in the seventeenth century A.D.). M. Lévi¹ had already made this suggestion, but he would hardly adduce it as an argument. Its value as such anyone may test by a more modern name (e.g. Vāgbhāṭa, St. Francis, Churchill): or he may try it on the same name, consulting the index to Professor Lüders' list of Brāhmī inscriptions, or on the names of Buddha-ghoṣa, Aśvaghōṣa, and Mātṛceta, as occurring on inscriptions and coins.

Nanjio, No. 1340, can hardly be described (p. 945) as a "Chinese record"; and I doubt whether it appears from Hiuen-Thsang (or, I may add, from I-tsing or Tāranātha or Bāṇa) that Nāgārjuna was regarded as a contemporary of the Śālivāhana legendarily connected with the Śaka era.

Upon Dr. FLEET's second paper (pp. 965-1011), supplementary to the debate reported above (pp. 911-65), it is no doubt incumbent upon me to make some observations. He refers (p. 965) to its length, of which I should certainly not complain. The complete statement will be convenient for reference. But of course a considerable part of the matter, more especially that concerning the Śaka and Vikrama eras, is already familiar to those who have perused his valuable writings, and those of Kielhorn and others.

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, sér. IX, vol. viii, p. 450, n.

Reserving for a note¹ the consideration of a few minor objections and misunderstandings, I will turn at once to

¹ (1) As to the early history of Sāgala (pp. 965-6), it is not necessary to dwell upon its long-established identity with the Śākala of Sanskrit books. (2) As to Kujula Kadphises taking Hermæus "under his protection" (pp. 966-7), let us substitute "being in alliance" with Hermæus, although in the circumstances of the case the former phrase is probably a more correct statement. (3) In regard to the Chinese evidence (pp. 967-8), I meant to indicate a *general* consensus on the main points; and I should certainly see "no objection to noting" the divergent views of Professor Sylvain Lévi and Professor Franke in certain respects, since, in fact, I had mentioned both these scholars (p. 637 and note). (4) In mentioning, but without adopting, the views of Bühler and Mr. Vincent Smith (pp. 980-4), who certainly deserve mention, concerning omitted hundreds, I do not feel that I went too far. (5) The Parthian era of B.C. 248 (p. 986) was not cited by me as supplying a solution of Indian dates, but as an example of an era contemporaneously current in the same sphere with a second (namely the Seleucid era of B.C. 312) of not very widely divergent epoch. (6) Concerning Dr. Vogel's application of the dates 318 and 384 to the Seleucid era (pp. 984-6), I am still of opinion that the view is in agreement with palæographic facts (and also, since some inscriptions have Seleucid months, I see no great objection to the supposition of Seleucid years), while as regards the date 399 read by Dr. Fleet in the Skara Dheri inscription, an inscription with which I have some familiarity, I see what there is in favour of Dr. Fleet's reading, though the matter is not decisively settled, and, if settled in favour of the year 399, it would not be counter to Dr. Vogel's view. (7) The derivation of the *sh* sign 𑀓 from the sign for *rho* P is supported, as Professor Rapson has pointed out to me, by the fact that the P sign itself is used with the value of *sh* not only in the legends of Kujula Kadphises, but also in those of the Śaka-Pahlava king Spalirises (see my table, p. 640): further, there are good phonetic reasons for a connexion between *r* and a sibilant, as may be seen even in English (e.g. *lose* and *lorn*), and, as Professor Rapson mentions, in the name of the composer Dvořák. (8) (p. 989) My view as regards the initiation of the Śaka era is hardly open to misconception, since I adduced years ago in this Journal (1909, pp. 465-6) the decisive evidence which proves that the dates of Kanishka are regnal, and I have asserted above (p. 633) that the satraps of Western India adopted this era (naturally, under compulsion) as that of their suzerain. It commemorates their overthrow inferentially, as commemorating the beginning of another power, that of the Kushans (for Wima Kadphises, the real conqueror, established no era). Though I did not mention the popular story concerning the origination of the Gupta era (I had no reason for so doing), Dr. Fleet, who saw the paper in its first proof, can hardly be unaware that it was in my mind. (9) And lastly, I did not by using the phrase "might deceive the very elect" intend severity (p. 918, n. 1), but rather a sense of the extreme

the main questions, which (if we leave aside the subject of art, as matter for special experts) would be concerned with (1) palæography, (2) the Vikrama and Śaka eras, (3) the extent of the dominions of Kanishka, Huviška, and Vāsudeva, and (4) the supposed Śaka-Pahlava intrusion between the two last-named kings.

1. *Palæography* (pp. 975-8). It is a simple fact that both the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī of the Śaka satraps of Mathura and Taxilā have hitherto been regarded as of a more ancient type than those of the inscriptions representing the Kanishka group. I have referred to Bühler's tables (p. 633) and also (p. 1012, n. 1) to the discussions by Bühler elsewhere (let me now add the text of his *Indische Paläographie*, §§ 10-12), and by the Abbé Boyer, Dr. Vogel, and Professor Lüders, who supply details. When we add that the Greek alphabet is also employed in a cursive, and therefore presumably a later, form by Kanishka and his successors, we may fairly claim that the consensus of three alphabets is not accidental. Dr. Fleet urges a number of special considerations, such as differences of locality, religion, and the material upon which the various records are inscribed. These considerations are, of course, by no means nugatory; but they should not be allowed to obscure the broad facts.

Palæography is, as Dr. Fleet observes (p. 977), a complicated business, and it demands a larger treatment than is possible in this discussion. But we may, nevertheless, refer to one or two points.

In connexion with the Brāhmī alphabet perhaps the most important chronological indication is supplied by the subscript *y*, according as it is tripartite (earlier) or only bipartite (later). Mr. Banerji, who has carefully examined

plausibility of the theory: a reference to the use of this proverbial expression and to its source will show that it does not imply any identification of the "elect" or an inclusion of the user of it among their number.

the Kushan inscriptions from this point of view (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 35-9), finds that the latest example which they furnish of even an occasional use of the tripartite form belongs to the year 40; if, as is possible, this is not a Kushan date, the latest would be that of the year 29. Now from the same place come other inscriptions with archaic forms, all of which are regarded by Bühler¹ as prior to Kanishka, and one of which, as it mentions a *mahārāja mahākṣatrapa*, must be so. In this group the subscript *y* occurs once, and it has the tripartite form. The oldest is dated in the year 72, and it is in the time of the *mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa*. From a place at no great distance from Mathurā we have the Mora well inscription of the same *mahākṣatrapa*, and it shows archaic forms. Is it not clear that the year 72 of this satrap is earlier than the year 40, and therefore also than the earliest year of the Kanishka era?

As regards the Kharoṣṭhī, Dr. Fleet specially excepts (p. 975) the Taxilā copper plate of the year 78, on the ground of its being inscribed with dots. Otherwise we should expect it, according to his view (pp. 975-6), to be in a later script, as compared with contemporary stone records, whereas, in fact, the writing is of an early time, quite similar to the, in any case contemporary, Kharoṣṭhī of Ranjubula and Śoḍāsa at Mathurā, and earlier than any inscription of Kanishka on metal or stone. Let us, then, compare it with the similar dotted inscription from Wardak dated in the year 51, under Huvishka. This also is, as Mr. Pargiter remarks in editing it (*Epigraphia Indica*, xi, p. 203), carefully incised; and it is in a decidedly later script than the Taxilā plate of the year 78. The most tell-tale sign is that for *ka*, which has developed in a cursive direction; but there are also other indications, including the whole *ductus* of the writing, which is approximately the same in all the inscriptions of the Kanishka group.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, pp. 195 sqq.

Therefore the 78 of Taxilā is prior to the 51 of Wardak, unless we should appeal to difference of locality. If this appeal is made, let us compare the Taxilā plate with the inscriptions of Manikyala (year 18) and Zeda (year 11), which are sufficiently near, and, being on stone, should show older forms. The reverse is the case. These inscriptions bear a considerable resemblance to that of Gondophernes (year 103); but all three are obviously later than the Taxilā plate. Therefore the year 78 precedes the years 11 and 18 of Kanishka, and also precedes the 103 of Gondophernes.

I have examined the other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from this point of view, and I have impressions as to their division between the eras. But perhaps enough has been said. I now turn to the eras themselves.

2. As regards the Vikrama era, I do not find that there is any "begging of the question"¹ (p. 995) in the statement that its earliest recorded date is 428 = A.D. 372. It is rather a statement of the question. Dr. Fleet himself admits (p. 999) that the ascription of the earlier dates to this era is an inference. When Dr. Fleet has *proved* that the dates 3, etc., belong to the era in question, he will not find us slow to admit that it commences with them.

In regard to the general probabilities of the case, Dr. Fleet is of course justified in dwelling (pp. 987, 994) upon the fact that the Vikrama era has prevailed in Northern and the Śaka in [Western and] Southern India. But this is not of great importance in connexion with origins, seeing that the Śaka era was no indigenous institution, but was introduced by rulers who were in intimate connexion with Sindh and Afghanistan: these rulers being not absolute, but subordinate, the supposition that it was set up without reference to a superior is excluded, and we have a right to ask what suzerain power other than the Kushans can be named. It may be pointed

¹ Cf. Mr. Kennedy's use of the phrase, p. 926, n. 1.

out that the distribution of the Kushan dates produces a somewhat false impression, owing to the accidental fact that the larger number of the records come from a single spot, namely Mathurā. If we leave out of account the Mathurā inscriptions, we find an actual majority belonging to country quite remote from the site of the early Vikrama records, and even outside the territory of Vāsudeva as defined by Dr. Fleet (p. 1010) and Mr. Kennedy (p. 937). It cannot, therefore, be said that the Kushan records are prevailingly nearer in space (they are certainly not so near in time) to the earliest inscriptions with Śaka dates than to those certainly referable to the Vikrama era.

Dr. Fleet lays stress (p. 980) upon the continuity of the whole series of numbers, and the absence of rulers with dates ranging about the same time. But, when we point to the certain overlapping in the cases of Moga in Taxilā and Gondophernes in Gandhāra, he invokes the supposition of a temporary weakening of the Kanishka dynasty, which separated both territories from the rule of Vāsudeva. As I shall return to this supposition in (4), I shall here merely point out that an era founded, as I suggest, by the early Śakas or their Pahlava successors, could not run much beyond a century, since their power was certainly of short duration. The dates, therefore, could hardly help falling mainly between the numbers 1-98, which mark the duration of the Kanishka group. The only matter inviting explanation is the absence of dates earlier than 72 in the supposed era; but, as we have no *inscriptions* of the earlier kings of the Śaka-Pahlava groups, the absence of dates is self-explanatory.

3. Concerning the western limit of the Kushan dominion, Dr. Fleet is clear (p. 1007) that the rule of Kanishka and Vāsiṣka extended no further than the Gandhāra country, while he would exclude Vāsudeva even from Taxilā. Concerning Huviṣka he is faced with the Wardak inscription, found in a tope 30 miles west of

Kabul, a matter upon which we have dwelt. I think that it will be agreed that the manner in which he has met this difficulty (p. 1007) is an indication that this so ingeniously and tenaciously defended theory is on its last legs. We should be interested to learn how he would deal with the matter of the Manikyala inscription, concerning which, as also concerning the Wardak tope, I may refer to what I have said in reply to Mr. Kennedy (pp. 1022-3). It is plain that for him the date 18 can be in no other than the Vikrama era. While awaiting his explanation on this point, I may mention that there is another unpublished inscription to be considered, namely an inscription of the year 28, extracted from a tope at Hidda, 5 miles from Jelalabad. It will therefore be expedient to admit what Mr. Kennedy (p. 931, n. 4) and Mr. Dames (p. 959) themselves conceive as a possibility, namely, that the dominions of the Kushans extended at least as far as the district of Jelalabad. Why, then, should we deny the addition of Kabul, which is demanded by the inscription from the tope of Wardak? Is it not plain that no one would do so, were not the admission (as Mr. Kennedy concedes, p. 930) mortal to his theory?

In reply to Mr. Kennedy I have pointed out that the evidence of the Begram coins by no means corresponds to his report of it. But I did not imagine how soon the real facts would come to light. Some years ago I examined the manuscript papers left by Masson, and consulted by Wilson in the compilation of his *Ariana Antiqua*, papers which will be catalogued in due course. Upon re-examination, I find that they contain several lists giving more details of the finds of coins than appear in Masson's own articles or in Wilson's work. It is stated that the total of coins of all sorts collected at Begram amounted to no less a number than 68,751, of which 8 were gold, 6,127 silver, and 62,616 copper. I cannot now dwell upon the details; but they

make it plain that the coins of Kanishka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva were found in abundance at Begram.¹ Contrast herewith the total failure of the coins of Azes, so abundant in the regions of Gandhāra and Swat (Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 73, and Masson's manuscript notes), more especially in conjunction with the numbers of those of Gondophernes.

4. The theory of an intrusion of Parthians after the death of Huviṣka was developed by Dr. Fleet in this *Journal* for 1907 (pp. 1013 sqq.), and it occupies the concluding portion (pp. 1008-11) of his present paper. Its importance for his theory has been already mentioned (p. 1038).

Let us take his statement (p. 1008) that "from between the years 60 and 74 we have no record mentioning a Kushan king". The interval is preceded by one extending from 51 to 60, and there is a later interval occupying the years 87-98 : so there is nothing specially remarkable in the fact. What is special to this case is that the date of Śoḍāsa, 72, falls within the numerical limits. Dr. Fleet therefore concludes that Śoḍāsa and his father the Mahākṣatrapa Ranjubula, who on his coins terms himself "king of kings", represent a Parthian intrusion ; and he finds a confirmation in the fact that the date of Moga at Taxilā is 78. Therefore there was between the last date of Huviṣka (60) and the first of Vāsudeva (74) an intrusion by another power, which, as Gondophernes was ruling in Gandhāra in 103 and Moga at Taxilā in 78, was, as regards the Western Punjab and the territory still further west, never retrieved.

The interval is at the best rather short for two generations of rulers, and the theory is, as we have shown, entirely at variance with the palæographical evidence (pp. 1036-7). But there is also a further difficulty, namely,

¹ One list assigns to the Kanishka group 1,540 coins, including 585 of Vāsudeva. Most of these must have come from Begram.

in the retention of the era. The Śodāsa inscription is indeed a private one; and it might be said that the continued use of the Kushan era was a matter which did not concern the ruler. But the Taxilā record is official, and, what is more, the month named in it is a Seleucid one, which was wholly at variance with the usage of the region, as is shown by many dated inscriptions. At Mathurā we have invariably seasonal dates; in Western India and in the Panjab and Gandhāra the Indian system of months is followed, while the range of the Seleucid months is defined by the inscriptions of Wardak and Hidda (i.e. Kabul and Jelalabad) and Sue Vihar (i.e. the lower Indus territory). It seems to me that the rulers who introduced (no doubt from Arachosia) a foreign system of months into Taxilā would not have retained the era of a conquered enemy.

The evidence of the coins is here, as we have already shown, very much to the point. The greatest find of Vāsudeva's coins is at Peshawar, which is supposed to have been outside his dominions; and then there are the large finds from the region of Kabul. Coins do indeed travel; but (as Mr. Tarn has remarked, *op. cit.*, p. 275) the copper issues have a narrow range of exportation, and there is nothing to justify the large quantities obtained by Masson at Begram and Kabul.

Dr. Fleet remarks (pp. 989 and 995) that I have refrained from naming the Śaka ruler whom I suppose to have founded the era used by Śodāsa, Moga, and Gondophernes. I regret to say that I do not know the name. But, if I may put my own interrogatory on one or two points, I think that it will appear that to some questions a probable answer can be given:—

(1) Why are the coins of Azes not found in the Kabul region? Because Azes was not master of the region, which at the time was under the Greeks. The same reasoning applies to the group of Vonones.

(2) Why are those of Gondophernes, on the other hand, fairly abundant? Because Gondophernes was the Parthian who overthrew the Greeks of Kabul, and succeeded their last king, Hermæus.

(3) Why are the coins of Kujula Kadphises, except those on which he is associated with Hermæus, inscribed with two Greek alphabets, one of a square form, prominently found on the coins of Gondophernes, and the other a round cursive resembling that of Kanishka? Because it was he who overthrew Gondophernes (or his line) and succeeded him in Kabul, and because he came from the same country whence Kanishka derived, and where Hyrkodes used, the cursive character.

In concluding this interesting discussion I may say that upon reference to Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* I do not find that we have elicited so very much that is quite new. But certainly debate, though it may not clear the total vision, does sharpen the perception of particular points. We are not unaware that, in general, controversy is waste of time. As I stated at the outset, I was moved by the impression produced by Mr. Kennedy's articles, which, agreeing with the theories long advocated by Dr. Fleet, might have prejudiced the reception of new evidence.¹

¹ New evidence has not been long in coming. In a note at the end of my paper (p. 649) reference was made to the argument from archaeological stratification, especially in connexion with the excavations at Taxilā. By the courtesy of Mr. Marshall I have now received a print of a lecture delivered by him at Simla on September 4. Mr. Marshall finds the Śaka-Pahlava strata above the Greek and below the Kushan. As regards dates, he assigns Maues to about B.C. 50, in which case this king will hardly be other than Moga: Kanishka he would place in the second century A.D.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTES ON THE HITTITE LANGUAGE OF BOGHAZ KEUI

Lukkatta

The word *lukkatta* is of frequent occurrence in the ritual texts of Boghaz Keui. It was misread *lu-uk-si-ta* by Dr. Pinches and myself in the *Tablet from Yuzgat* and *šu-uk-kak-ta* by Dr. Winckler in the text I have quoted from him (JRAS., October, 1909). It signifies "a sign" or something of the sort; Dr. Winckler's text, for example, begins: *lukkatta-ma ina samu SI*, "when a sign appears in heaven." So, again, we have: *ina UD III KAM mán lukkatta karuwariwar lchuduk*, "on the 3rd day send announcement of this omen round about (*iwar*) the district (?)." We also find *lukkatti mas*, "my omens (?)," with the same change of vowel as in the suffixed pronoun of the 2nd person (*ta* and *ti*).

The country of Kizzuwadana

The name of the country associated with the Hittites in the Egyptian inscriptions must be read Kizzuwadana. Thus we find in an unpublished text—

nu GAZ-GAZ	u-nu-te-MES	sa-ra-a	da-an-zi
<i>The implements for sacrifice</i>		<i>round about</i>	<i>place:</i>

GIS-IK-an-na
the door

kha-ad-di	na-at	is-tu	NI-DUG-GA	is-ki-iz-zi
<i>close:</i>	<i>these</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>fresh butter</i>	<i>anoint</i>

nu-me-ma-i
for the service.

i-lu BIT sa-ra-a is-tab-ba a-as-su-wa-te
O god of the temple, round about the food (?) . . .
 an-da KUR-ak-ku
them . . .

I IM-GID-DA qa-ti a-wa-at D.P. Za-ar-bi-ya
One large tablet I have written, the words of Zurbiyas
 AMEL A-ZU
the wizard

MAT ALU Ki-iz-zu-wa-da-na ma-a-an mu-za khar-
of the city-land of Kizzuwadana: when this caravan
 ra-a-an-za KUR-e-ge
starts from the mountains:

an-da ak-ki-is ki-it-ta-ri nu GAZ-GAZ ki-i LU-us
them copying faithfully, as to the sheep for sacrifice,
 NINDA-sa-an si-pa-an-ti
the omens (and) thy offering.

um-ma D.P. Akh-kha-mu-o¹-wa AMEL ALU
The following (is) of Akhkhamuwa of the city of

Ar-za-o-wa ma-a-an ge-es-se-ti
Arzawa this rubric;

ak-ki-is ki-it-ta-ri na-at ma-a-an ku-ru-ra-ni
copying faithfully these (words), this magical figure(?)






ku-is-ki AN-lum i-ya-an khar-zi nu-ki-is-sa-an
when making, a divine offering . . . for a journey
 i-ya-mi
I offer.

Khaddi occurs in YUZGAT, Rev. 38, where we must read: *bit ilim khaddi nasta khatrá uizzi abiya utti ul kuit-ki iyazi*, "close the temple of the god; then offer the firstfruits as my father did formerly."

¹ I transcribe < o in order to distinguish it from 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. It is plain, however, that its value was really u.

In one passage we find *a-as-su-wa* with the determinative prefix ALU, which may imply that the word signified "city". In that case we should have to translate YUZGAT, Rev. 11, *nu mán AN UD-us a-as-su kueit*, "for her the Sun-god has built a city."

The name Zarbiyas, "the Silverman," is derived from Assyrian. *Muza* is also Assyrian, the construction being *mán muza-kharan-za*, "at this exit-of-a-caravan." In the Boghaz Keui letters *mán-za* corresponds to the Assyrian *annita*.¹

The character  is *ge*, Assyrian , and is often difficult to distinguish from  *bit* and  *su*, more especially as  is occasionally used with the value of *ga* or rather *gha*.

Kittari is formed by the adverbial suffix *-ri* from the Assyrian *kittu*, whence also we have *kittat*, "he is faithful," in the second Arzawa tablet. The adverbial *-ri* is often contracted into *-r*.

Kururani is an accusative like *kuedani*, "multitude." Since the next paragraph describes the making of the image of a sheep out of various stones the word would seem to have some such signification as "magical figure".

Kissan is the accusative of a noun which has the same root as *kisat*, "he went," the meaning of which is fixed by the historical texts. The root may also be found in the compound *kis-khakhath*, "he revolted." In the ritual texts *kissan memanzi*, "undertake a journey," and *nu kissan memai*, "for undertaking a journey," are frequent expressions.

¹ In a tablet published by Mr. Campbell Thompson (PSBA., June, 1910) the suffix *-za* must be equivalent to "in": SARRU-us *za-gan* ALU *Ku-ti-la-za ar-kha e-ib-si* AN-ALU-MAT-*sa-as-si* AMEL-[SANGU] *bi-ra-an khu-o-i-ya-an-te-es . . ta-as i-na* ALU *A-ri-in-na . . .*, "The king at this time is (Ass. *ibsi*) for a month in the city of Kutila; the table of the [priest] of the god of the city-land setting up (?) there . . in the city of Arinna [he has . .]." Two lines further we have the accusative AN-ALU-MAT-*si-in* GAN, "the garden of the god of the city-land."

Makhhanda, "afterwards"

Makhhanda and *makhhanda-ma* interchange with *arki-su* and *arki-suma*, while *makkhka* is replaced by the ideograph EGIR. The preposition "after" is often written EGIR-*pa*, that is, *makkhchat* or *makkhchad*. In the historical texts *makhan-maza* is "after that".

Zanu, "to roast"

A passage in one of the ritual texts reads: GU SA *is-tu* NE *za-nu-wa-an-zi*, where the translation must be: "the heart with fire roast." Elsewhere, after a reference to a sheep we have: *na-an za-nu-wa-an-zi*, "roast it."

Variations in spelling

The Boghaz Keui scribes do not seem to have been very uniform in their spelling. Thus in the same text I have found *bi-en-ni-ya-an-zi*, *bi-en-ni-an-zi*, and *bi-en-na-an-zi*.¹ After a nasal *t* and *d* interchange, and a nasal can be omitted before *t*, *d*, and *zi*, like the final *-n* of the accusative. Once I have met with *kim-ma* instead of the usual *kim-ma-be*, where the syllable *kim* is represented by 𐎶𐎵 .

The suffix *gha* or *ge*

This appears to have the signification of "also", and can be inserted or omitted in what is otherwise the same group of words.

Aniyat, "offerings"

In the first Arzawa tablet I conjectured that *aniyat* signified "letters". The ritual texts, however, show that it meant "offerings", "presents".² Hence *aniyat-tas ma-mu kuedas khatraes ubbi* must be rendered: "thy numerous former presents to me I received." At the beginning of the 24th line of the second Arzawa tablet

¹ Similar variations of spelling occur in the word which is normally written *u-un-ni-ya-an-zi*, "fetch" or "bring".

² That *anis*, however, meant "letters" is shown by a passage in one of the tablets, where we read *a-na a-ni-is-DUP-ZUN*, "for the tablets."

we should read DUP-ZUN, "letters," instead of AB-ZUN, and the preceding paragraph is: *zi-ik-mu (?) es-sar-as as-su-u-li kha-at-ra-[a-]i nam-ma-za sum-an EGIR-an i-ya-[mi]*, "Some (?) of the copper I sent at first, now I am bringing a second consignment."

The Hittite wife of Merodach

The wife of Merodach, who corresponds to the Babylonian Zarpanit, is named Innarawantas, also written Innarauwantes, in the Boghaz Keui tablets.

A. H. SAYCE.

A SERVIAN EMBASSY TO EGYPT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The number of embassies sent from various quarters to Cairo in the reign of Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn shows the respect paid by foreign countries to the power of Egypt under his rule. The Servian embassy referred to here arrived about three years after his death, when Eṣ Ṣālīḥ, one of his sons, was on the throne. Our account is extracted from an anonymous contemporary Arabic manuscript history of Egypt, which was described in this Journal for 1901 (p. 91). Possibly it may be the sole record; the event is not noticed by Ibn Ilyās, or by Ibn El Wardī in his continuation to the history of Abū El Fidā.

[sect. v, fol. 127] ووصل في يوم الاثنين من الشهر المذكور وهو
 العاشر منه رسل السرب المجاورة لبلاد الروس والبلغار يحمل
 نَقَارَة وزامره قدامه الى تحت القلعة بطلوا ودخلوا الايوان وقبَلوا
 الارض بين يدي السلطان وتحدّث بما معه من الرسالة وقَدَّم خمس
 كواهي وخمس بازات واربع هَنَابَات فضة وسيف محلّي طويل
 القبضة

Translation

And on Monday in the aforesaid month, being the tenth day of the month (Muharram 10, 745 A.H. = May 24, 1344 A.D.), there arrived the envoy of the Servians, whose country adjoins those of the Russians and Bulgarians, bearing a kettle-drum, with his piper before him. (They played) until (they came) beneath the citadel, when they ceased and entered the court and made obeisance to the Sultan. The envoy then spoke with regard to his message, and he presented five hawks, five falcons, four silver hanaps, and an ornamented sword with a long handle.

A. R. G.

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

Sir George Grierson writes on p. 684 of the Society's Journal for the present year: "Mr. Tawney refers me to Ralston's *Tibetan Tales* (pp. 360 ff.) for a similar story," and then proceeds to relate a story of the painter. But I regret that I omitted at the same time to direct Sir George Grierson's attention to a note on the story by S. (the late Professor Schiefner). It was as follows: "In the Jyotishkāvadāna, p. 108, artificial fishes which can be set in motion by machinery appear under a crystal floor. The entering guest takes this for water, and is about therefore to take off his shoes." Probably some of the readers of the Journal have already detected this omission.

C. H. T.

COINAGE OF HUSAIN BAIKARA

With regard to Dr. Codrington's note on the words *bih būd*, found on the coins of Husain Baikara, it may be observed that the passage quoted from De Courteille's translation of Bābar's Memoirs appeared in Erskine's translation as follows: "Another (i.e. another of the Begs) was Behbūd Beg, who at first served in the band of

young soldiers. As he did good service in the Mirza's expeditions, in reward of it his name was inscribed on the Temgha and Sikka" (ed. 1826, p. 187). There seems here to be no suggestion of anything disgraceful. I had noted this passage some years ago, and also Erskine's note "this seems a singular compliment to a subject not of the highest rank". It seems probable that the coincidence of Bihbūd's name with the words on the coins suggested the idea of the connexion between the two, but Erskine's remark as to its improbability is undoubtedly well founded. As a matter of fact, the words in question are not confined to the coins of Ḥusain Baikara, but are found also on those of Iskandar Khān the Shaibānid (see the coin described in B.M. Cat. of Oriental Coins, vol. vii, No. 147, where the words به بود بلخ occur on the reverse). Iskandar Khān ruled from A.H. 968 to 991, and it is not probable that he would have revived this legend so long after its first appearance had it been anything more than an honorary epithet of the place of coinage or an attestation of the genuineness of the coin.

It may be added that this expression was also used by Ḥusain in counterstriking the coins of Abū-sa'īd and of the Governors Muḥammad and Rustam, his predecessors, and this would hardly have been done if the words had any meaning beyond a recognition of the coins by his Government.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

THE DELHI ELEPHANT STATUES

In 1910 Mr. R. Froude Tucker—whose early death was a loss to Indian archæology—published an article in the Society's Journal (p. 490) on these statues. In it he called attention to a description of them in a Persian history of Shah Jahān's reign by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, and gave a partial translation of the passage.

Muhammad Ṣālih's work, which is still in manuscript, is a biography of Shah Jahān from his birth to his death, and its proper name is the '*Amal Ṣālih*', though it is also sometimes spoken of as the *Shahjahānnāma*. It is a bulky manuscript, and in the India Office Library copy, Ethé's Catalogue, No. 332, it consists of two volumes, which were formerly numbered 856 and 857. There are also copies in the British Museum, Rieu's Cat., p. 263, and there is an imperfect one in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There is also one in the R.A.S. Library.

The passage about the statues occurs under the 21st year (I.O. MS. 857, Ethé's, 332, p. 167, l. 5), in a chapter entitled "In Praise of the Fort and other buildings of Shāhjahānābād". Mr. Tucker justly says that the passage is difficult to translate. Muhammad Ṣālih is a most rhetorical writer, and one is often in doubt as to his meaning. Mr. Tucker's translation does not seem to me to be quite satisfactory, and it only covers a small portion of the original. I have therefore made another. I must confess, however, that though I have had the advantage of comparing the India Office copy with those in the British Museum, and have done my best to understand the author's meaning, I am by no means sure that I have succeeded.

Translation

"In front of each of the fort-gates which adjoin the bazaar aforesaid (apparently the covered bazaar), and of the gate towards Agra, there have been erected two uncanny (*sāyadār*) likenesses of elephants, as large as life. So admirably are they fashioned, and so entirely has reality (*m'aānī*) been imparted to them, that the sight of these four great representations (*chār naqsh*) not only suggests the originals, but has such an effect on the spectator that he cannot believe they are not the actual (living) animals! Assuredly, and without any thought

of indulging in exaggerated language, the sculptors and stone-cutters of Farhād-like talent of this country have, with the edge of their steel chisel (*tesha*, literally hatchet) made wonderfully beautiful figures. They have brought forth Shīrīn (Parviz's mistress) from the heart of the stone and have given life to the lifeless Shabdez (Parviz's famous horse). Or rather, they have evoked Farhād (the sculptor and lover of Shīrīn) and Parviz from their graves, and have by their genius and manual dexterity executed such beautiful and delicate works out of blocks of stone as to create the flame of envy in the soul of (Chinese) artists in silk, and to call forth sighs from the hearts of (living) animals (?).

"In the erection of this heaven-high fort, and of the wondrous buildings, and of the uncanny representations of elephants, they have shown such skill with their chisel that no reasonable person can believe that these things are of human workmanship. They have such beauty and lustre that whoever beholds them becomes fascinated, and remains from head to foot immovable and fixed in admiration. Only the Ancient Artificer of the World (God ?) can say how they have been made. In fact, these figures testify that they are of Divine workmanship." Here follow some words which I do not understand, and indeed throughout the translation I have only guessed at the meaning. What seems to me the most important part of the description is Muḥammad Ṣālih's implied statement that the elephants are of unknown origin and antiquity. Though he uses the word *sālekhta*, "made," I do not think he means that the statues were made in Shah Jahān's time. Shah Jahān, I think, only had them put up. Probably they had before this been at Agra, but I think they must be Hindu works and have come originally from Gwalior and Mandu, or Burhānpūr. Indeed, it is highly improbable that a strict Muḥammadan, such as Shah Jahān was, would allow any representation of

a living being to be made by his workmen, though he might be willing to set up Hindu figures as trophies. The word which Mr. Tucker has translated by "statues" is *amṣāl*, "likenesses." It does not necessarily mean graven images, but it is evident that the translation "statues" is right, for the expression about the figures being set up in front of the gates implies that they were not merely bas-reliefs or pictures. The reference also to hatchets or chisels is conclusive. The word *sāyadār* has been translated by Mr. Tucker as "shade-giving". This is no doubt one of the meanings of the word, and so Vullers gives us "umbras jaciens". But such a translation seems to have no meaning here. I have therefore taken the word to mean "possessed by a demon" or uncanny, this being also one of its meanings. If so, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ may mean by using it that he, as a Muḥammadan, regarded the figures as awesome and unjustifiable. Possibly, however, he may mean that the elephants had canopies or howdahs. I do not understand exactly what is meant by the expression "each (*har kadām*) gate", nor that of *chār naqsh*, "four pictures." I thought that perhaps the word was not *chār*, but the Arabic word *jihār*, "beautiful," or even that it might be *hajār*, "stone." But, though the dots do not exist in all the MSS., I think *chār* must be accepted. It sometimes does not, in composition, bear the literal meaning of "four".

Since writing the above note I have unexpectedly come upon a passage in the first volume of the '*Amal Ṣāliḥ*' which seems to throw a new light on the elephant statues. The passage, of which I give a translation, occurs in the chapter which describes Shah Jahān's visit to Kashmir in the seventh year of his reign. It shows that shortly after leaving the Kashmir Naushahra (not described in the *Gazetteer of India*!), he saw by the wayside two large statues of elephants which his father had caused to be

made. I have not found any statement in the MS. about Shah Jahān having had them conveyed to Delhi, but it seems probable that this was done. He admired them, and the fact that they had been made by his father's order would incline him to overlook the Muhammadan objection to sculptures of living beings. If he did have them removed to his new city of Delhi, this would probably occur fourteen or fifteen years after his having seen them, for it was in the twenty-first year of his reign that the fort of Delhi was built. If this took place, it would help to explain the passage in the second volume of the *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, for the author of it seems evidently to refer to the existence of at least four statues. He says they stood before each gate of the fort (there were two, if not three), and also on the road to Agra. He even uses the words "four representations", for *chahar naqsh* can hardly mean anything else. A local investigation of the road between Chauki Hati and Naushahra might show where Jahangir's statues had stood, and would also indicate the geological character of the stone of which they were composed.

*Translation of passage in the 'Amal Ṣāliḥ about
Elephant Statues*

"Next day Shah Jahān left the stage of Chauki Hati. On the way he halted for a long time in admiring contemplation of the statues of two elephants which Jahangir had caused to be cut out of hard stone (*sang khāra*). The explanation of the statues is that on one of the several occasions of Jahangir's traversing these scenes, he came upon two great pieces of rock which had rolled down from the top of a mountain, and were now blocking up the road. So he ordered that part of the masses should be broken up, and the remainder carved into the likenesses of two elephants. In this way those two enormous stones would be put out of men's way. In accordance with this

order, sculptors fashioned out of the two hillocks living likenesses of elephants.

After this His Majesty Shah Jahān resumed his march and encamped at Naushahra."

Note.—Shah Jahān saw the elephants when on his way from Lahore (I.O. MS. 856, Ethé's, 332, p. 223, top line). He was marching by way of Bhimbar and Pir Panjāl. He left Bhimbar on May 22, 1634, and arrived at Chaukī Hatī, which was 4 kos distant. Next day he reached Naushahra, which is 3½ kos distant. From Naushahra he went on to Chingiz Hatī, the Changas Serai of the map, and so on to Rajaur. It was while on the way from Chaukī Hatī to Naushahra that he saw the statues. The incident is also mentioned in the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 18 of the Bib. Ind. edition. I must admit that if two of the elephants were of Jahangir's time, Šālih's rhetoric about the antique and mysterious origin of the statues is out of place.

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE LATER KUSHANS

The rule of the Kushans in Northern India lasted for some four hundred and fifty years from the middle of the first century B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D.; and it passed through three stages. Kanishka, descending from Gandhāra and the fastnesses of the Hindu Kush, overturned the local rulers, and established the dominion of the Kushans as far as Benares and Ghazipur. Sixty or seventy years later his kingdom underwent a temporary eclipse under the encroachments of the Pahlavas and Śakas; but Vāsudeva restored the sovereignty for a time in the central and eastern parts of Kanishka's dominions and in the Eastern Panjāb, perhaps also in Kashmir. This is the first act of the drama.

The second act begins with the reign of Wema Kadphises, the Kushan king of Bactria, in the third

quarter of the first century A.D. He reconquers the whole country once conquered by Kanishka, adopts the worship of Śiva, and governs his new territories through a Kushan deputy, who was in the first instance a member of the royal house. This government of Northern India by Kushan deputies lasts for some fifty years or more, apparently down to the time of Pan Yong's report, c. A.D. 125. During this period the power of the Kushan kings of Bactria was at its height, and it is not easy to conceive how any revolt of the provinces south of the Paropamisus and the Himalayas could have successfully taken place. Moreover, we have the direct evidence of Pan Yong to the contrary. I therefore conclude that this second period of Kushan history lasted through the first quarter of the second century A.D. But barbaric Asian kingdoms seldom retain the allegiance of distant provinces for long; and in the course of the second century A.D. Kābul, Kashmir, and the Panjāb became independent Kushan states. With their secession the third period of Kushan history in India begins; and it is the history of these Later Kushans which forms the subject of this paper.

For this stage we have two accounts: the first is by Ptolemy, and dates from the middle of the second century of our era; the other is in the Chinese history, the *Wei Lio*, and dates from the middle of the third century.

Ptolemy's divisions of the country are tribal and geographical, not political; they are as follows:—

A. The valley of the Indus formed part of Indo-Scythia. This Indo-Scythia extended above Attock as far north as Embolima, which is usually identified with Amb in the Hazara District.

B. Ptolemy next enumerates the various tribes which lived between the lower course of the Kābul River and the Indus, viz. Lamghān, Souastēnē (Udyāna, now Swat),

the Daradai or Dards where the mountains were "of surpassing height".

C. We have the Himalayan countries, Kaspeiria or Kashmir, and Kylindrinē, i.e. the hills between Kashmir and the sources of the Jamnā and the Ganges.

D. In the foothills and in the plains skirting them, between the Indus and the Bidaspes (Hydaspes or the Jhelam River), lay the Arsa (U-ra-sa) territory, and here on both banks of the Jhelam dwelt the Pandououi, whose chief town was Sāgala, i.e. Siālkoṭ.¹

E. The Kaspeiraioi or Kashmiris possessed the rest of the Panjāb and all the country eastward and south as far as the banks of the Jamnā. On the Jamnā bank was Mathurā, ἡ Μόδουρα τῶν θεῶν.²

Thus Ptolemy sharply demarcates the Śakas and Pahlavas of the Lower Indus, with their Central Asian or Iranian allies, from the hillmen and the people of the Central and Eastern Panjāb. These last are all included under the term Kaspeiraioi or Kashmiris, who must therefore have been the ruling race. How far the warlike hill tribes between the Kābul River and the Indus, or along the foot of the hills as far east as Siālkoṭ, may have acknowledged the suzerainty of the monarchs of Kashmir or of Bactria, Ptolemy does not tell us. They probably did so, since they struck no coins, but they seem then as now to have preserved their tribal unity and

¹ For the identification of Sāgala, Śākala, with Siālkoṭ see Dr. Fleet's article in the Acts of the Oriental Congress of Algiers, 1905, Indian Section, p. 164 ff.

² *Ptolemy's Geography*, vii, 42-55; McCrindle's trans., pp. 104-36. McCrindle (p. 109) says: "In the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Kashmir was the most powerful state in all India. The dominions subject to its sceptre reached as far south as the range of the Vindhyas, and embraced, together with the extensive mountain region wherein the great rivers of the Panjāb had their sources, a great part of the Panjāb itself, the courses of the Jamnā and the Upper Ganges. So much we learn from Ptolemy's description." For this remark see also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 346, where McCrindle's translation of Ptolemy was first published.

much of their tribal independence. Thus Ptolemy's description reminds us very much of the state of the country when it was conquered by Wema Kadphises. We read in the History of the Later Han that the Panjāb possessed many towns, and was divided into many petty states, each under its own petty Rājah, but all acknowledging one sovereign.¹ But whether the frontier hill tribes of Ptolemy's day admitted the rule of a foreign sovereign or not, the rest of the Panjāb formed one large and noble kingdom, larger than that of Ranjit Singh in the nineteenth century.

Kashmīr appears as a separate country in Ptolemy. It may have been a separate state. But if so, the rulers of Kashmīr and the Panjāb must have been closely allied.

The *Wei Lio* was written between A.D. 239 and 265.² It says: "Le royaume de Ki-pin (Cachemire), le royaume de Ta-hia (Bactriane), le royaume de Kao-fou (Kaboul), le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde), . . . tous dependent de Ta Yue-che."³ Of the kingdom of Kiu-li (also called Li-wei-to or Pei-li-wang, which must all be different names for Magadha), it is said: "Les Yue-che les ont asservis et leur ont imposé des taxes."⁴ The History of the Later Han told us that the Yue-che had made Magadha a subject state. It was still subject in the middle of the third century. We see, then, that, while down to the time of Pan Yong, c. A.D. 125, the whole of the Panjāb had been subject to the Bactrian king and was ruled by Kushan deputies, in the middle of the second century the greater part of it was ruled by a king or people popularly known as Kashmīris. In the middle of the third century Ki-pin (Kashmīr)⁵ and the Panjāb were independent of each

¹ JRAS. 1912, p. 678.

² *T'oung pao*, 1905, p. 520.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 538.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

⁵ Almost all Sinologists are agreed that in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era *Ki-pin* meant Kashmīr; in the seventh century of our era it ordinarily, "although not invariably, meant Kapisa, or North-Eastern Afghanistan" (V. Smith,

other; but both were ruled by Yue-che, i.e. Kushan, kings. The Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy must obviously have been Kushans, so far at least as the governors were concerned. On the other hand, they must have been naturalized and Hinduized, if they were popularly confounded with Kashmiris proper. I have elsewhere¹ quoted evidence to show that this later Indian Kushan kingdom was a great and powerful one, since its ruler was one of the four great *devaputras* of the world, the one who was rich in elephants. We may expect to find our knowledge of its history, and our conceptions of its greatness, much increased by the excavations now in hand at Taxila and elsewhere.

When did the Indian Kushans become independent of Bactria? Ptolemy helps us, although not quite conclusively, to an answer. It must have been in the second century of our era, and apparently between A.D. 125, the approximate date of Pan Yong's report to the Emperor Ngan, and A.D. 150, the approximate date of Ptolemy's geography. Ptolemy's evidence would suggest that the process was a gradual one. Kashmir and the Eastern Panjāb became independent first. They were the most distant provinces, and had at one time formed the kingdom of Vāsudeva. They seem to have established their independence before the middle of the second century A.D. During the last half of the same century the remaining possessions of the Bactrian Kushans fell away. However this may be, there is distinct evidence to show that the later Indian Kushans kept alive the memory of Kanishka and professed to revive his line; for they put the names of Kanishka and Vāsudeva on their

Early History, p. 235, n. 1). Chavannes in his translation of the *Wei Lio*, which I have quoted above, makes it Kashmir. But Dr. Herrmann, the latest writer on the subject, holds that it was Gāndhāra. He has not given us his reasons, but it is just possible that in the *Wei Lio* Gāndhāra may be meant.

¹ JRAS. 1912, p. 682.

coins,¹ and imitated Vāsudeva's coinage. The retention of the legends was possibly due in part to the inability of the engravers to express other names in Greek letters; but it may also be taken as an assertion that the dynasty was a legitimate one.

To this dynasty we may assign Kanishka II of the Ara inscription, who is admittedly distinct from the great Kanishka.² To Kanishka II the inscription gives the imperial titles *Mahārāja*, *Rājātirāja*, and *Dēvaputra*, with a fourth into which we need not enter here. And it lays some stress upon his birth, by mentioning his father's name. It is possible that the father was the last of the Bactrian deputies, who, having long ruled the country, became virtually independent. The son, more bold, made himself a king, became the founder of the later Kushans, and no doubt claimed royal descent from his great ancestor, Kanishka I. Some vague reminiscence of this Kanishka II seems to have survived among the Buddhists, since Tāranātha mentions a certain *Kanika*, and carefully distinguishes him from the great Kanishka whom he places much earlier.³ This Kanika, he says, reigned long in Mālava and Tili. Tāranātha's evidence by itself is perhaps not of any very great value, but in this case it happens to be confirmed: that there was a second Kanishka is certain: and his reign was long, if the year 41 of the Ara inscription is to be taken as a regnal year.

I propose then to reconstruct this period of history somewhat as follows: Wema Kadphises governed the whole country which he and his father had conquered south of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush, through a member of the royal family known to us as the "Nameless King". Meantime the descendants of Kanishka

¹ Rapson, "Indian Coins" (*Grundriss*), § 74, p. 19.

² Fleet, "The Question of Kanishka": JRAS. 1913, p. 95 ff.

³ Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, pp. 89-90. It seems hopeless to construct any precise chronological system out of Tāranātha's.

and Vāsudeva survived as local magnates in Northern India. When a member of the royal line of Bactria was no longer forthcoming for the post of viceroy, a member of the same Kushan *gens* must have taken his place, and nothing could be more natural than to appoint as governor a resident Kushan chief possessed of local influence, and the descendant of a line of ancient Kushan kings. In the course of time this Kushan governor, of the line of Vāsudeva, long left to himself, becomes practically independent. On his death his son, or sons, throw off all allegiance to the declining power of Bactria and proclaim themselves kings. Members of the family in time establish themselves as monarchs in all the territory that remained to Bactria south of the Hindu Kush. They show their independence by rejecting the coinage of the Bactrian Kushan kings of the Kadphises line, whose sovereignty they have shaken off. They imitate, instead, the coinage of their ancestor Vāsudeva, and they appeal to their subjects as the rightful heirs of the great Kanishka, a name to conjure with. But between their coinage and that of Vāsudeva there is a gap, and a considerable time, perhaps five or six decades, must have elapsed, during which viceroys directly appointed by Bactria ruled the country. This sketch probably represents a very fair approximation to what actually happened.

I pass to the later history of these Kushans. Before the middle of the third century of our era, when the *Wei Lio* was written, the Kushan kingdom on the south of the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas had split up into three independent, although apparently allied, states, whose rulers boasted their descent from the glorified Kanishka. Of each of these states we have some incidental notices. The separation of Kābul from North-Western India was probably the first step towards the dissolution of the Kushan power. The separation of the two is reflected in the coinage. Rapson says: "(1) the coins bearing

OHPO on the *rev.*, with type, Śiva and his bull Nandi, derived from the earlier Kušana types of Vāsudeva, belong rather to the Kabul Valley: they were imitated by the Scytho-Sassanians; (2) those with APΔOXPO, and type, seated goddess, belong rather to the more eastern portion of the Kušana dominions: they were imitated by the Kidāra Kušanas and by the Guptas."¹

Regarding the relations of the Kābul Kushans with the Sassanian monarchs of Persia we have various notices. When Varahran II (A.D. 275-92) engaged in the subjugation of Seistan, *c.* A.D. 280, his arms seemed to threaten the independence of Kābul; a desultory war ensued; and his armies are said to have been massed on the Indian frontier when the Roman emperor Carus invaded Mesopotamia in A.D. 283.² Varahran's grandson Hormisdas II (A.D. 301-9), who may have learnt from his father's experience the wisdom of conciliating his Scythic neighbours, espoused the daughter of the King of Kābul, and this marriage was celebrated as one of the chief events of his reign. The trousseau of the bride, the product of the looms of Kashmīr, was remarkable for its splendour, and was considered worthy of especial mention in the pages of Mirkhond.³ A Kashmīr shawl, the first ever seen in Europe, had already excited the admiration of the Romans. It formed a part of the presents with which the Sassanian monarch Varahran I (A.D. 272-5), the timorous ally of Zenobia, attempted to avert the anger of Aurelian after the capture of Palmyra (A.D. 274), and Aurelian considered it so valuable that he dedicated it in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁴ As

¹ Rapson, "Indian Coins" (*Grundriss*), § 74, p. 19.

² Rawlinson, *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, pp. 108-9; Gibbon, *c.* xii (Smith's ed., vol. ii, pp. 54-5).

³ Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-1.

⁴ Vopisc. Vit. Aurel., c. 29 (Script. Hist. Aug.): "pallium breve purpureum lanestre, ad quod cum matronæ atque ipse Aurelianus jungerent purpuras suas, cineris specie decolorari videbantur ceteræ, divini comparatione fulgoris. Hoc munus rex Persarum ab Indis

Varahran told the Roman emperor that such shawls were common in Persia, there must have been at that time an active commerce between Persia and Kashmīr.

The alliance of Hormisdas with Kābul marked the beginning of a long period of international amity. The coinages of the Sassanians and the later Kushans bear evidence of the intimate relations which subsisted between them;¹ and when Sapur II besieged Amida in A.D. 350, Indian elephants, and perhaps Indian troops, served under his command.²

Meanwhile the Kushan dominion in North-Western India seems to have fallen into gradual decay. Of this we have various indications. When the author of the *Wei Lio* wrote, Magadha was still a tributary state. But by A.D. 320 the Guptas had firmly established their power in Magadha, and that apparently without fear of opposition from the Kushan *Devaputras*.³

We also find that the Kunindas (Kunets) who occupied the upper reaches of the Satlej where it bursts into the plains, and the Yaudheyas of Bhāwalpur at the lower end of the stream, revive their coinage of copper, which had

interioribus sumptum Aureliano dedisse perhibetur, scribens: sume purpuram, qualis apud nos est." The colouring of the shawl and the woollen texture show that it came from Kashmīr, a country which even in the time of the Early Han, i.e. in the first century B.C., was reported to be famous for its artistic handiwork. The dyes of Kashmīr were unrivalled until quite late in the nineteenth century; so a shawl-merchant, a Frenchman, once informed the present writer.

¹ Rapson, "Indian Coins" (*Grundriss*), §§ 74, 75, p. 19; Rawlinson, *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 141, n. 1.

² Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-7; Am. Mar. xix, c. 7; Gibbon, c. xix (vol. ii, p. 408).

³ The *Devaputra* was rich in elephants—an epithet more applicable to the ruler of the Panjāb than to the kings of Kashmīr and Kābul. When the Kushan empire broke up it would appear from Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription, which mentions the *Devaputras*, *Shāhis*, and *Shāhāmushāhis* among the rulers who did respectful service to him, as if each king had appropriated to himself one of the former imperial titles. *Devaputra* in that case became the peculiar title of the sovereign of North-Western India, while we know that the Turki rulers of Gandhāra appropriated to themselves the title of Shāhi.

been in abeyance since the days of the Greek princes; and their new coinage imitates the coinage of the Kushans. Numismatists refer these coins to the third and fourth centuries A.D.¹ The country, therefore, on either bank of the Satlej must have become independent of the Kushans, while the Yaudheyas seem to have extended their rule over much of Northern Rājputānā and the adjoining districts of the Panjāb.² In the fourth century Samudragupta boasts that he had made both the Yaudheyas and the Mādrakas tributary to him (c. A.D. 350).³ The Mādrakas had their capital at Sāgala, i.e. Siālkoṭ; they therefore replace Ptolemy's Pandouoi. Samudragupta also says that he received the homage of the "*Devaputras, Shāhis, and Shāhānushāhis*".⁴ These three represent Kushan kings: and we are naturally tempted to identify them with the three Kushan kingdoms mentioned in the *Wei Lio*; namely the three kingdoms of the Panjāb, Kābul, and Ki-pin or Kashmīr.⁵ But the *Devaputra* kingdom of the Panjāb must by this time have lost most of its power and become of very limited extent.

After this we hear no more of it. When Fa Hian traversed the Panjāb on his journey to Mathurā, he found many kings who did honour to Buddha and obeisance to the Buddhist monks,⁶ but he says nothing of a paramount lord. As, however, he is equally remiss in neglecting to mention the great Gupta king Chandragupta II, we can scarcely lay any great stress on his silence. Fa Hian brings us down to A.D. 400. In the fifth century we have the irruptions from Tokharistan, where the *Juan-Juan* had driven out the Kushans from their capital of *Lan-che*

¹ Rapson, "Indian Coins" (*Grundriss*), §§ 50, 60.

² V. Smith, JRAS. 1897, p. 887.

³ Ibid., p. 889. For Sāgala = Siālkoṭ, see note 1 on p. 1054 above.

⁴ Fleet, CIL., vol. iii, *The Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14.

⁵ Possibly, as I have said, the Ki-pin of the *Wei Lio* may be Gandhāra, and the Eastern Panjāb and Kashmīr may have formed a single state.

⁶ Legge, "Record of Buddhist Kingdoms" (*Travels of Fa Hian*), p. 42.

in Badakhshan, and forced them to retire to *Po-lo* (probably Balkh) in the south of Bactria.¹ One of these fugitive Kushans, who called himself Kidāra on his coins, but who was known to the Chinese as *Ki-to-lo*, crossed the Hindu Kush, and established his rule over Gandhāra and the adjoining country, including Kashmīr. Some fifty years later, c. A.D. 475, the people called *Houa* by the Chinese, Hūnas by the Indians, White Huns by the Byzantine historian Procopius, but still better known in the West as Ephthalites² from the name of their king, having conquered Kābul, poured at the head of the hordes of Central Asia into India. The descendants of *Ki-to-lo* fled to the fastnesses of Chitral and Gilgit; the power of the Kushans had come to an end, and with the advent of the Hūns a new chapter of history begins.

J. KENNEDY.

NUMERAL SYSTEMS OF THE TIBETO-BURMAN DIALECTS

Errata

1. In JRAS. 1913, p. 317, l. 2, Lakher is included among the dialects which have a complete system. This is wrong. It uses a base *hraw* for numbers from ten to nineteen, while *sheu* is the base for higher numbers.

2. On p. 335 the statement is made: "At six comes a break. Karenni, Yintale, and Mano have a form three, three. They form seven as three, three, one; eight as four, three; nine as four, three, one." There are three words in Karenni: *so*, used with or as numeral bases; *sō*, low tone, is three; *sō̄*, high tone, is ten. Six is *sō so*. Seven is *sō so na ta*. Eight is *lwi* (four) *so*. Ten is *sō*; twenty is *nō sō*. Nine is *lwi so na ta*. *So*, without

¹ Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, sér. II, vol. viii, No. 2, p. 188 (pp. 41-2, n. 2, of reprint).

² Other variations are Hephthalites and Nepthalites. Cidaritæ is another name.

a tone mark, therefore means "twice". It has this sense in Yintale and Mano (see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 646).

Addenda

1. In four out of the six Nicobarese dialects the word for ten is *sam* or *shom*, identical with the base used by Kuki-Chin dialects. Counting is by scores, and is elaborately worked out (see pp. 244-8 of Sir Richard Temple's *Report on the Census of 1901 of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands*).

2. The following extract from Mr. Thurston's *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, vol. vi, article "Savaras", p. 311, is interesting in its bearing on numeration methods: "It is recorded by Mr. Fawcett, in connection with the use of the duodecimal system by the Savaras, that 'on asking a Gōmangō how he reckoned when selling produce to the Pānōs, he began to count on his fingers. In order to count 20 he began on the left foot (he was squatting) and counted 5: then with the left hand five more: then with the two first fingers of the right hand he made two more, i.e. 12 altogether; then with the thumb of the right hand and the other two fingers of the same, and the toes of the right foot, he made 8 more. And so it was always. They have names for numerals up to 12 only, and to count 20 always first count twelve and then eight in the manner described, except that they may begin on either hand or foot. To count 50 or 60 they count by twenties and put down a stone or some mark for each twenty. There is a Saora story accounting for their numerals being limited to 12. One day, long ago, some Saoras were measuring grain in a field, and when they had measured 12 measures of some kind a tiger pounced in on them and devoured them. So ever after they dare not have a numeral above 12, for fear of a tiger repeating the performance'."

T. C. HODSON.

THE VISHNU-PURANA AND THE PLANETS

By an oversight I said in this Journal, 1912, p. 1048, note, that the usual Purāṇic passage about the order of the "planets", etc., does not seem to be in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa. It is there, in book 2, chap. 7; and see Wilson's translation, vol. 2, p. 225. It presents the usual Purāṇic order, with Mercury below Venus as in the astronomical order; not the order given in the Bhāgavata, which transposes these two planets. The Vishṇu, it may be added, mentions the planets in the weekday order in book 1, chap. 12: here the translation, vol. 1, p. 174, has inadvertently omitted Bṛihaspati (Jupiter).

J. F. FLEET.

PROPOSED PRESENTATION TO M. BARTH

It is proposed to celebrate M. Auguste Barth's eightieth birthday (March 22, 1914) by the collecting and republishing of all his works. Most of these memoirs and reviews are dispersed in learned periodicals (e.g. the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, *Revue Critique*, *Journal des Savants*, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, etc.), and some are now extremely rare. A group of M. Barth's fellow-workers in France are preparing the complete edition, which will consist of four volumes, to be published by subscription. A list of the subscribers will be presented to M. Barth, with the volumes, on his birthday. English scholars will certainly welcome this opportunity of offering their homage to the great *savant* and critic, and of acquiring at the same time the whole of his contributions to Indian studies.

The subscription is fixed at 30 francs. Intending subscribers should send their names and addresses to M. Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CHRONOGRAPHIA ISLAMICA, ossia Riassunto Chronologico della Storia di tutti i popoli musulmani dall'anno 1 all'anno 922 della Higraph (622-1517 dell'Era Volgare). Compilato da LEONE CAETANI, Principe di Teano, Deputato al Palamento. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob. Parts I and II, each 25 fr.

It was calculated that if the works of the historian Tabari were spread over the days of his life from the time when he reached maturity, he would be found to have written fourteen leaves (twenty-eight pages) for every day. The record of Tabari is likely to be equalled or even broken by his illustrious successor, whose folios on the Annals of Islam already, it would appear, rival Tabari's in magnitude, though the Prince has only reached the year 23 of the Hijrah, whereas Tabari, having commenced with the creation of the world, reached the year 302 A.H. The *Chronographia* is an adjunct to the Prince's colossal work, and consists in an enumeration of the chief events which constitute Islamic history, in the years wherein they are supposed to have occurred, with references to the accounts of them in both native and European chronicles or works which deal with them. Clearly the labour spent upon this "compilation" (to use the author's word) must have been enormous; it is a by-product of the *Annali*. Though the native chronicles employed are mainly Arabic, those in other languages (e.g. Syriac) are not neglected; and the references to European works are very numerous, even so "dangerous" a book as Sprenger's *Life of Mohammed* being regularly cited as an authority. Such a work is really beyond literary compliment; one can only admire and extol the author's patience, industry, and productiveness.

D. S. M.

A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS
ACQUIRED BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH
MUSEUM SINCE 1894. Compiled by A. G. ELLIS and
E. EDWARDS. London: Longmans & Co., etc., 1912.

This hand-list, comprising the Arabic acquisitions of nearly twenty years grouped under convenient headings, will be of service in making known the Museum's possessions. But, coming from such a source, it is but a small mercy, and will heighten the desire to see Rieu's model supplement carried on. The difficulties in the way are evident; the combination of ability and of willingness requisite for such work is rare, and when present other duties conspire to hinder: the reviser of the Bodleian Catalogue told me recently that his self-imposed task proceeds but slowly.

I have noticed but one error, and that a small one, on p. 34: 'Abbār for Abbār in the notice of Or. 6641, and for this Brockelmann (i, 340) is no doubt responsible; Wüstenfeld (*Gesch.*, No. 344) gives it correctly. The MS. Or. 6641, *I'tāb al-Kuttāb*, contains details of interest on early Moslem statesmen under Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs and Governors down to the close of the third century, on others under African and Andalusian rulers, and under Saladin. Quotations occur therein from rare and lost works: I have come across some ten from Šūlī (d. A.H. 335, Brock. i, 143), whether from his *Aurāk* or his *Wuzarā*, and as many from Ibn 'Abdūs al-Juhshiyāri (d. A.H. 331; *Fihrist*, i, 127; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 303), from his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā wal-Kuttāb*.¹ Being of moderate

¹ It may be useful to note here that a MS. of a part at least of this work, of the early date of A.H. 546, exists in the Vienna Hofbibliothek. It was described by Dr. Hans von Mzik in *Anzeiger d. k. Ak. d. Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Kl., 1907, 132 (No. 21), as containing 204 folios of 15 lines. Of these five folios are given to the Prophet, as many to his four successors, and thirty-five to the Omayyads; the rest, from fol. 46 onwards, to the Abbasids, including Ma'mūn, about one moiety being given to Rashid, and these may perhaps contain new matter on

compass the MS. is worth editing, for the gaps therein could be supplied from the only other known (and complete) copy in the Escorial (Casiri, No. 1726, vol. ii, 164). I may add that a copy of the B.M. MS. is at the service of anyone who may be prepared to face the facilities for work at the Escorial—an institution which resembles the Museum in this, and in this only, that it does not lend its MSS.

H. F. A.

KOMPOSITION UND WORTWAHL DES BUCHES DER WEISHEIT.

Von EUGEN GÄRTNER. pp. viii + 231. (Schriften der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums, vol. iii, pts. 2-4.) Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1912.

"Pseudo-Solomon" is still a fruitful field of study. That it was originally written in Greek is generally conceded, but divergence of opinion still exists as to its unity and integrity. The line taken by the author of the above-mentioned work is not, indeed, a new one. He introduces his work by taking up the much-disputed question whether the work is one whole or of composite character. Whilst rejecting the view as to its unity, only lately (1907) revived by Professor A. Feldmann, he follows in the main Dr. W. Weber's opinion that the book is

the Barmecides. The numerous citations of Ibn 'Abdūs in works, which Dr. v. Mžik specifies, should enable the MS. to be identified beyond doubt. For the last work specified, Tanūkki's *Faraj ba'd al-Shidda*, Professor de Goeje supplied the citations. In the printed edition, Cairo, 1903-4, some of them will be found at vol. i, 24, l. 2; 68, l. 6; 108, l. 3; and vol. ii, 84, l. 1; 119, l. 2; 128, l. 21; and 137, l. ult.; whilst in vol. i, pp. 81, 83, stories from Ibn 'Abdūs are omitted which occur in the Leyden MS. No. 449 (61 Gol.). That the contents of this Vienna MS. should not be accessible to students is regrettable. The writer in 1909 made an effort to get it lent to this country, but was met by the objection, *inter alia*, that Dr. v. Mžik was editing it. Nothing, however, has appeared, and it is apparent from a review in this Journal, *ante*, p. 216, that Dr. v. Mžik has been engaged in the interval on other work. And it is only from Vienna itself that an edition is likely to emanate.

a conglomeration of various independent tracts. From the first part, the "Eschatological Book" (chs. i to vi), he detaches several groups of verses as marginal notes, to which he assigns a later date. For this portion he admits the possibility of Palestinian origin. The date of the work he finds, as others have found, in the verse ii, 12, which coincides with Isaiah iii, 10, in the Septuagint version. Apart from other reasons which might speak against Palestinian origin, it is hard to see how points of agreement with the Septuagint could be brought into harmony with such a fact. I cannot help believing that the reasons advanced against the unity of the book must be stronger than those hitherto adduced. At any rate, Professor Feldmann's arguments have, as yet, lost nothing of their validity. Dr. Gärtner, however, is so firmly convinced of his theory, that he not only separates the first part from the second, but he places the author of the latter in direct contrast to that of the former. Whereas while he sees strong mystic leanings in the author of the "Eschatological Book" he finds that the author of the "Book of Wisdom" proper militates against the same. Now on the one hand the verse ii, 22, *καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια θεοῦ*, is nothing but an adaptation of Deut. xxix, 28, in a negative form; on the other, Dr. Gärtner speaks of *seiner ganzen mystischen Richtung*, meaning the author of the second part. Thus the "mystical" argument does not carry us very far, and its value as a line of demarcation is questionable. Minor matters such as these, however, cannot detract from the chief merit of the book, which consists in the compilation of a complete vocabulary of the Greek text. This was a very useful undertaking which will make the book almost indispensable to any student, not only of "Pseudo-Solomon", but also of other works of the same class. Dr. Gärtner accompanies every word with a commentary, gives the appropriate Hebrew version or versions, and adds literary references to the Old Testament and

other sources. The perusal of this vocabulary makes it abundantly clear that the original cannot have been written in any other language than Greek. In many cases, when one might feel tempted to look for the original cast of a word or a phrase in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, the corresponding Greek expression sounds so natural as to render it unassailable. This does not, however, mean that his phraseology was not influenced by his studies of the Bible, either in the Hebrew or in the Greek version. Thus, e.g., with *ὑπὸ βίας ἀνέμωv*, iv, 4 (*πνευμάτων*, vii, 20), one might compare *בְּעִים רוּחוֹ* (Isaiah, xi, 15). In connexion with xv, 19c, Dr. Gärtner thinks of some hidden Midrash teaching that the blessing pronounced in Gen. i, 22, did not include all animals. Such a Midrash does not exist. But the passage in the Wisdom concerned does not speak of living animals, but of misshapen animal images. Dr. Gärtner has taken great trouble in marking a large number of words in the vocabulary by asterisks and other signs in order to show whether, or not, they also occur in the New Testament or in the Apocrypha, but of what advantage this is to the student is not apparent. Otherwise the work has been executed with industry and competence. Of misprints I only noticed *פֶּעַת* for *בֶּעַת*, p. 170; *בִּקְרָנֵב* for *בִּקְרָנֵב*, p. 177; and *μιστήριον*, p. 188.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

UNE RELATION DE LA HUITÈME CAMPAGNE DE SARGON (714 av. J.C.). Texte assyrien inédit, publié, et traduit par FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN. Avec une carte et trente planches. Paris: Geuthner, 1912.

As a detailed description of the contents of this important inscription has already been given (JRAS., 1913, pp. 581-612), there is no need to do more than describe this noteworthy work. The introduction gives an outline

of the contents of the inscription, and renderings of the short inscriptions bearing on it, with reproductions of the seal of Urzana of Mušasir and the looting of the temple there. The transcription and translation occupy sixty-seven pages, and are followed by the version of the Annals and prism B. After the index of names of personages and places come the plates—twenty-two autographed and eight with photographic reproductions of the inscription, which is one of the masterpieces of Assyrian calligraphy. The map shows the course of Sargon's campaign, and gives the results of the author's studies of the geographical indications of the text.

It is impossible to overpraise this unpretentious and painstaking piece of work.

Note.—In my paper upon this record, JRAS., 1913, p. 608, read, in lines 9 and 10, "112" for "687", and "K. 485" for "K. 484".

T. G. PINCHES.

LES TEMPS DES ROIS D'UR. Recherches sur la société antique d'après des textes nouveaux, par. L. LEGRAIN, élève diplômé de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. 2 vols.; plates 12½ by 9 in., text 10 by 6½ in. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912.

This work of 57 plates and about 160 pages quarto deals with a collection of 390 tablets acquired by the author in 1911, and said to come from Drehem near Niffer.

Other works upon the important finds which have been made on the site are those of Langdon and Genouillac, noticed in this Journal, 1912, pp. 273 and 834. This addition to the known material is, it is needless to say, well worth having, especially as M. Legrain's copies bear the appearance of being exceedingly well done, with due regard to the forms of the characters—an important point.

Of equal value also are the author's studies of these inscriptions. From the historical introduction we learn that the texts belong to the reigns of Dungi, Bûr-Sin, Gimil-Sin (Šu-Sin would probably be a better reading), and Ibi-Sin, all of them descendants in a direct line from (S)ur-Engur, the founder of the dynasty. It was after having reigned forty years or thereabouts that Dungi became supreme in Babylonia, and the 2nd year of Ibi-Sin saw, to all appearance, the downfall of the power of Sur-Engur's dynasty, though the fragment published by Hilprecht gives Ibi-Sin a reign of 25 years and a period of 117 for his dynasty.

During the period up to the 2nd year of Ibi-Sin, many rulers (patesis or issakê) acknowledged their supremacy, and sent offerings to the temples at Drehem. The new texts mention Libanuk-šabaš, patesi of Marḥašu; Hūlibar patesi of Taḥtaḥuni, as well as the people of Zidanum, Ibla, Maër, and Harši. To these must be added Qulbâ and Upâ, patesis of Adamdun; Gimil-mama (Šu-mama) of Kasallu; (S)ur-Negun of Jokha (Umma), and (S)ur-Lama and Ura-mu of Girsu, at or near Lagaš. Unnamed patesis are those of Babylon, Kis, Cuthah, Nippur, Marada, and Šuruppak.

In an interesting discussion of the calendar the author notes that 12 months of 30 days each would have necessitated an additional month every 4 years. During a period of 16 years, however, they had inserted 6 intercalary months, and from this he argues that the month of 30 days was probably only a fiction. The system used has apparently still to be discovered.

Other sections treat of the animals mentioned in these inscriptions—sheep, goats, oxen, perhaps horses and mules, swine, and barn-fowl. Among wild animals were the mouflon, the mountain-goat, antelopes, the gazelle, stags (probably), the buffalo, and the lion. References to dogs and their keepers testify to their use in hunting. The

various kinds of produce mentioned in inscriptions of this class are also dealt with.

As the tablets from Drehem are records of the offerings made to the temples, they have furnished the author with the material for his section upon the worship and the officials employed therein. The texts are not transcribed, but the "Catalogue", amounting to forty-four pages, gives the contents of each, with transcriptions of selected words. Several of the tablets have impressions of cylinder seals. The greater part of these documents are of the nature of accounts, receipts, delivery notes, etc., but No. 376 is drawn up in legal form, with the names of seven witnesses.

An excellent contribution to the picture of ancient Babylonian life and history.

T. G. PINCHES.

SUMERIAN TABLETS OF THE HARVARD SEMITIC MUSEUM.

Part I: chiefly from the reigns of Lugalanda and Urukagina of Lagash. Copied with introduction and index of names of persons, by MARY INDA HUSSEY, Ph.D. Cambridge, U.S.A., Harvard University. 12 by 9½ inches. 1912.

This, which is the third volume of the Harvard Semitic Series, is published under the editorship of J. R. Jewett, Professor D. G. Lyon, the well-known Assyriologist, and G. F. Moore. The number of the texts given is 52, all of which seem to be remarkably well copied. There is a short introduction of 11 pages, a "Register of Tablets", 2 pages, and an index of names of persons occupying 26 pages more.

Like others of the same date, the greater part of these inscriptions are palace- and temple-accounts for various months from the 5th year of Lugal-anda to the 7th year of Uru-ka-gina. The inscriptions indicate that their

provenance is Lagaš, the modern Tel-loh. The first text, however, which is an upper fragment in seven narrow columns, may have come from Šuruppak, the native city of the Babylonian Noah, now known as Fara. As the name of the god of the place (which seems to have been the same as that of the city) occurs, accompanied by numerals, this text probably contained the accounts of his temple. It looks somewhat older than the other tablets of the series.

The introduction contains a good analysis of the systems of book-keeping employed, arranged in a tabular form, and in transcription only. Many of these documents refer to wheat (*aš*), others to barley (*še*). The authoress admires the method adopted—the “accurate and analytical method” in use being astonishing. She points out, however, that there were numerous clerical errors, both of orthography and calculation.

As in other inscriptions of this period, an examination of the names reveals the fact that there are none which show Semitic influence—in other words, they are all Sumerian. It is true that many Semitic names resemble them, but this is simply because the Semites had as models those of the Sumerians who preceded them. Thus the Sumerian *Amar-Enzu* is the prototype of the Semitic *Bûr-Sin*, “the moongod’s young steer,” *Sib-Enlilli* would be rendered as *Ré’i-Enlilli*, “Enlilli’s herdsman,” whilst *Sur-Bau* became the Semitic *Awêl-Bau*, “Bau’s man,” etc. The number of names which have no Semitic equivalent, or of which such has not been found, is, however, very great. A good point about the list is, that there is no special section for women’s names, which are distinguished by prefixing to them the astronomical sign for Venus—a doubtful compliment to doubtless very worthy ladies of the royal household. One of the names which strike the reader is that transcribed *Babbar-ama-mu*, but a closer examination shows that it is not the

sungod who is referred to, but simply "day" or "light". Apparently its meaning is "the light of day is my mother", or the like. As many of the inscriptions refer to the queen's house, the names marked by the feminine prefix are numerous.

It is to be hoped that Miss Hussey will be able to publish translations of these inscriptions, which she has edited so well and discussed so acutely.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE PURANA TEXT OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE, with introduction, translation, and notes. Edited by F. E. PARGITER, M.A.; Indian Civil Service, Retired; late Judge, High Court, Calcutta. Small 4to: pp. xxxiv, 97. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press: 1913.

One of the topics laid down for treatment in a Purāṇa is that of the genealogies and succession of the kings of the solar and lunar races. It is found, however, actually treated in only seven of the Purāṇas; the Bhāgavata, Bhaviṣhya, Brahmāṇḍa, Garuḍa, Matsya, Vāyu, and Viṣṇu. The account so found may be divided into two parts. The first part deals with the period before the present age, the Kaliyuga, and goes back to a vast antiquity: this part has been treated in a general way by Mr. Pargiter in JRAS, 1910, pp. 1-56. The second part treats of the kings who have reigned in the Kali age itself: it thus purports to be more or less of a distinctly historical nature; and it includes other dynasties as well as those belonging to the two great races mentioned above. This is the part in which we are chiefly interested in our researches into the ancient history of India. But it is found practically in only five of the seven works which have been named: the Garuḍa has only thirteen verses in this part; and the Bhaviṣhya, though its original text

was (as is shown by Mr. Pargiter) the basis of all the others, has been so completely transmogrified as to have lost all its historical value.

We are thus concerned with only five works, which, taken in the order in which this matter was introduced into them, are —the Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata. The first three of these five works form a connected group. On the other hand, the accounts in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata, which are condensed treatments of what is given in the other three, have very much in common with each other. But the account in the Viṣṇu stands apart from all the rest in the respect that, while they are in verse, it is for the most part in prose. Under the necessity of circumstances regarding which reference may be made to Mr. Pargiter's introduction, all the five accounts were framed in the shape of a prophetic utterance. This, however, is only a matter of form, which does not detract in any way from the value of the recital. As is well known, some of the Buddhist historical data are found given in the same way as prophecies.

The account given in the Viṣṇu has been long known to us in a convenient form from Wilson's translation of the whole of this Purāṇa. But it was difficult to deduce from it anything really useful in the historical line: and matters were not made any easier by comparing such texts of the other four works as have been published; the differences between them all were found to be so great as to lead us only to confusion and speculation. What was wanted was a critical edition of the text of one or two, if not all, of the five accounts. The long-felt want has been supplied at last by Mr. Pargiter, whose special acquaintance with the Purāṇas is well known. In this volume, the short title of which is "Dynasties of the Kali Age", he has given us what is, in fact, more useful than the five separate texts; namely, a combined text, representing what is to be taken as the standard version of the

account, with full critical notes showing all the various readings, and with a parallel arrangement in columns wherever such variations exist as to make this course desirable. He has supplemented it with a translation and a complete index of all the names. He has based it on no fewer than sixty-three manuscripts in addition to the published texts. And a perusal of a page or two is enough to show the extreme care and thoroughness with which he has done his work, and the great value of his results: he has made it possible for us now, for the first time, to study this part of the Purāṇas to a useful end.

Before we pass on to other points, an idea may be given of the scheme of the account. It deals, as has been said, with the kings who reigned in the Kali age, down to the time when it was closed. As regards its starting-point there is a certain difference to be noted:—

The Vishṇu professes to have been proclaimed by the sage Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, to his disciple Maitrēya, and begins with the Paurava king Parikshit, —son of Abhimanyu; grandson of Arjuna; and grand-nephew of Yudhishthira,—as the king who was reigning at that time.¹ He reigned at Hastināpura (on an old bed of the Ganges in the Meerut District, about fifty-five miles to the north-east of Delhi).

The other four works profess to have been recited by a Sūta to the Rishis in the Naimisha forest at the end of their twelve-years sacrifice.² Here, a different starting-point is taken. The account opens, indeed, with Parikshit, but tells us that the reigning kings at the time when it was recited were:—

¹ See Wilson's translation, vol. 4, pp. 161, 162.

² A footnote on p. 8 of the introduction tells us that they differ as to the Sūta's name. A Sūta was a charioteer, and, as serving a king, he had also to act as herald or bard: it was his duty to proclaim the heroic actions of the king and his ancestors while he drove his chariot to battle, as well as on state occasions, and he had therefore to know by heart portions of the epics and ancient ballads: see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary under *sūta*.

1. The Paurava king Adhisimakṛishṇa (p. 65), great-great-grandson of Parīkshit. He, also, was reigning at Hastināpura. But, that city being washed away by the Ganges, his son Nichakshus moved the capital to Kauśāmbī (Kōsam near Allahābād).

2. The Aikshvāku king Divākara (p. 66). He was reigning at Ayōdhyā (Oudh) in Madhyadēśa, the Middle Country.

3. The Bārhadhratha king Sēnājit (p. 67). He was reigning in Magadha (Behār).

From these two points the succession is carried straight on to the end, and for the most part, from the Bārhadhrathas, with specific statements as to the length of each king's reign and the duration of each dynasty.

The text and translation, though indispensable to all who are engaged in working at the ancient history, are naturally somewhat dry reading; consisting, as they do, almost entirely of a mere string of names, relationships, and numbers. Not so, however, Mr. Pargiter's introduction (pp. i to xxviii) and appendices 1 and 2 (pp. 77 to 86), in which he has discussed the genesis and development of the account. Here we have some very interesting matter, which attracts attention at once and holds it throughout. For the full treatment of this we must refer to Mr. Pargiter's pages themselves: here we can only state briefly his results, which are as follows:—

The ultimate basis of the account is to be found in Prākṛit metrical compositions, put together and recited by bards and minstrels, which dealt with the dynasties that reigned in Northern India after the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. Such chronicles were composed particularly in Magadha, which country was in early times one of the chief centres of political life and thought, and was famous for its minstrels: and the Prākṛit used in these compositions was probably a literary Māgadhi or Pāli.

There is an apparent indication that a collection of such chronicles was begun in the ninth or tenth year of the reign of the Andhra king Yajñaśrī, in the latter part of the second century.¹ At any rate, there was certainly put together, in the first place, a systematic compilation which brought the history down from the time of the great battle to a little after the end of the Andhras; an event which is to be placed closely about A.D. 250, when there came to the front in the Dekkan that dynasty which founded the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi era beginning in A.D. 248 or 249. This compilation was still in Prakṛit verse.

Among the Purāṇas, the Bhavishya was the first to incorporate this matter; but, as has been indicated, not the Bhavishya which we have now, but an original Bhavishya whose text, it seems, is now lost, except in so far as we can restore it from its use in the next three works. That original Bhavishya adopted the compilation mentioned just above, and, in doing so, turned the Prakṛit ślōkas into Sanskrit ślōkas. This was done not later than A.D. 260. And this text seems to have been written in the Kharōshthī characters, and, therefore, to have been made in Northern India.

Next, the Matsya borrowed the account from the Bhavishya, probably at some time between A.D. 275 and 300. And this Purāṇa has preserved what was in the Bhavishya then.

The Bhavishya was revised about A.D. 315-20, and was brought up to date by an addition of later matter after the end of the Andhras. The language of this account, which was still in the Kharōshthī characters, was revised again about A.D. 325-30. And this latter version was adopted almost immediately by the Vāyu, and soon after that by the Brahmāṇḍa. Thus, these two works represent what was in the Bhavishya at this later time.

¹ See introd., p. 13, note 1.

The account was next utilized, perhaps before A.D. 400, by the Vishṇu, which condensed the matter and reduced it to Sanskrit prose.

Finally, the Bhāgavata took the matter in hand, in the eighth or ninth century. It drew its materials partly from the Brahmāṇḍa, but more particularly from the Vishṇu. It retained some of the old ślōkas of the earlier adaptations. But for the most part it condensed the matter into new Sanskrit ślōkas.

The evidence adduced by Mr. Pargiter must be read in detail, to enable us to appreciate his conclusions, and still more to realize a result at which he arrives regarding the interpretation of some of the statements of numbers. The text tells us, for instance (p. 46, l. 9), that the Śaka kings, eighteen in number, were to reign *śatāni trīṇy-aśūtiṃ cha (varshāni)*. This has always been understood to mean 380 years; with the result of dating this passage not earlier than A.D. 458. It comes as somewhat of a surprise to find that it must really be taken as meaning 183 years and as carrying us back to A.D. 261, by interpreting it on Prākṛit instead of Sanskrit lines. But the reasons adduced by Mr. Pargiter seem irresistible.

After the last of the historical matter, which deals with dynasties of the early part of the fourth century A.D., there is a passage describing the "Evils of the Kali Age", especially of the end of it. We have next after that a verse which says:—"When the moon and sun and the constellation Tishya and Brihaspati shall come together in the same zodiacal sign, then may the Kṛita age be."¹ As can be readily seen from Wilson's translation of the Vishṇu, vol. 4, p. 229, this verse would have been placed more properly as closing the account of the "Evils of the Kali Age", instead of beginning the next

¹ Text, p. 57; translation, p. 74. I have quoted this verse in connection with another matter in JRAS, 1910, p. 496.

division of the text. The cycle of the four ages is always repeating itself, seventy-one or seventy-two times in each Manvantara. The genealogical and dynastic matter in the Purāṇas begins with the opening of the Kṛita age of the present cycle. And the account closes naturally with the verse which declares the point of time at which this cycle will end and a new one will begin. Then, we are told, there will still remain alive two persons, the Paurava Dēvāpi, of the Lunar Race, and the Aikshvāku Maru, of the Solar Race, who through the force of asceticism continue to live throughout the four ages, dwelling at a village named Kalāpa, which is said to be somewhere on the skirts of the Himālaya mountains: and they will give origin to the Kshatriya races of the new Kṛita age.¹

The final division of the text consists of certain "Chronological and Astronomical Particulars". It gives a concise statement of the total lengths of certain periods in the whole history, and lays down some points in it by means of the reckoning according to the course of the Saptarshis, the constellation of the Great Bear, which is a cycle of 2700 years, during which the Saptarshis are supposed to travel round the celestial circle, spending 100 years in each of the 27 *nakshatras*.² The meaning and application of this passage still require some

¹ See the Vishṇu, translation, vol. 4, p. 237; Bombay text of 1866, aṁśa 4, chap. 24, p. 44a, verse 45 ff.; compare the Bhāgavata, Bombay text of 1905, skandha 12, chap. 2, verses 37, 38. For Kalāpa see also the Vishṇu, translation, vol. 3, p. 197 (the commentary gives here the locality of the village), and p. 325.

² When I said, in a place referred to by Mr. Pargiter (introd., p. 15, note 2), that this reckoning is traced back, as an astrological detail, to the sixth century, I was giving what had to be a very much condensed account of the reckoning, and my reference was to the treatment of it by Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587). He had it, as he tells us, from Vriddha-Garga, regarding whose date we know nothing definite, except that he must presumably have been earlier than Garga (about A.D. 400). As far as I can see at present, there is no objection to holding that the reckoning may have existed about A.D. 250. But it is another question whether this Purāṇic passage about it dates, like the rest of the text, from that time.

consideration, and must form the subject of separate treatment. But I may remove here an initial difficulty.

The verse which first mentions this cycle says, as emended by the editor:¹—"The Great Bear *was situated* equally with regard to *the lunar constellation* Pushya while Pratipa was king. At the end of the Andhras, who will be in the 27th century *afterwards*, the cycle repeats itself."

That treatment of the verse, however, —supported, indeed, by some of the materials as regards the words *Pratīpē rājñi vai* in the second *pāda*; but dependent, as regards the introduction of the *nakshatra* Pushya in the first *pāda*, on a very forced emendation of *prām̐su* or *prāhuḥ* into *Pushyē*,— cannot be accepted.

Only one or the other of two courses is practicable. The second *pāda*, as found generally in the Matsya, 273, 39, is *pradīptēn = Āgninā samāḥ*. And, following this, we may restore the verse and translate it thus:—

Saptarshayas = tadā prāhuḥ
 pradīptēn = Āgninā samāḥ |
 sapta-vimśaiḥ śatair = bhāvyā
 Andhrāṇ = āntē tathā punaḥ ||²

"The Saptarshis, they say, were then level with the flaming Agni [i.e., they were in the *nakshatra* Kṛttikā, the regent of which is Agni]: so again they will be at the end of the Andhras after 2700 years."

Or else, following the Brahmanḍa, iii, 74, 230, though it seems to stand quite alone, in respect of that *pāda* and the word before it, we may read:—

Saptarshayas = tadā prāptāḥ
 Pitryē Pārikshitē śatam |

¹ Text, p. 59, lines 11, 12; translation, p. 75.

² At the bottom of *Andhrāṇ = āntē*, instead of the correct Sanskrit *Andhrāṇām = antē* which did not suit the metre, we have *Andhrāṇa antē*, one of the instructive Prākṛit forms commented on by Mr. Pargiter (p. 79). I base my reading *tathā* on the *trayā* which is found in the Vāyu generally.

"The Saptarshis then reached (*their*) century in Pitrya [i.e. Maghā], which belongs to Parikshit: so again," etc.

Mr. Pargiter's book is well printed and got up, and is of a very convenient size, with ample margins for annotation by students of it. It contains only a few slips: the following may be noted:—

p. xvii, line 8: for "his" read "Vyāsa's".

p. xxiii, line 16: for "*cābdan*" read "*cābdān*".

p. 29, note 36, last line: for "*sutāḥ*" read "*sutaḥ*".

p. 48, line 14: for "Kielhorn's 'Inscriptions'," etc., read "Lüders' 'List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions' (Epig. Ind. x, Appendix), namely," etc.

p. 50, line 17: for "pp. 375," etc., read "Lüders' 'List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions', Nos. 375," etc.

p. 55, note 30, line 4: for "*sūdrā*" read "*śūdrā*".

J. F. FLEET.

A SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF HINDĪ BOOKS IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM ACQUIRED DURING
THE YEARS 1893-1912. By J. F. BLUMHARDT, M.A.
London, 1913.

In 1893 the British Museum issued Professor Blumhardt's catalogue of the Hindī books then in the Library, covering 266 pages. Now, in 1913, it has published the same gentleman's supplementary catalogue, covering 470 pages. Nothing could better illustrate the growth of the British Museum Library in the department of modern Indian languages than this fact,—that the supplement is nearly double the size of the original.

Like all Professor Blumhardt's catalogues, this one is most clearly arranged. In such a work, in which accuracy is all-important, the author must rival Indra, the *sahasra-nayana*, when correcting proofs. Several different oriental characters are perforce employed; the

transliteration into the Roman character teems with diacritical marks; and I can heartily congratulate Professor Blumhardt and the printers, Messrs. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., on the freedom from misprints that distinguishes the book.

To describe the contents of this catalogue would be a hopeless task. My resource must be to look for omissions, and, although I have searched pretty industriously, the only important work that I have failed to find either in the original or in the supplement is the great prosody, the *Gaṇa-prastāra-prakāśa* of Bābā Rāma Dāsa (Allahabad, 1892). I see that the work is also not mentioned in the India Office catalogue, so that it is probably not known in Europe. It is the acknowledged authority on Hindī prosody. The autobiography and the travels in Western India of my old friend Dāmōdara Śāstri appear in the 1893 volume, but his later works, such as the *Rāmā Līlā*, or his travels in Eastern and Southern India, do not seem to have been procured. The travels are interesting as showing how foreign parts of India look from a purely Indian point of view. No one can reasonably complain that the mathematical works of the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivēdī are not included; but I would suggest that a set of these might be added to the B.M. collection, if only to show how a brilliant Indian mathematician dealt with European mathematical subjects like the differential and integral calculus. These works and his history of arithmetic¹ (all written in simple Hindī) also provide a useful vocabulary of the Hindī and Sanskrit equivalents for English mathematical technical terms.

The collections of editions of the great classical writers, Tulasi Dāsa, Nābhājī, and so on, are very complete, and beyond drawing attention to them further notice is

¹ See JRAS. 1912, pp. 1103 ff.

unnecessary. A curious omission is Kellogg's invaluable Hindi Grammar, although the works of Dann and Greaves are both mentioned. Possibly Kellogg's work, which was published in 1893, has fallen between the two stools of the earlier and of the supplementary catalogue. There are one or two flies in amber which, though possibly neither rich nor rare, give rise to the same wonder as that celebrated by Pope. Such is Colonel Davidson's *Notes on the Language of Chitral*. The book is valuable, and should of course appear in some catalogue. But why in this one? Khō-wār, the language of Chitral, is as different from Hindi as Latin is from Greek. So also, while most grateful for the honour conferred upon it by its inclusion, I would humbly point out that my book on the Pisāca languages contains only three Hindi words between the first page and the last. I know that the necessities of cataloguing sometimes put books into unexpected company,¹ but I would suggest for Professor Barnett's consideration the opening of a new division of Indian languages to include those which I call Pisāca, including Kāshmirī. Whatever the origin of these languages may be, there can be no doubt about the wide difference, both in grammar and vocabulary, between them and the languages of India proper. Quite a respectable bibliography has grown up round them since the days of Leech, Biddulph, and Leitner.

But I do not wish to appear a *chidrānvēšin*. These are all small points, and very probably Professor Blumhardt has a complete answer to most of them. In no way do they diminish the value of the catalogue as a whole. It is a work that must prove indispensable to every student of Indian literature. My one regret is that I had it not by me in those days when I was still in India, and

¹ The Bābū in charge of the Gayā Public Library once proudly showed me a copy of my *Bihār Peasant Life* solemnly classed under "Fiction".

spent many an afternoon rummaging through the book-shops of up-country bazaars in pursuit of information regarding the literatures and religions of the peoples amongst whom my everyday life was cast.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

DIE LETZTEN TAGE GOTAMO BUDDHOS. Aus dem grossen Verhör über die Erlöschung *Mahāparinibbānasuttaṃ* des Pāli Kanons übersetzt von KARL EUGEN NEUMANN. München, 1911.

Karl Eugen Neumann, the learned translator of the *Majjhima* and *Dīghanikāya* and other important Pali texts, has given us a new specimen of his scholarship by a translation of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* based on the text of the Siamese edition published in 1894. This text has already been used by Rhys Davids and Carpenter in their edition of the second volume of the *Dīghanikāya* published by the Pali Text Society in 1903, but according to Neumann's statement in his preface (p. xiv) the editors did not draw all the profit they could have drawn out of this Siamese edition by giving a complete and accurate list of the various readings. Neumann's preface contains also a criticism of his predecessors in translating the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*. According to his opinion they have not used at all the important archæological discoveries which have been made during the last twenty years in the country where Buddha lived and died, and have depended entirely on the Sinhalese text and its commentaries. We know from Neumann's former translations which I have reviewed in this Journal that he has very little esteem for Buddhaghosha and *Dhammapāla*, even less than the modern interpreters of the *Veda* have for *Sāyana* and his commentary.

The translation reads very well, but after comparing a good number of passages I cannot find that it differs greatly from the second translation by Rhys Davids published in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. iii, pp. 71-191. The names terminating in *a* are given with the termination *o* when the quotation is taken from the Pali, as Gotamo Buddhho, but with the termination *as* when it is taken from the Sanskrit, as Gotamas in the note on p. 128 and Kālidāsas in the note on p. 127. Curiously enough the name of the Sanskrit text corresponding to the Pali Mahāparinibbānasuttam is given as Mahāparinirvānasūtra in the note on p. 83. According to Neumann's principles, we should expect the form of the nominative *sūtram instead.

Before entering into details I must confess that I should have liked to find in Neumann's book something corresponding to p. 72 of Rhys Davids' book, or, to speak plainly, a list of the passages in the book of the great decease which are also contained in other old Pali and Sanskrit books. This list contains thirty passages, making up nearly the whole of the text, and is a great help to us in finding out the different pieces of the Sutta which belong to different ages and stages in the development of Buddhism. Professor Winternitz, in his excellent review of Rhys Davids' second translation in this Journal, 1911, pp. 1147-51, has given some hints in this direction. He has shown that the story of the first illness of the Buddha that befell him at Beluva (ii, 21-6) and the comforting speech which the Buddha addresses to Ānanda (v, 14) must be very old, because the Buddha speaks here "entirely like a human leader to his pupil".

The third chapter is particularly interesting in this respect. §§ 1-20 recur in Anguttaranikāya, iv, 308 ff., §§ 1-10 in Udāna, vi, 1, and Samyuttanikāya, v, 259 ff. For the Sanskrit text of the whole chapter see Divyāvadāna, chapter xvii, pp. 200-8. Winternitz (l.c., p. 1149) points

out that §§ 7-12 must be very young, and §§ 13-33 are interpolated from the Anguttaranikāya. Windisch, in his *Māra und Buddha*, is of the same opinion, especially with reference to the last pada of the stanza in § 10: *abhida kavacam iv'attasambhavaṃ*, "he broke like coat of mail his life's own cause." The Divyāvadāna, p. 203, reads: *abhinat koṣam ivāṇḍasambhavaḥ*, "he broke (his life's own cause) like the bird the egg-shell." Windisch (l.l., p. 37) correctly states that the Sanskrit version must be the older one, as it gives the better sense and suits the metre. Neumann (p. 62, note), on the contrary, is in favour of the Pali reading, and this in spite of the passage Majjhima, i, 437, where exactly the same simile recurs.

For parts of the fifth and sixth chapters we have parallel passages in the Avadānaçataka, as pointed out by Speyer in his edition of the Avadānaçataka, i, pp. 228 ff., and in Zeitsch. der deutsch. Morgenl. Ges., liii, pp. 121 ff. He says with reference to the story of Subhadda in the fifth chapter (§§ 23-30), and especially to the stanza in § 27, *ekūnatimso*, etc., that there can be no doubt that the Pali text is the older one. I am ready to admit this statement with regard to the stanza in question, but not with regard to the passage immediately preceding the stanza. The Pali text has *suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aññe*, and Rhys Davids translates, "void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints." Neumann (p. 136) takes *parappavādā* = *parapravādāt*, and translates "without desiring disputations with other ascetics". If we consider the Pali text as the older one, we might assume that the reading *parapravādāḥ* of the Avadānaçataka is a wrong rendering of the Pali *parappavādā* = *parapravādāt*, but another difficulty remains: we have no substantive to which the adjective *suññā* could refer. If, on the contrary, we adopt the reading of the Avadānaçataka as the older one, we have a complete

sentence. The Avadānaçataka (i, p. 233) reads, *Na santīto bahiḥ çramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā: Çūṇyāḥ parapravādāḥ çramaṇair vā brāhmaṇair vā*: "Outside (i.e. outside of the four classes of ascetics) there are no çramaṇas and no brāhmaṇas. The other systems are void of çramaṇas and brāhmaṇas." Both sentences have the same meaning, and it is possible that in the original text only one of them may have stood. Anyhow, the Avadānaçataka gives us the correct reading, and if Neumann had consulted it he would not have made the mistake to take *parappavādā* = *parapravādāt*. Moreover, we see from the Sanskrit text that in the Pali text the reading *aññe* is correct as given by Childers and Rhys Davids and Carpenter in their edition of the Digha and also in the corresponding passage, Majjhima, i, 64. 1, and not the reading *aññehi* as recommended by Neumann. Even Rhys Davids would have done better to adopt the reading of the Avadānaçataka in order to corroborate his translation, which is in itself correct. The following sentence is better in Neumann's version: "If these monks live a perfect life the world will not be bereft of Arahats."

In the sixth chapter § 10 has an interesting parallel in the hundredth avadāna of the Avadānaçataka (Speyer's ed., ii, 198 f.) and in the Saṃyutta, i, 158 f. Speyer (l.l., pp. 121 ff.) has compared the two texts, and pointed out that in some cases the Avadānaçataka and in others the Mahāparinibbānasutta has the older and better reading. We see from this comparison that Neumann (p. 145, note) is right in reading in the second verse of Brahmā Sahampati's gāthā *yattha* = *yatra*, and not *yathā* as Childers and Rhys Davids do.

Before concluding this review I have a few more remarks to make, partly about the translation and partly about the notes. p. 53, Neumann is right in translating *Bahruputtacetiya* by "Hügel mit Vielblätterlaub" instead

of "shrine of many sons". *Bahuputrika* is a plant mentioned in the Bower MS., ii, 44. 355, and translated by *Asparagus racemosus*. On the other side, I cannot understand why he always reads *Pāvālaṃ cetiyaṃ* instead of *Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ* (p. 52), as the Sanskrit and Pali texts offer the latter reading.

On p. 59 Neumann translates the words of the inscription of Siddapur, *iyāṃ ca sāvane sāvāpīte vyuthena 256*, in the following way, "This proclamation has been proclaimed 256 times from the issue," and adds that *vyuthena* does not refer to the death of Buddha, but to Asoka's capital Pātaliputta, from whence all his edicts were issued. Now, the construction and translation of this *vyuthena* seems to me quite inadmissible, but the rendering of the numeral 256 by "256 times" is worse. Fleet has written an interesting article on this subject in this Journal, 1911, pp. 1091-1112. He comes to the conclusion that *vyutha* means "one who has spent a night in worship", and consequently the whole sentence would mean "This address was delivered by him who spent 256 nights in worship". Dr. Thomas and Professor Lévi had written on this subject before. The former had suggested that Asoka was travelling about on a religious tour by way of contrast with the pleasure tours of his predecessors; the latter that he was making the nine months' tour as a wandering ascetic. I will not decide here which of these three opinions is the correct one, but it is out of question that Asoka could mean by 256 the number of his edicts, as suggested by Neumann. How can Neumann know that Asoka issued 256 edicts and not more or less? And even supposing we could fix the number at 256, it would be ridiculous for a king to insist upon this number. Neumann in the same note goes on saying that Asoka had 250 elephants, 250 horses, and 250 women at his disposition, and that in consequence he issued 250 edicts. This argument could be accepted if

the number were really 250 on the stone. Then it would be an average number. But as it is 256 and not 250 this argument also does not hold good.

The value of Neumann's book is increased by the addition of some fine photographs of sacred places in Buddhist India, at the beginning and at the end of the text.

E. MÜLLER.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB. By JADANATH SARKAR, M.A.
2 vols. Calcutta, 1912.

ANECDOTES OF AURANGZIB, AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By
the same. Calcutta, 1912.

The history of Aurangzib, mainly based on Persian sources, gives an excellent account of that great emperor from his boyhood until his enthronement. The story of the latter part of Shah Jahan's reign, and the struggle by his sons for the succession, with its awful battles and slaughter, is given as a narrative of events and actions, with ample references to the sources from which the accounts are taken, and notes regarding men and places, but without commentary or reflection, with which one might or might not agree, upon the character or the motives of the actors. It is written, too, in an easy style, and so is a very readable book. No better criticism of it can be made than that, quoted in the Introduction, by the late Mr. W. Irvine, who had read the earlier chapters. "I like the style—it being a judicious compromise between the overcrowded stiffness of my *Later Mughals* and more popular journalese writing, yet without any sacrifice of exactness. I like very much your attention to genealogy and topography, and above all your recourse to modern sources of information—the *Indian Atlas* and modern travellers."

By no means the least important part of the work is the Bibliography at the end of vol. ii, containing the names and short descriptions of fifty-four Persian MSS., which the author had searched out and studied, besides the writings of the early European travellers in the East.

The author hopes to continue this history in some two or three more volumes; they will be welcome.

The second book, by the same author, contains seventy-two short anecdotes, translated from the Persian, concerning Aurangzib, connected with his rule as emperor and characteristic of him, told in an easy style with notes about the persons concerned and the works whence the translations were made. To these are added short essays, mainly on the life and events about the Dehli court and empire in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib. These essays have appeared previously in the *Modern* and the *Hindustan Reviews*, whilst one of them on the conquest of Chatgaon was published in the JASB. for 1907.

INDIA AND THE INDIANS. By EDWIN F. ELWIN.
London, 1913.

Fr. Elwin, whose book *Indian Jottings* was well received a few years ago, has had, as he says, "unusually favourable and varied opportunities for getting to know intimately the inner side of Indian life and character during a somewhat long residence in this country," and gives in this book chapters on a variety of subjects about which he has observed and thought. The book is pleasant reading, written in a clear and fair way by one who evidently has keen observation, strong personal influence, sympathy and humour, and so gives a nearer insight of the people amongst whom the author moves and those amongst whom he lives in a simple way, chiefly in a village near to Poona, than is to be gathered from

the ordinary sketches and notes of officials and from travellers' tales. And although the good Padre may have been sometimes misled by the Indian's way of saying what he thinks will please the Sahib rather than what is really in his own mind, and sometimes is rather carried away by his enthusiasm, the chapters give a very true and honest account of his convictions, which are sound and will bring to the memory of some who have served in India many things they had perhaps only half noticed or thought about, or had looked at before in a different way. Some of the chapters, such as those on religions, missions, and education, are especially worthy of careful consideration even by our rulers in the East, as well as those generally interested in the country and its people.

ORIENTAL CONGRESS, 1915

The members of the Standing Committee of the International Congress of Orientalists have unanimously accepted the invitation sent to them by the Oriental Faculty of the University of Oxford to hold the next Congress at Oxford in September, 1915.

OBITUARY NOTICES

SIR ROBERT KENNAWAY DOUGLAS

FOLLOWING close upon the deaths of Sir Raymond West and Mr. Thomas Henry Thornton, C.S.I., the Royal Asiatic Society has to mourn the loss of another of its Vice-Presidents in Sir Robert Douglas, who died at Acton Turville, Chippenham, on May 20, 1913. He joined the Society in 1874, and had therefore a longer connexion with it than any surviving member of the Council.

Robert Kennaway Douglas was born at Larkbeare House, Tallaton, on August 23, 1838. He was the fourth son of the Rev. Philip W. Douglas, who was appointed to the Chapel of Ease at Escot, near Ottery St. Mary, Devon, by the late Sir John Kennaway, Bart., and his grandfather was Dr. Philip Douglas, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Douglas was delicate in his childhood, and spent the first few years of his life at Larkbeare, receiving the rudiments of his education, in company with his three brothers and the present Sir John Kennaway, from a tutor who lived in the village. When he was 10 his father moved to Bath, and Douglas was sent, first to a school in Park Street, and afterwards to Blandford Grammar School. At the age of 17 he went with an elder brother to New Zealand, where he proposed to devote himself to sheep-farming, but after two years spent in the Middle Island he returned to England and matriculated at King's College, London, where he studied Chinese under the late Dr. Sumner. At the age of 20 he passed first of the candidates for the Chinese Consular Service, went out to China in 1858, and was appointed on June 7 of that year student interpreter in the Superintendency of Trade at Hong-Kong. China was then

waging a rather desultory war with England and France, the city of Canton having been captured by the Allied Forces in December, 1857, when it was placed under a native governor with European assessors. It soon became necessary to read the mandarins of the capital also a lesson, and the Chinese forts at the mouth of the Peiho were taken by a combined French and English force only the month before Douglas' appointment. In July of the same year the Treaty of Tientsin, providing among other things for the payment of an indemnity for the loss sustained by British subjects at Canton and for the expenses of the expedition, was signed by Lord Elgin; and Douglas was removed to Canton on August 2, 1859, and attached to the Allied Commissioners who had administered the city since its capture. Here he spent the greater part of his stay in China, and it was here that he acquired the greater part of his knowledge of the Chinese life and language. In March, 1861, he was transferred to Peking, where Sir Frederick Bruce was Minister and Envoy Extraordinary, and in August of the same year was appointed third assistant in the Consular Service and attached as interpreter to the staff of General, afterwards Sir Charles, Staveley until the withdrawal of our troops in 1862. The same period saw the first attempt to deal seriously with the Taiping rebellion, which was finally suppressed by Gordon in July, 1864. In June, 1862, Douglas was first assistant in the Consulate at Tientsin, and was acting Vice-Consul at Taku in October of the same year. Here he remained until 1864, when he returned home on leave, arriving in London on July 9.

Douglas had now spent six years in China, and had been the witness of the many stirring scenes attending the renewal of hostilities, including the second capture of the Taku forts in 1860, the defeat of the Chinese army at Palikao, and the loot of the Summer Palace at Peking.

But he had no particular liking for a life of adventure, and had always been a bookish boy, preferring during his childhood to spend his time in reading or in the solitary sport of fishing rather than in games with his contemporaries. Moreover, the climate of China had affected his health, and he began to look about him for some sedentary occupation which would keep him in England. His colloquial knowledge of Chinese here stood him in good stead, and, helped doubtless by the influence of his lifelong friend Sir John Kennaway, he was appointed Assistant of the First Class "for the Chinese Language" in the British Museum on February 23, 1865. His chief, Sir Frederick Bruce, had previously (on January 19) recommended him for appointment as Interpreter at Tientsin, and the appointment seems to have been actually made, Douglas receiving pay up to April. He did not, however, return to China to take it up, and resigned from the Consular Service on April 12, 1865. Sir Frederick Bruce had in the meantime retired from the post of British Minister at Peking, where he was succeeded by Sir Rutherford Alcock.

At the British Museum Douglas found a niche which he occupied for more than forty years. The study of the Chinese language and literature was till then almost entirely confined to missionaries, and the Chinese books and MSS. in the Museum were scattered through the King's and Grenville Libraries without any attempt at order or arrangement. Douglas, who had married the year after his appointment Rachel, daughter of Kirkby Fenton of Caldecote Hall, Warwickshire, at once set himself to work to arrange the existing collection and to make additions to it, for which the knowledge of native dealers which he had acquired during his life in China gave him special facilities. He further found a field for his energies in the printing of the Accessions to the General Catalogue, for which he made himself

responsible. In 1880 he was made Assistant Keeper of Printed Books and MSS., and was put in charge of the collection of Maps, then raised to a sub-department. In 1873 he was appointed Professor of Chinese at King's College, London, of which he had been an *alumnus*, and he was elected Fellow in 1875. He took part in the foundation and organization of the First International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in September, 1873, at which he acted as delegate of the English Government, presided over one of the sittings, and obtained from the Congress the appointment of a committee for the publication in popular form of the earliest native histories of China. He also was Secretary to the Second International Congress of Orientalists held in London, and in that capacity edited its Transactions, and to the Chinese Section of the Ninth Congress, also held in London in 1892.

In 1875 Douglas published his first book on *The Language and Literature of China* and in 1877 a translation of the Chinese life of Jenghiz Khan, and in this last-named year his Catalogue of Chinese Books in the British Museum was printed and published by the Trustees. His other principal works are *Confucianism and Taoism*, 1877; *China*, 1882; a *Manual of Chinese Grammar*, 1889; *Chinese Stories*, 1893; *Society in China*, 1894; *The Life of Li Hung-Chang*, 1895; *China* (in the Story of the Nations Series), 1899; and *Europe and the Far East* (in the Cambridge Historical Series), 1904; while in lighter vein he wrote the *Whirligig of Time—a Political Satire* in 1885. His labours at the British Museum were rewarded with the appointment of Keeper to the newly-formed Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS., in March, 1892, a position which he held until his retirement in 1907. He was also made one of the Governors of Dulwich College, was knighted in 1903, and elected a member of the

Athenæum Club under Rule 3 in the same year. His health had been failing for some time before his retirement; and in 1907 he gave up his house at Dulwich, where he had lived during the greater part of his service at the Museum, and returned to the West of England. Not finding accommodation to his mind at his birthplace or Ottery St. Mary, he finally settled at Acton Turville, where he remained until his death, having been a confirmed invalid during the last two years of his life. He left behind him Lady Douglas, whom he married, as has been said, in 1866, and six sons and two daughters.

The interest which Douglas always took in the welfare of this Society will be remembered by most of its members. He became a member of the Council in 1895, and one of the Society's Trustees in 1904. The following year he was elected Vice-President, and in 1911, on his retiring from the Council, he was, as a special mark of esteem, made Honorary Vice-President, in which office he continued until his death.

As a pioneer in Chinese studies, Douglas, perhaps, troubled himself little about philological questions. Yet he was well skilled in colloquial Chinese, and the three years he spent in Canton gave him a mastery over the Southern dialects not always possessed by those who learn spoken Chinese in Peking. As a popularizer of things Chinese he was excellent, and, as he had a clear and easy literary style, a letter from him in the *Times* came to be looked for directly any Chinese question came to the front.

In private life one of the most charming of men, Douglas knew how to make his will felt, and was, perhaps, at his best as an administrator. He had also a genius for friendship; and although at the time of his death he had outlived many of the friends he had made early in his career, he continued almost up to the last to make new ones. The circle of those who deplore his loss is unusually wide.

F. LEGGE.

JOHN WATSON McCRINDLE, LL.D.

DR. McCRINDLE, who was a member of this Society for fully twenty years (1881-1902), and served during part of that time as a member of the Council, died at Westcliff-on-Sea on July 16 last. He was born near Maybole, Ayrshire, on February 16, 1825, and was educated at Maybole and Edinburgh University. In 1854 he graduated there with distinction in classics, and served as classical master in various Edinburgh schools till 1859, when he went out to Calcutta as Principal of the then Doveton College, in succession to Dr. George Smith. In 1866 he entered the Bengal Educational Service, and after acting as Professor at Krishnagar College he was appointed the first Principal of the Patna College. He held this appointment until his retirement in 1880. Whilst at Patna he founded, with the help of his wife, the first high school there for native girls. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University, and frequently appointed an examiner for it in history, logic, and political economy.

Knowing his classical scholarship, the writer applied to him for translations of the classical works referring to India, for publication in the *Indian Antiquary*. In response he contributed to that journal in 1876 the *Indica* of Arrian; and in the volume for 1877 the fragments of Megasthenes, collected by Dr. Schwanbeck; in 1879 the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*; in 1881-2 the *Indica* of Ktésias the Knidian, with Lassen's review of the same, and extracts from Kosmas Indicopleustes; and in 1884 Ptolemy's *Geography of India and Ariana*, with a considerable commentary, etc. These works were reprinted from the text of the *Indian Antiquary* in four volumes, small 8vo (1877-85). After retiring from India, Dr. McCrindle prepared two more volumes on the classical literature relating to India, viz. (1) *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, as described by Arrian,

Q. Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch, and Justin (London, 1893—see *Journal*, 1893, p. 406), and (2) *Ancient India*, as described in classical literature collected from numerous other Greek and Latin texts, such as Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, etc., published in 1901. These works comprise a very complete and valuable translation and collection of the notices relating to India in Greek and Latin literature. In 1897 he also prepared for the Hakluyt Society a complete translation of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas, the Egyptian monk, which he edited with notes and introduction.

The Edinburgh University in 1898 conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. in recognition of his services in the preparation of these works.

On his return from India he settled for two or three years in London, but afterwards removed to Edinburgh, where he was an original Fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, and was regularly for sixteen years on the Council. He also attended at the Hellenic Society, then presided over by Professor Blackie, and consisting of such scholars as Dr. J. Hutchison Stirling, Professor Butcher, Dr. Walter Smith, etc.

In 1902 Dr. McCrindle removed to stay with friends in England, and for the last eight or nine years, suffering from loss of sight, he resided with them at Westcliff-on-Sea, where he died in his 89th year.

J. B.

HARRY CAMPBELL NORMAN

(1878-1913).

ON opening the *Oxford University Gazette* one morning last spring I received a great shock as my eye caught sight of the notice that H. C. Norman, M.A., of Trinity College, had died suddenly at Benares on April 11. Never before had the news of the death of

any scholar ever filled me with such a feeling of consternation. For he was not only, with the sure promise of doing great things, cut off before completing half the natural span of life, but had been for five years a pupil in whose career from first to last I took a special personal interest.

Norman was born at Winkleigh, Devonshire, on December 19, 1878, being thus when he died only in his thirty-fifth year. His father was a physician practising in that village and its neighbourhood, and his mother a Miss Campbell, of Edinburgh. At the early age of nine he was placed under the care of his maternal uncle, to be educated at Edinburgh. There he first attended the Edinburgh Institution, at that time a flourishing school. Then, in 1896, he entered the University, where he had the advantage of studying Greek under the late Professor S. H. Butcher, and Latin under Professor Hardie. There also he laid the foundation of his Sanskrit scholarship by attending the lectures of Professor Julius Eggeling, of whom both as a scholar and a faithful and generous friend he always spoke with the highest respect and admiration.

When he had been a year at Edinburgh University, he went south to try for a scholarship at Oxford. Much to his own surprise he not only succeeded in gaining one at Trinity College, but came out first on the list. Having taken his M.A. degree with honours in classics at Edinburgh, Norman went into residence at Trinity College in October, 1899. I made his acquaintance at the end of his first term, when he came to consult me about the continuation of his Sanskrit studies. Wasting no time, he at once set to work in the Christmas vacation to prepare for the Boden Sanskrit scholarship, which he competed for and won in March, 1900. This scholarship, of the annual value of £50 and tenable for four years, was not sufficient along with his Trinity scholarship to cover his

Oxford expenses, in spite of his frugal habits. He accordingly determined to increase his resources in order to relieve his family of all pecuniary anxiety on his behalf, and resolutely commenced to work for the Vans Dunlop Sanskrit scholarship, which, being of the annual value of £100 and tenable for three years, was open to members of the University of Edinburgh. This he won with ease in 1901, coming out first in the competition. He was thus set free from pecuniary troubles and enabled to devote himself entirely to his Oxford studies. In 1901 he also obtained 2nd class honours in classical moderations: he would doubtless have obtained a 1st could he have given himself up exclusively to classical work. In the summer of 1903 he obtained 3rd class honours in the final classical school of *Literæ Humaniores*. Here, too, he would certainly have done better if so much of his time had not been absorbed by other studies and if his tastes had not lain in the direction of languages and literature rather than of philosophy and ancient history.

Now at last able to devote himself entirely to his Indian work, he entered, in his fifth academical year, for the Honour School of Oriental Studies, offering Sanskrit for his principal, and Pāli and the History of Indian Religions as his subsidiary subjects. Here he obtained 1st class honours in June, 1904. I had strongly urged him to take up this line of study, in the hope that he might obtain a good appointment in the Indian Educational Service, and thus find sufficient leisure to make contributions to Oriental scholarship in India. With a view to such a post he had already sent in an application to the India Office. During his Oxford career Norman had paid a good deal of attention to modern languages, as is proved by the fact that he obtained not only the Tylor University scholarship in Spanish (1900), but also that in French (1904). His proficiency was thus tested at Oxford by

a high standard in no fewer than six languages, two ancient, two Oriental, and two modern.

After his examination in the Oriental school was over, I advised him not to relax in his Indian studies, but to take up Pāli as his main line rather than Sanskrit, owing to the fewness of workers in the former subject and to its great and fundamental importance in the field of Buddhist scholarship. He had already made considerable progress in Pāli, thanks chiefly to the assistance of Dr. Estlin Carpenter, now Principal of Manchester College. As he readily fell in with my suggestion, I placed him in communication with Professor Rhys Davids, who invited him to undertake a critical edition of Buddhaghosa's great commentary on the Pāli text that had been best and longest known in the West, the *Dhammapada*. Norman gladly agreed to the proposal, and with characteristic energy and enthusiasm threw himself into the preliminary work required for this extensive and laborious task.

By this time, the summer of 1904, his resources were coming to an end, for his various scholarships had run out. He was kept going by a vacation tutorship to two nephews of the King of Siam, and later by the work of cataloguing Sanskrit and Pāli books in the library of the Indian Institute. But towards the end of the year he felt he could not hold out much longer, and was seriously thinking of accepting a mastership for French in a Canadian school. I strongly dissuaded him from taking such a step, on the ground that it would practically put an end to his career as an Oriental scholar. In order to enable him to continue his preliminary work on the *Dhammapada*, I brought his case before the administrators of the Max Müller Memorial Fund, who voted him a liberal grant for the purpose of collating the necessary Pāli MSS. at Paris and Berlin. Though his time at Paris was very short and he had delays and difficulties to contend with, he managed, by dint of hard work and long hours, to

complete satisfactorily the collations he went there to make. At Berlin he spent three months. There he also attended University lectures, notably those of Professor Pischel, the great Sanskrit and Prakrit scholar. Incidentally he made the best use of his opportunity of acquiring a colloquial familiarity with German. While he was working at Berlin in the early summer of 1905, the Chair of English Literature at Queen's College, Benares, fell vacant, and Norman was suddenly summoned to an interview at the India Office. Soon after he was offered and accepted the post. Having got together all the materials he required for constituting the text of Buddhaghosa's commentary in India, he sailed for Bombay early in September, 1905, and in due course arrived at Benares. There he spent the remaining seven years and a half of his short life.

With characteristic resolution he lost no time in settling down to his Pāli work, and in the very next year (1906) after his arrival in India brought out the first volume of his edition, published by the Pāli Text Society. There could be no better testimony than this to Norman's tireless assiduity as a scholar; for it must be remembered that a great part of his time was necessarily taken up with his official duties, especially when he had to adapt himself to the totally new surroundings of his Indian career, that he entered fully into the social life of Benares from the outset, and that all his Oriental work had to be done in his leisure hours. The second volume appeared in 1909, the third in 1912, and the fourth and last was practically finished at the time of his death. The little that remains to be done to it will be completed by Pandit Lakshman Śāstri and Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids.

Norman's work, which is excellently done, marks a turning-point in Pāli research. For when the Pāli Text Society had completed the publication of the canonical texts which it had undertaken, the next pressing want was the publication of the *complete* texts of all the fifth

century commentators. Norman's edition of Buddhaghosa was the first work of the kind actually accomplished. His name will therefore be associated with a new era in the publication of Buddhist texts.

Though he devoted himself mainly to Pāli in India, he by no means neglected the study of Sanskrit. Thus he made for me an exhaustive collection of grammatical data from the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, the greater part of which have been incorporated in my *Vedic Grammar*, as acknowledged in a footnote on the first page of that work. He also furnished me with some other Sanskrit grammatical material, which I have not yet had an opportunity of utilizing. His seriousness of purpose in Oriental scholarship is shown by the fact that his very first holiday in India was spent, not in going to the hills, but in visiting South India, and especially Ceylon, where he made the most of his opportunities of familiarizing himself with Singhalese Buddhism and its antiquities. He wrote me a long and graphic account of this journey. From time to time I received other letters from him telling me how his work was progressing. One of the many amiable traits in his character was the gratitude he showed for any help he had received. Thus almost immediately after his arrival in India he sent me as a gift a fine specimen of Benares brass work, describing it as a *dakṣinā* to his *guru* at the conclusion of Vedic study. In 1908 I visited him at Benares. On that occasion he arranged to procure for me phonographic records of selected Vedic hymns as recited by Brahmans of different schools. He sent me two specimens, but unfortunately on each occasion the cylinders arrived partially broken and were otherwise not quite satisfactory. He then sent me a gramophone specimen, which was much better. I was about to write and ask him to arrange for a number of gramophone records, when the fatal news of his death arrived.

From what has been said it must be evident that Norman possessed all the instincts of the genuine scholar. He was also a man of very wide and out-of-the-way general reading, even at an early age. An illustration of this is a conversation I remember having had with him, soon after he came up to Oxford, about the operation of rhinoplasty as an invention of Indian surgery. He at once referred me to certain mediaeval European medical writers to whom the operation was known. Probably as a result of the wide range of his studies Norman was distinguished by catholic tastes and tolerant views. This trait, added to his familiarity with ancient Indian literature and thought, enabled him to teach English literature to Indian students with sympathy and abundant illustration, in a way quite impossible to men not equipped with his rare combination of qualifications.

Norman had the further advantage of being a good-looking man of muscular physique. That he was one of the finest pedestrians of his time at Oxford is shown by the fact that in June, 1901, he with a friend walked from Trinity College to Paddington Station in one day, a distance of 57 miles, which he covered in 13 hours. He was also fond of military exercise. At Oxford he was a member of the University Volunteer Corps, and in India became an enthusiastic member of the local Yeomanry Corps. Being a good cricketer and tennis player, he took a keen interest in promoting games and sports among the students of the College at Benares. He was thus a remarkably all-round man. It is not surprising that a scholar of such varied qualifications, combined with innate modesty and amiability, should have been very popular with colleagues, students, and the general society of Benares alike. Several of my friends who during the last few years visited Benares and, provided by me with introductions to Norman, made his acquaintance there have one and all spoken with great

appreciation of the geniality of the way in which he received them, as well as of the value of his work and influence at Benares. Only a fortnight before his death he entertained most hospitably two relatives of mine, who described him as being in good spirits and looking forward to coming home in a few months for a holiday. The news of his death being thus entirely unexpected made the shock I felt on seeing it all the greater. In a letter, written only a few days after the sad event, Norman's colleague, Professor C. M. Mulvany, formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, says: "It will be long before we meet his like. . . . There was quite a demonstration at his funeral, the like of which has rarely been seen in this country. The students of all castes and religions dragged the hearse from the College to the cemetery, took the coffin to the grave and lowered it in."

The death, at so early an age, of a scholar of such intellectual and social endowments, of such promise and performance, has thus inflicted on the world of Indian learning a loss which is especially deplorable to those to whom he was personally known. But it is some consolation to his relatives and numerous friends to think that the first great task, in a new line of scholarship, that he had undertaken was practically completed, and that his blameless and strenuous life will long remain an influence for good among those with whom he came in contact.

A. A. MACDONELL.

INDEX FOR 1913

A

- Abbasid administration in decay, from the *Tajārib al-Umam*, 823-42.
- Accent and prosody in Bengali, 857-65.
- Ahin Posh Stupa, 371; and the date of Kanishka, 371-8, 644, 937, 1021.
- Ahmed Ibn Tulun, mosque of, 31-2; architecture of, 32.
- Āhoms, origin of, 283-7; Somdeo, idol of, 285; metal plaque serving as altar of idol, 285.
- Ājīvika, 669-74.
- Al Akmar, mosque of, 33; Asiatic, not Egyptian style, 33.
- Alcmanic figure, 677-81.
- Alharizi visits and writes of Samaritans, 613.
- "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves," further notes on, 41-53.
- Alopen and Śilāditya, 144.
- AMEDROZ, H. F., Caves of a Thousand Buddhas, 694-6.
- Abbasid Administration in its decay, from the *Tajārib al-Umam*, 823-42.
- Amr, mosque of, 31.
- Anargharāghava, drama by Murāri, 389.
- ANDERSON, J. D., Bengali Verbs, 160-2.
- Bengali Passive, 163-5.
- Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's Notes on Bengali Grammar, 533-44.
- Accent and Prosody in Bengali, 857-65.
- Stress and Pitch in Indian Languages, 867-74.
- Āndhradrāṇḍabhāṣā, 387.
- Angkor-Vat, 419.
- Āṅgula of Six Yavas, 153-5.
- Annamese language, classification of, 427-32.
- Anniversary meeting, 743-62.
- Anthology Sanskrit, fragment from Tunhuang, 848-50.
- Apabhraṃśa according to Mārkaṇḍēya and Dhakkī Prakrits, 875-83.
- Ara inscription, dated Kushan record, 97-107; Professor Lüders' reading combated by Mr. Fleet, 95-107.
- Arabian Nights, missing MS., 170-1, 432.
- Argarou of *Periplus* identical with Orayūr, 132-3.
- Ashuri script, 614.
- Asoka's first Buddhist selection, identification of, 385-7; fourth rock-edict and minor rock-edicts, 652-3; rock-edicts, new readings, 653-5; last words, 655-8.
- Assyrian inscription recently known, 581-612.
- Āśvaghosha, Charaka, and Kanishka, 371, 646.
- Azaryah de Rossi, Jewish anti-quarian, 622.
- Al Azhar, mosque of, 32.

B

- Bacarē in *Periplus* identical with Porakād, 131.
- Bali, Buddhists from Java take refuge in, 2-3.
- Balita of *Periplus* identical with Varkallai, 132.
- BARNETT, L. D., Date of Kanishka, 942-5.
- Barth, proposed presentation to Professor, 1066.
- Begram coins, 1039.

- Bengali, accent and prosody, 857-65.
- Bengali grammar, Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's notes on, 533-44; differences between him and Mr. Beames, 533-44.
- Bengali verbs, 160-2; passive, 163-5.
- Benjamin of Tudela visits Samaritans, 613.
- BEVERIDGE, H., Missing MS. of the Arabian Nights, 170-1.
- Delhi Elephant Statues, 1049-54.
- Birth of Pururavas, 412-17.
- BLAGDEN, C. O., Chau Ju-kua's Chu Fan Chi, 165-9.
- Classification of the Annamese Language, 427-32.
- Roman Characters for Oriental Languages, 686-9.
- Bodh-gaya, dates in the Burmese inscription at, 378-84.
- Boghaz Keui, Hittite language of, 1043-7.
- Brāhmī alphabet, 633, 1035.
- Brhatkathā, old Sanskrit version of, 389-90; in Mārkaṇḍeya, 391; composed in Kekaya paśāciki, 391.
- Buddhacarita, i, 30, 417-19.
- Buddha's death-place, Kasiā, 151-3.
- Buddhism, introduction into China in 2 B.C., 369-71.
- Buddhist monastic terms, 681.
- Burmese inscription at Bōdh-Gayā, 378-84.
- Bûşir, 309.
- C
- Caesar as title of Kushan kings, 103-7.
- Cairo, the significance of, 23-40; her foreign character, 24; cleavage between her and Egypt, 25 et seq.; loses her power in fifteenth century, 36.
- Caityacatuskasūtra, fragment from Tunhuang, 847.
- Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 434-6, 694-8.
- CHARPENTIER, J., Ājīvika, 669-74.
- Chau Ju-kua's Chu Fan Chi, 165-9.
- Chinese inscribed bone carvings, 545-52; dated third century B.C., 545.
- Chinese pedigree on a tablet-disk, 905-10.
- Chu Fan Chi of Chau Ju-kua, 165-9.
- CODRINGTON, O., Coinage of Ḥusayn Baikara, 432-4.
- Coinage of Ḥusayn Baikara, 432-4, 1048.
- Coinage of Nahapāna and letter H, 96.
- Coins (two) of Soter Megas, the Nameless King, 658-64.
- Copper-plate at Kasiā and Buddha's death-place, 151-3.
- Copper-plate grants, proper contents of, 675.
- Coptic art, 31.
- CROOKE, W., Queen of Sheba, 685-6.
- D
- DAMES, M. L., Date of Kaṇiṣka, 953-60.
- Coinage of Ḥusain Baikara, 1048.
- Dānakhaṇḍa, 676-7.
- Dappuḷa V of Ceylon, 524.
- Dark Red Mountain of *Periplus* identical with Red Bluffs at Varkkallai, 132.
- Delhi elephant statues, 1049-54.
- Delta in the Middle Ages, 305-14.
- Ḍhakki Prakrits, 875-83.
- Dharmaśāstras, known to writers of land grants, 676.
- Diwān al-Zimām, Abbasid institution, 829-32.
- Dragon and alligator: inscribed Chinese bone carvings, 545-52.
- Ḍur-Bummah, 348.
- Duryōdhana and the Queen of Sheba, 684-5.
- Dvāvimśatyavadānakathā, language of, 289-304.

E

- EDMUNDS, A. J., Identification of Asoka's First Buddhist Selection, 385-7.
 Egypt, her rejection of foreign influences, 23-40; Arab invaders of, 24-5; original buildings of mud, 26; under Ottoman rule, 37.
 Egyptian architecture, mud origin of, 26; want of method in, 26; merits of, 27.
 Elephant statues at Delhi, 1049-54.

F

- FLEET, J. F., The Question of Kanishka, 95-107.
 — Dates in the Burmese Inscription at Bodh-Gaya, 378-84.
 — Purāṇic Order of the Planets, 384-5.
 — Last Words of Aśoka, 655-8.
 — Date of Kanishka, 913-20, 965-1011.
 — Viṣṇu - Purāṇa and the Planets, 1066.
 Fo-lo-an, 166.

G

- Galland and his version of Ali Baba, 47.
 Galpota inscription of Niśaṅka-malla, 518.
 GASTER, M., Jewish Knowledge of the Samaritan Alphabet in the Middle Ages, 613-26.
 General meetings, 235-6, 497-8, 743-63.
 Georgian language compared with Sumerian, 783-821.
 GERINI, G. E., Takopa Tamil Inscription, 689-90.
 — Timāsa, 690-4.
 Gifts of land, verses relating to, 388-9, 674-7.
 Goal of Muhammadan mysticism, 55-68.
 Gondophernes, 632, 1002 et seq.; and Vikrama era, 633; inscription of, 636-7.

Græco-Buddhist art and Kanishka, 632, 942, 945-52, 974, 1031; and Gondophernes, 632.

Greek spoken in Kanishka's time, reasons, 122-24.

Grhapati, the attire of, 156.

GRIERSON, G. A., Is the Rāmāyana of Tulasī Dāsa a Translation? 133-41.

— The Phonetics of the Wardak Vase, 141-4.

— Alopen and Śīlāditya, 144.

— Kaṇamōkṣa, 144-5.

— Bṛhatkathā in Mārkaṇḍeya, 391.

— Pronunciation of Prakrit Palatals, 391-6.

— Yāska's *dātra*, 682-3.

— Duryōdhana and the Queen of Sheba, 684-5.

— Apabhraṃśa according to Mārkaṇḍeya and "Dhakkī" Prakrits, 875-83.

GUEST, A. R., The Delta in the Middle Ages, 305-14.

— Servian Embassy to Egypt in the Fourteenth Century, 1047.

Gujarātī and Mārwarī postpositions, origin of dative and genitive, 553-67.

GURDON, Colonel P. R., Origin of the Āhoms, 283-7.

H

H, Latin letter on Kushan coins, 96.

El Hakim, mosque of, 32; Mesopotamian, not Egyptian style, 33.

Hakk Bait al-Māl, dues payable to Abbasid treasury, 828-9.

Hanifa, 344-8.

HANSON, O., Roman Characters for Oriental Languages, 423-6.

Hassan, mosque of Sultan, 34; style of, 34.

Heraus δ *τύραννος*, 124-7.

Hittite language of Boghaz Keui, 1043-7.

- HODSON, T. C., Numeral Systems of the Tibeto-Burman Dialects, 313-36; errata in, 1064.
- HOERNLE, A. F. R., Buddhist Monastic Terms, 681.
- HOEY, W., Date of Kanishka, 960-5.
- HONAN inscribed bones, 905; five with genealogies, 906; the "sceptre" bone, its genuineness challenged 906, refuted 907.
- HOPKINS, L. C., Dragon and Alligator: Ancient Inscribed Bone Carvings, 545-52.
- A Chinese Pedigree on a Tablet-disk, 905-10.
- HULTZSCH, E., Tamil Inscription in Siam, 337-9.
- Singhalese Chronology, 517-31.
- Aśoka's Fourth Rock Edict and his Minor Rock Edicts, 652-3.
- New Readings in Aśoka's Rock Edicts, 653-5.
- HUSAYN Baikara, coinage of, 432-4, 1048.
- HUVISHKA, absence of letter *h* from coins of, 917-20.
- I
- 'Ibra, Abbasid estimate of revenue, 832.
- Inscribed (Chinese) bone carvings, 545-52.
- Inscription on a painting at Tarishlak, 400-1.
- Inscriptions: Ara, 97-107; Zeda, 99; Mānikiala, 99, 105; Tamil, in Siam, 337-9; Polonnaruva, 518; Galpota of Niśsaṅkamalla, 518; Mañimaṅgalam of Parakēsarivarman 519, of Rājakēsarivarman 520; Tamil, from Takopa, 689-90.
- IVENGAR, P. T. S., Āndhradrāviḍa-bhāṣā, 387.
- J
- Java, Buddhist refugees from, 1; Mahāyāna Buddhism in, 3.
- Javanese, Mahābhārata in mediaeval, 1-22; Pararaton in, 4; Nāgarakṛtāgama in, 4.
- Jayānaka possible author of Prithvirāja Vijaya, 261.
- Jewish coinage, its script, 613; reason of discarding square character, 615-17.
- Jewish knowledge of the Samaritan alphabet in the Middle Ages, 613-26.
- Jigdalik, find-place of Tokharian fragment, 109.
- JOLLY, J., Imprecations in Indian Land Grants, 674-7.
- K
- Kalaun, mosque of Sultan, 33.
- Kammavācā fragment from Tunhuang, 846-7.
- Kaṇamōkṣa, a query, 144, 682.
- Kanishka, the question of, 95-107; coinage and the silk trade, 95; should be dated 58 B.C., 96 et seq.; and Professor Lüders' theory, 97-105; his Greek, 121-4; sidelights on, 369-78; a Buddhist, 370; and Āsvaghosha, 371, 646; coins of, 371, 644, 912, 968; date of, 627-50, 911-1042; his knowledge of Greek, 638, 922, 1013; cursive form of his Greek alphabet, 641; fresh light on, 664-9; borrowed Greek alphabet, 667; traditional date, 914-16; his council, 1003.
- Kanishka II, 1059.
- Kashf al-Mahjūb, first Persian Šūfi manual, 56.
- Kasiā, Buddha's death-place, 151-3.
- Kassapa V of Ceylon, 525-6.
- Kedah, 168.
- KEITH, A. B., The Vṛātyas, 155-60.
- Authenticity of the R̥tusamhāra, 410-12.
- The Birth of Purūravas, 412-17.
- Alcmānic Figure, 677-81.

- KENNEDY, J., Kanishka's Greek, 121-4.
 — Heraus *δ τύραννος*, 124-7.
 — A Passage in the *Periplus*, 127-30.
 — Sidelights on Kanishka, 369-78.
 — The Nameless King, 661-4.
 — Fresh Light on Kanishka, 664-9.
 — Date of Kanishka, 920-39.
 — The Later Kushans, 1054-64.
 Kharaosta and letter *h*, 642, 919, 940, 1013.
 Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, cursive in Kanishka group, 633, 953, 1036.
 Kien-pi, 167.
 Kitāb al-Luma, 341.
 Kitāb al-Luma, oldest Arabic Sūfi treatise, 56.
 Kozoulo Kadphises, date, 121; conquest of Kabul, A.D. 60, 121.
 KRENKOW, F., Al-Qūḥaif al-'Uqailī, 341-68.
 Kṛṣṇa, the origin of the cult, 145-51.
 Kujula Kadphises masters Kabul, 629.
 Kushan kingdom in India before A.D. 50, 95.
 Kushans, the Later, 1054-64.
 Kushans, twice conquer Panjāb, 666; coins of, 912, 928-36, 954, 1012.

L

- LABBERTON, D. VAN HINLOOPEN, Mahābhārata in Mediaeval Javanese, 1-22.
 Land grants, imprecations in Indian, 674-7; Vyāsa supposed compiler of verses, 674; law-books possible sources of verses on, 677.
 Laṅkāpura, Singhalese general, 518.
 LEGGE, F., Western Manichæism and the Turfan Discoveries, 69-94, 696-8.
 Lēngkasuka, 166.

- LÉVI, S., Tokharian Prātimokṣa Fragment, communicated by Dr. Hoernle, 109-20.
 Ling-ya-mön possibly Singapore Straits, 165.
 Lüders (Professor), his theories as to Kanishka treated, 97-105.

M

- MACDONALD, D. B., Further Notes on "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves", 41-53.
 — Missing MS. of the Arabian Nights, 432.
 MACNICOL, N., The Origin of the Kṛṣṇa Cult, 145-51.
 Mādhavarman, land grant by, 388.
 Mahābhārata in mediaeval Javanese, 1-22; compared with Bombay edition, 8-9.
 Mahinda V of Ceylon, 522-3; lived twelve years in Chōla country, 523.
 Mallinātha and Kālidāsa's poems, 403.
 Māṇavamma of Ceylon, 527-9.
 Manichæism, persecutions, 70-3; progress of, 71; dual doctrine of, 73; a literary faith, 77; destruction of writings, 77; MSS. found in Turfan, 79; Khuastuanift, or litany, 80; Chinese treatise, 81; a secret society, 82-6; possessed a Trinity, 87; a danger to the State, 87-8; importance of its study, 92.
 Manichæism and the Pistis Sophia, 90; and the Bruce Papyrus, 90.
 Manichæism and the Turfan discoveries, 69-94, 434-6, 694-8.
 Marafik = bribes, accounted for by a diwan, 834.
 MARGOLIOUTH, D. S., Sūfi Lives, 169.
 Mārkaṇḍēya on Apabhraṁśa, 875-83.
 Mārkaṇḍēya quotes Brhatkathā, 391.

- Mārwārī postpositions, origin of dative and genitive, 553-67.
 Maṣāliḥ, 833.
 Mauēs and Moga, 1000.
 Medal (Public Schools') presentation, 763-73.
 Meor Enayim, 622.
 Ming-ti, Chinese emperor, 369.
 Miran, Stein fragments from, 850-55.
 Miṣr = Fustāt, 308.
 Mu'amara, term in Abbasid administration, 835.
 al-Muhair and his rebellion, 343.
 Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn, Servian embassy to, 1047.
 Mu'izz al-Daula, 823-8.
 Murtaja'a, Abbasid grants of land, 832.
 Muziris or Cranganore, 130.
 Mystical alphabets, 620-1.
 Mysticism, goal of Muḥammadan, 55-68.
- N
- Nāgarakṛtāgama in Javanese, 4.
 Nameless King, 121, 129, 658-64.
 NARASIMHACHAR, R., Verses relating to Gifts of Land, 388-9.
 — Old Sanskrit Version of the Brhatkathā, 389-90.
 Nelynda, 131.
 NICHOLSON, R. A., The Goal of Muḥammadan Mysticism, 55-68.
 Nigm ed Din, mosque of, 34.
 Nile, tributaries of, 306 et seq.
 NOBEL, J., The Authenticity of the R̥tusamhāra, 401-9.
- NOTICES OF BOOKS—
 Arabic Literature, 214.
 Arabic MSS., Catalogue of, in the British Museum, 1068.
 Basu, N. N., Baṅger Jātiya-Itihās, 477.
 Bell, H. T., & W. E. Crum, Aphrodito Papyri, 437.
 Bergsträsser, G., Hunain Ibn Ishāk und seine Schule, 736.
 Blackman, A. M., Temple of Dendūr, 726.
 Blochet, E., Histoire des Mongols, 495.
 Blumhardt, J. F., Supplementary Catalogue of Hindī Books in British Museum, 1084.
 Brandstetter, R., Monographien zur Indonesischen Sprachforschung, 211, 721.
 Budd, C., Chinese Poems, 225.
 Burgess, J., Chronology of Modern India, 468.
 — & Phené Spiers, Fergusson's Indian and Eastern Architecture, 470.
 Burma Research Society Journal, 209.
 Burney Papers, 722.
 Caetani, L., Chronographia Islamica, 1067.
 Chen Huan-Chang, Economic Principles of Confucius and his School, 458.
 Clay, A. T., Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur, 230; Documents from Temple Archives of Nippur, 233; Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, Part I, 488.
 Coomaraswamy, A. K., Indian Drawings, 491.
 Cummings, Rev. T. F., & Rev. T. Grahame Bailey, Panjābī Manual and Grammar, 711.
 Davids, Mrs. Rhys, Buddhism, 201.
 Elwin, E. F., India and the Indians, 1093.
 Forke, A., Lun-Hêng, Part II, 454.
 Frazer, R. W., The Southern Dravidians, 173.
 Gärtner, E., Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit, 1069.
 Genähr, I. G., Chinese-English Dictionary (Cantonese), 223.

- Gollancz, H., *Book of Protection*, 452.
- Graham, W. A., *Siam*, 464.
- Haas, G., *The Daśarūpa*, 190.
- Hirschfeld, H., *Sketch of Hebrew Grammar*, 731.
- Hoernle, A. F. R., *The Bower MS.*, 699.
- Horowitz, E. P., *Indian Theatre*, 705.
- Hultzsch, E., *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, 176.
- Iyengar, P. T. S., *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, 706.
- Juynboll, H. H., *Leiden University, Catalogues of MSS.*, 213.
- Lajonquière, E. L. de, *Monuments du Cambodge*, 465.
- Laufer, B., *Jade*, 220.
- Lee, E., *History of Japan*, 227.
- Legrain, L., *Les Temps des Rois d'Ur*, 1072.
- Lüders, H., *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, 192.
- Martin, W. A. P., *Chinese Legends and Lyrics*, 226.
- Milne, W. S., *Practical Bengali Grammar*, 714.
- Mitchell, C. W., *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, 729.
- Myhrman, D. W., *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers*, 228.
- Neumann, K. E., *Die letzten Tage Gotamo Buddhos*, 1087.
- Nicholson, R. A., *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*, 447.
- Oldenberg, H., *Rgveda*, VII-X, 197.
- Pargiter, F. E., *Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1076.
- Porter, W. N., *The Tosa Diary*, 228.
- Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indie op Java en Madoera, 1909-11, 463.
- Rawlinson, H. G., *Bactria*, 733.
- Rickmers, W. R., *Duab of Turkestan*, 483.
- Sarkar, J., *History of Aurangzib*, 1092; *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, 1092.
- Scheltema, G. F., *Monumental Java*, 717.
- Strauss, O., *Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahābhārata*, 194.
- Sumerian Tablets of the Harvard Semitic Museum, 1074.
- Thureau-Dangin, F., *Une Relation de la huitième Campagne de Sargon*, 1071.
- Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 186.
- Wickremasinghe, D. M. de Z., *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Pt. VI, 474.
- Wieger, L., *Taoïsme*, 457.
- Winternitz, M., *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 479.
- Numeral Systems of the Tibeto-Burman Dialects, 313-36, 1064.

O

OBITUARY NOTICES—

- Douglas, Sir R. K., 1095.
- Eating, Julius, 505-10.
- McCrindle, J., 1100.
- Norman, H. C., 1101.
- Thornton, T. H., 739-42.
- West, Sir R., 245-50.
- Omitted hundreds, 633, 980-4.
- Ommayade Caliphate, poets of, 341 et seq.

P

- Palembang, 165.
- Pāṇḍyan jewels deposited in Ceylon, 522.
- Pararaton in Javanese, 4.
- PARGITER, F. E., *Copper-plate at Kasiā and Buddha's Death-place*, 151-3.
- *Viṣākapi and Hanumant*, 396-400.

- PARGITER, F. E., Inscription on a Painting at Tarishlak, 400-1.
 — Viśvāmītra and Vasiṣṭha, 885-904.
 Parthian era, 986-94.
Periplus, a passage in the, 127-30, 420; proposed identification of two South-Indian place-names, 130-3.
 PINCHES, T. G., Sargon's Eighth Campaign, 581-612.
 Planets, Purāṇic order of, 384-5.
 Poḷonnaruva inscription, 518.
 Porakāḍ, the ancient Bacarē, 131; Portuguese and Dutch settlement, 131.
 Postpositions in Gujarātī and Mārvarī, origin of dative and genitive, 553-67.
 POUSSIN, L. DE LA V., *Buddhacarita*, i, 30, 417-19.
 — La Collection Stein: Documents Sanscrits, 569-80.
 — Nouveaux Fragments, 843-55.
 Prakrit palatals, pronunciation of, 391-6.
 Prithvirāja Vijaya, 259-81; author of, 261.
 Public Schools' Medal presentation, 763-73.
 Purāṇic order of the planets, 384-5.
 Pūru dynasty in Javanese Mahābhārata, 7.
 Purūravas, birth of, 412-17.
- Q
- Queen of Sheba, 684-6, 1048.
 al-Quhaifal-'Uqailī, 341-68; genealogy, 342; poet of women, 341-2, 348 et seq.; political poet, 343 et seq.
- R
- Rāgavibōdha, work on Hindū music, 153.
 RAJA, K. R. V., Kaṇamōkṣa, 682.
 Rājendra-chōla I, inscriptions of, 522-3.
 Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasi Dāsa: is it a translation, 133-41.
 RAPSON, E. J., Date of Kanishka, 911-13.
 Response of the Geonim, 618-22.
 RICHMOND, E., The Significance of Cairo, 23-40.
 Roman characters for Oriental languages, 423-6, 686-9.
 Ross, E. D., Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, 434-6.
 Rṭusamhāra, authenticity of, 401-12.
 Rudra-Śiva cult, 155-60.
- S
- Sāhasamalla, coronation of, 518; earliest certain Singhalese date, 518; genealogy of, 518.
 Śaka era, 635.
 Śakuntalā in Javanese version, 10-17.
 Samaritan alphabet, Jewish knowledge of, 613-26; used on Jewish coins, 614; became mystical alphabet, 620.
 Samaritans visited by Jewish pilgrims, 613.
 Saṃgītaratnākara, work on Hindū music, 153.
 Saṃyuktakāgama fragments from Khadalik, 569.
 Saradūs, 308 et seq.
 SARDA, HAR BILAS, Prithvirāja Vijaya, 259-81.
 Sargon leaves Calah on eighth campaign, 582; exacts tribute from Ullusunū, 584; from Bēl-ābla-iddina, 584; passes through Parsuaš, 584; arrives at Missu, 584; reaches Zirdiakka, 585; arrives at fortress of Panziš, 585; enters Aukanē, 585; invades Uišdiš, 586; makes mention of Sin-aha-ušur, 587; defeats Araratians, 587-8; captures Uišdiš, 588; burns down Aniaštania, 589; operates against

- Ulhu, 590; destroys Armarili, 592; king of Na'iri submits, 593; returnshome, 594; captures Mušasir, 596.
 Sargon's eighth campaign, 581-612.
 Śārngadeva, author of Saṃgita-ratnākara, 153.
 Śāsanādihikāra, 675.
 Satyavrata Triśaṅkra, story of, 888-904; treatment by Vasiṣṭha, 893-901; supports family of Viśvāmitra, 898; favoured by Viśvāmitra, 899.
 SAYCE, A. H., Hittite Language of Boghaz Keui, 1043-7.
 SCHOFF, W. H., Identification of two South-Indian Place-names in the *Periplus*, 130-3.
 Seleucidan era, 984-6.
 Servian embassy to Egypt in the fourteenth century, 1047.
 Sha'ar Harazim, MS. of mystical prayers, etc., 621.
 Shāhbazgarhi and Mansehra phonetics, 682-3.
 SHAMASASTRY, R., The Aṅgula of Six Yavas, 153-5.
 Shaṭnūf, 309 et seq.
 Sheba, Queen of, 684-6, 1048.
 Shekel, the legend of the, 622.
 Siam, Tamil inscription in, 337-9.
 Significance of Cairo, 23-40.
 Śikṣās, fragment from Tunhuang, 843-6.
 Silk trade and the coinage of Kanishka, 95.
 Silk trade with India, 643, 913, 1018.
 Singhalese chronology, 517-31.
 SMITH, V. A., Date of Kanishka, 939-42.
 Smṛticandrikā, texts assigned to Vyāsa, 675.
 Smṛtis, known to writers of, land grants, 676.
 Sohag monasteries of Upper Egypt, 29.
 Somdeo, Āhom idol, 285; altar of, found, 285.
 Soter Megas, the Nameless King, coins of, 658-64.
 Special meeting, 236.
 Stein Collection, documents, 569-85, 843-55.
 Stress and pitch in Indian languages, 867-74.
 Šūfi lives, 169.
 Šūfi metaphorical terms, 55-68.
 Sumerian and Georgian: study in comparative philology, 785-821.
- T
- Tagore (Rabindranath), notes on Bengali grammar, 533-44.
 Tajārib al-Umam, account of Abbasid administration from the, 823-42.
 Tākki, Prakrit dialect, 882-3.
 Takopa Tamil inscription, 689-90.
 Taksit, Abbasid imports, 833.
 Tamil inscription in Siam, 337-9, 689-90; from Takopa, 337, 689-90.
 Tarishlak, inscription on a painting at, 400-1.
 TAWNEY, C. H., Queen of Sheba, 1048.
 Tērūndavāṣagam, Tamil work, 529.
 TESSITORI, L. P., Origin of Dative and Genitive Postpositions in Gujarāṭi and Mārwarī, 553-67.
 Theodore Bar-Khoni, 434-6, 696-8.
 THOMAS, F. W., Angkor-Vat, 419.
 — A Passage in the *Periplus*, 420.
 — Date of Kanishka, 627-50, 1011-1042.
 Tibeto-Burman dialects, numeral systems, 313-36, 1064.
 Ti-ma-sa, 690-4.
 Tokharian Prātimokṣa fragment, 109-20.
 TSERETHELI, M., Sumerian and Georgian, 783-821.
 Tunhuang, Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at, 434-6; Stein fragments from, 843-55.

Turfan discoveries and Western Manichæism, 69-94.

TURNER, R. L., Language of the Dvāvimśatyavadānakāthā, 289-304.

U

Uraiyūr, the Argarou of the *Periplus*, 132-3.

Urzana, seal of, 602; mention of, on inscriptions, 602-4.

V

Vaijayanti, 676.

Varkallai, the Balita of the *Periplus*, 132.

Vasiṣṭha, his treatment of Satyāvratā, 893-901; and Viśvāmitra, 885-904; collapse of power, 899-901.

Vikrama, era of, B.C. 58, 994-1000.

Viṇā sticks, the form of, 155.

Vishnu-Purāṇa and the planets, 1066.

Viśvāmitra, of the house of Kānyakubja, 886; assumed brahmanhood, 887; and Vasiṣṭha, 885-904; offers boon to Satyāvratā, 899.

VOGEL, J. PH., Borobudur restored, 421-2.

Vrātyas, 155-60; founders of Rudra-Siva cult, 155-60.

Vrātyastoma, 155.

Vṛṣākapi and Hanumant, 396-400.

Vyāsa, texts assigned to, in the *Smṛticandrikā*, 675.

W

WADDELL, L. A., Date of Kaniska, 945-52.

Wardak vase, the phonetics of the, 141-4.

Wema Kadphises, conquers India, 121, 129, 630; a Siva worshipper, 370; names and order of his successors, 630; and Nameless King, coins of, 658-64; re-establishes Kushan rule in N.W. India, 665; and Kharoṣṭhī, 936, 1017; coins of, 956.

WHITEHEAD, R. B., Two Coins of Soter Megas, the Nameless King, 658-61.

Y

Yavas, the Aṅgula of six, 153-5.

Yazīd b. at-Tathriyya, poet, 341.

Yin-mo-fu, viceroy of Kaniska, 647.

Ying, king of Tch'ou, a Buddhist, 369.

Yue-chi missionary activity in China, 370.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOUNDED MARCH, 1823

CORRECTED TO JANUARY 20, 1913

22 ALBEMARLE STREET
LONDON

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

PATRON

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING.

VICE-PATRON

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

1911 SIR ROBERT DOUGLAS.

1910 T. H. THORNTON, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1912-13

PRESIDENT

1911 THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD REAY, K.T., P.C., G.C.S.I., LL.D.

DIRECTOR

1911 THE RIGHT HON. SIR H. MORTIMER DURAND, P.C.,
G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1911 THE RIGHT HON. SYED AMEER ALI, P.C., C.I.E., LL.D.

1912 M. GASTER, Ph.D.

1912 A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, Esq., C.I.E., Ph.D.

1911 SIR CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.

HONORARY OFFICERS

1912 CODRINGTON, O., Esq., M.D., F.S.A. (*Librarian*).

1912 FLEET, J. F., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. ret. (*Secretary*).

1912 KENNEDY, J., Esq., I.C.S. ret. (*Treasurer*).

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

1912 AMEDROZ, H. F., Esq.

1910 BARNETT, PROFESSOR L. D., Litt.D.

1910 BLAGDEN, C. OTTO, Esq.

1910 ELLIS, A. G., Esq.

1912 GRIERSON, SIR GEORGE A., K.C.I.E.

1909 GUEST, A. RHUVON, Esq.

1912 HOPKINS, LIONEL C., Esq., I.S.O.

1912 KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.

1912 LEGGE, F., Esq., F.S.A.

1909 MACDONELL, PROFESSOR A. A.

1910 MARGOLIOUTH, PROFESSOR D. S.

1912 PARGITER, F. E., Esq., I.C.S. ret.

1912 PLUNKETT, LIEUT.-COLONEL G. T., C.B., R.E. ret.

1911 SATOW, THE RIGHT HON. SIR ERNEST, G.C.M.G.

1911 SCOTT, SIR J. GEORGE, K.C.I.E.

1909 SEWELL, R., Esq., I.C.S. ret.

SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN

1905 MISS HUGHES.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN

1905 H. A. GOOD.

HONORARY SOLICITOR

ALEXANDER HAYMAN WILSON, Esq.,
Westminster Chambers, 5 Victoria Street, S.W.

COMMITTEES

FINANCE

SIR C. J. LYALL.
DR. M. GASTER.
A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, Esq.

LIBRARY

DR. M. GASTER.
T. H. THORNTON, Esq.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

PROF. MACDONELL.
DR. M. GASTER.
A. G. ELLIS, Esq.

INDIAN TEXTS SERIES

SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON.
R. W. FRAZER, Esq.

MEDAL

SIR ARTHUR WOLLASTON.
DR. M. GASTER.
T. H. THORNTON, Esq.
SIR MORTIMER DURAND.
SIR CHARLES LYALL.

HONORARY AUDITORS, 1912-13

WILSON CREWDSON, Esq. (for the Society).
A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, Esq. (for the Council).

*** The President of the Society and the Honorary Officers of the Society are ex-officio members of all Committees.*

Members

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT

N.B. The marks prefixed to the names signify—

* Non-resident Members.

† Members who have compounded for their subscriptions.

‡ Library Members.

§ Members who have served on the Council.

- 1902 HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING, K.G.
 1882 FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF
 CONNAUGHT, K.G.
- 1902 *ADERS, Dr. Walter Mansfield, 3 *Hall Road, N.W.*
 1890 ADLER, Elkan Nathan, M.A., 15 *Copthall Avenue, E.C.*
 1912 *AFZAL, Nawabzada Khwaja Muhammad, *Dacca,*
E.B. & A., India.
 1900 *AHMAD, Aziz-uddin, Khan Bahadur, *Revenue Member,*
State Council, Bharatpur, India.
 1909 *AHMAD, Maulavi Kamaluddin, Shams ul-Ulama, M.A.,
Provincial Educational Service, E. B. & A.; Super-
intendent, Government Madrasah, Chittagong, Eastern
Bengal, India.
 1910 *AHMAD, Maulavi Saiyid Makbul, *Fatehgarh, U.P.,*
India.
 1907 *AHMAD, Shah Moniruddin, *Barrister-at-Law, Mahalla-*
Chowhatta, Bankipur, Patna, India.
 10 1910 *AHMAD DIN KHAN, Khan Bahadur, *Attaché, British*
Consulate General, Meshed, via Askabad, Trans-
caspia, Russia.
 1912 *AINSCOUGH, T. M., *c/o J. M. Ainscough, Esq., Lindley*
Mount, Parbold, near Wigan.
 1902 AINSLIE, Douglas, *Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1903 *AIYANGAR, S. Krishnaswami, *Chamarajendrapet,*
Bangalore, India.

- 1908 *AIYANGAR, S. Kuppaswami, *Private Secretary to H.H. Kerala Varma, C.S.I., Dikshitar Street, Fort, Trivandrum, Travancore, South India.*
- 1906 *AIYAR, K. G. Sesha, *High Court Vakil, Trivandrum, Travancore, South India.*
- 1912 *AIYER, Kandadai Vaidinatha Subramanya, *Publication Assistant to the Epigraphist of Madras, Walsham, Ootacamund, Madras, India.*
- 1874 *†AKAMATZU RENJO, Rev., *Nishi Hongwanji, Kioto, Japan.*
- 1912 *ALEXANDER, John Stewart, I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1912 *ALEXANDER, Talib Masih, *Barrister-at-Law, Multan City, Panyab, India.*
- 20 1907 *ALI, A. F. M. Abdul, M.A., *Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Rangpur, India.*
- 1911 *ALI, M. Sakhawat, *Proprietor "An-Nasir", and Secretary Ice and Flour Mills, Lucknow, India.*
- 1907 *ALI, Mahomed Azhare, *Provincial Service, Khalilabad, Basti, U.P., India.*
- 1909 *ALI, Muhammad Asaf, *Barrister-at-Law, Kucha Chelan, Delhi, India.*
- 1908 *ALI, S. Raza, *Assistant Opium Agent, Basti, U.P., India.*
- 1909 *ALI, Saiyid Aijaz, *Deputy Collector, P.O. Nadbai, Bharatpur State, Rajputana, India.*
- 1911 *†ALI KHAN, Raja Naushad, *Tulukdar, Neill Road, Lucknow, India.*
- 1909 ALLAN, J., M.A., *British Museum, W.C.*
- 1904 *ALVAREZ, Justin C. W., *H.B.M. Consul-General, Tripoli of Barbary, via Malta.*
- 1901 §AMEDROZ, H. F., 48 York Terrace, N.W.
- 30 1904 *§AMEER ALI, The Right Hon. Syed, C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., *VICE-PRESIDENT, 2 Cadogan Place, S.W.*
- 1907 *ANDERSON, J. D., I.C.S. (ret.), *Mostyn House, Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge.*
- 1910 *ANTHONY, H. M., *Ministry of Finance, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1888 *ARNOLD, T. W., C.I.E., *Professor of Arabic, University College, London, 21 Cromwell Road, S.W.*

- 1912 *ARTIN PASHA, H.E. Yacoub, 3 *Sh Nubar Pacha, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1910 *AYRTON, E. R., *Archæological Surcey, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1909 *AYYANGAR, T. R. Srinivasa, 308 *Aiyavaiyar Lane, West Main Street, Tanjore, South India.*
- 1867 †BABBAGE, Major-General H. P., *Mayfield, Lansdowne Place, Cheltenham.*
- 1903 *BAILEY, Rev. T. Grahame, M.A., B.D., *Wazirābād, Panjab, India.*
- 1883 *†BALL, James Dyer, I.S.O., Hong-Kong C.S. (ret.), 23 *Lancaster Avenue, Hadley Wood, Middlesex.*
- 40 1910 *BANERJEA, Babu Rasbihari, *Santi Cootir, Bally, Bengal, India.*
- 1910 *BANERJI, Babu Rakhal Das, *Indian Museum, Calcutta, India.*
- 1912 *BARNARD, J. T. O., C.I.E., *Assistant Commissioner, Myit Kyina, Burma.*
- 1904 §BARNETT, Lionel D., Litt.D., *Professor of Sanskrit, University College; British Museum, W.C.*
- 1890 *†BARODA, His Highness Mahārāja Sayaji Rao Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Gaekwar of.
1888. HON. 1895. BARTH, Auguste, 10 *Rue Garancière, Paris, France.*
- HON. 1906 BASSET, René, *Professor of Arabic, Algiers.*
- 1912 *BASU, Hira Lal, *Professor of Anatomy, Medical College, 10 Creek Street, Calcutta, India.*
- 1881 *†BATE, Rev. J. Drew, 15 *St. John's Church Road, Folkestone.*
- 1912 *BATTERSBY, A. Walton, *Senior Canal Inspector, P.W.D., Thanapin, Pegu, Burma.*
- 50 1873 †BAYNES, A. H., *Fitzwalters, Northwood, Middlesex.*
- 1885 *BAYNES, Herbert, 19 *Albany Mansions, Albert Bridge Road, S.W.*
- 1907 *BEAZLEY, Professor C. Raymond, D.Litt., *The University, Edmund Street, Birmingham.*
- 1908 *BECHER, Robert Arnolds, *H.B.M.'s Consul, Goa; Marmugao, Goa, Portuguese India.*
- 1901 BELL, Miss Gertrude, 95 *Sloane Street, S.W.; Rounton Grange, Northallerton, Yorks.*

- 1911 *BELL, H. C. P., *Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon.*
- 1892 *BEVAN, A. A., M.A., *Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic, Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- 1893 §BEVERIDGE, H., *Pitfold, Shottermill, Surrey.*
- 1899 †BEVERIDGE, Mrs. H., *Pitfold, Shottermill, Surrey.*
- 1904 *BEVIR, Edward Laurence, 2 Rue Mésangère, *Avenue des Balives, Valence-sur-Rhône, France.*
- 60 1882 *†BHABHA, Rev. Shapurje D., M.D., 8 *Drakesell Road, St. Catherine's Park, S.E.*
- 1912 *BHANDARI, Ram Rakha Mal, *Ferozepore City, Panjab, India.*
- HON. 1885 BHANDARKAR, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal, K.C.I.E., L.L.D., *Sangamaśrama, Poona, Bombay, India.*
- 1912 *BHATNAGAR, Shambhu Dayal, *Inspector, People's Industrial Bank, Ltd., Fyzabad, Oudh, India.*
- 1909 *BHATTACHARYA, Babu Bisiswar, *Assistant Settlement Officer, Faridpore, Bengal, India.*
- 1912 *BHATTACHARYA, Babu Jyotischandra, M.A., *Vakil, High Court, Purnea, Behar, India.*
- 1911 *BHATTACHARYA, Sarat Chandra, M.A., *Principal, Hindu College, Delhi, India.*
- 1911 *BISHAGRATNA, Kaviraj K. L., 10 *Kashi Ghosh's Lane, Beadon Square, Calcutta, India.*
- 1911 *BLACKMAN, A. M., M.A., *St. Paul's Vicarage, Old Catton, Norwich.*
- 1895 §BLAGDEN, C. Otto, 35 *Emperor's Gate, S.W.*
- 70 1897 *§BLUMHARDT, Professor James Fuller, *Woodlands, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.*
- 1909 *BLUNT, E. A. H., I.C.S., *c/o Secretariat, Allahabad, U.P., India.*
- 1861 *BLUNT, Sir John E., K.C.M.G., C.B., *Union Club, Malta.*
- 1902 *†BOBBILI, Maharaja Dhiraja Sri Rao Sir Venketasvetasvetachalapati Ranga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., *Zamindar of, Vizagapatam, South India.*
- 1895 BODE, Mrs. M. Haynes, Ph.D., 13 *Stanford Road, Kensington, W.*
- 1909 *BOSE, N. N., 4 *Lansdowne Place, Russell Square, W.C.*
- 1903 *BOWEN, Rev. John, *St. Lawrence Rectory, Wolffs Castle, Pembrokeshire.*

- 1911 *BOYER, M. l'Abbé A. M., 56 *Rue des Saints Pères, Paris, VII^e, France.*
- 1898 *BRIGGS, Rev. W. A., M.D., *Chieng Rai, Laos, via Moulmein and Raheng, Burma.*
- 1900 *BRÖNNLE, Dr. P.
- 80 1907 *BROWN, R. Grant, I.C.S., *c/o The Postmaster, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1889*†§BROWNE, Edward Granville, M.A., F.B.A., *Pembroke College, Adams Professor of Arabic; Firwood, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.*
- 1907 *BRUNTON, Chisholm Dunbar, *Les Charmilles, Joug-les-Tours, Indre et Loire, France.*
- 1908 *BÜCHLER, Dr. A., *Jews' College, London; 27 College Crescent, S. Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1906 *†BURDWAN, Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab Bahadur of, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., *The Palace, Burdwan, Bengal, India.*
- 1866 *†BURGESS, James, C.I.E., LL.D., 22 *Seton Place, Edinburgh, N.B.*
- 1897 *BURN, The Hon. Mr. Richard, I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome & Co., Bombay, India.*
- 1908 *BUX, Hafiz Mahomed, *Member of Middle Temple; c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.*
- 1881 *†CAIN, Rev. John, *Dumagudam, S. India.*
- 1886 *†CAMA, Jehangir K. R., 12 *Malabar Hill, Bombay, India.*
- 90 1867 *†CAMA, K. R., *Mount House, Victoria Road, Mazagone, Bombay, India.*
- 1887 *†CAMPBELL, Rev. W., *Tainan, Formosa, Japan.*
- 1890 *CARPENTER, Rev. J. Estlin, D.Litt., 11 *Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.*
- 1900 *CARUS, Dr. Paul, *c/o Open Court Publishing Co., 623-633 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.*
- 1888 *CASARTELLI, The Right Rev. L. C., *Bishop of Salford, St. Bede's College, Manchester.*
- 1897 *CAVE, H. W., 5 *Sussex Square, Brighton.*
- 1911 *CHAKRAVARTI,*Babu Gopal Chandra, 72 *Russa Road, P.O., Bhowanipore, Calcutta, India.*

- 1899 *CHAKRAVARTI, Mon Mohun, 14 *Palmer's Bazar Road, North Entally Post Office, Calcutta, India.*
- 1877 *CHAMBERLAIN, Basil Hall, 2 *Rue de l'Athénée, Geneva, Switzerland.*
- 1895 *CHAND, Dewan Tek, *Sar Subah, Baroda, India.*
- 100 1909 *CHAND, Pandit Uday, M.A., *Settlement Officer, Riasi, Jammu and Kashmir State, India.*
- 1911 *CHANDRA, Ganes Chandra, M.A., *Professor of Botany, St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh, Bengal, India.*
- 1911 *CHATTERJEE, Aboni Chandra, *Deputy Magistrate, Rangpur, E. B. & A., India.*
- 1912 *CHATTERJEE, Babu Arun Chandra, *Medical Practitioner, Nabadwip, Nadia, Bengal, India.*
- 1911 *CHATTERJEE, Akhil Kumar, *Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Comilla, East Bengal, India.*
- 1913 *CHATTERJEE, Basanta Kumar, *Head Master, H. F. School, Thakurgaon, Dinajpur; Mollarpur, E.I.R. Loop Line, Bengal, India.*
- 1912 *CHAUDHURI, Babu Surendra Narayan, *Technical School, Rajshahi, Bengal, India.*
- 1908 *CHO, Maung Ba, *Pleader, Toungoo, Burma.*
- 1911 *CHOWDHURI, Birbhadra Chandra, 46 *Balaram Bose's Lane, Bhowanipore, Calcutta, India.*
- 1910 *CHOWDHURY, M. Roy, Rai Bahadur, *Zemindar and Hon. Magistrate, P.O., Shyampur, Rungpur District, Bengal, India.*
- 110 1885 *CHURCHILL, Sidney, *H.B.M. Consul-General, Naples, Italy.*
- 1912 *CLAUSON, Gerard L. M., *Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
- 1904 *CLEMENTI, C., *Hong-Kong, China.*
- 1911 *CLIFTON, Rev. Edward James, 52 *Lyndhurst Drive, Leyton.*
- 1899 *CLOUGH, Mrs. E. Rauschenbusch, 759 *East Avenue, Rochester, New York, U.S.A.*
- 1900 *COCHIN, H.H. Raja Sir Rama Varma, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., *Cochin, South India.*
- 1907 *COCHRAN, Alexander Smith, *Yonkers, New York, U.S.A.*
- 1910 *COCHRANE, Rev. Wilbur Willis, *Missionary, Hsipaw, Northern Shan States, Burma.*

- 1910 *†CODRINGTON, Humphrey W., *Ceylon Civil Service, c/o The Hon. the Colonial Secretary, Colombo.*
- 1877 §CODRINGTON, Oliver, M.D., F.S.A., Hon. Librarian, 12 Victoria Road, Clapham, S.W.
- 120 1909 *COHEN, Samuel J., 11 Peter Street, Manchester.
- 1908 COLDSTREAM, W., I.C.S. (ret.), 69 West Cromwell Road, S.W.
- 1912 *COLLINS, Godfrey F. S., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54 Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.
- 1905 *COLSTON, E., I.C.S., The Secretariat, Rangoon, Burma.
- 1910 *CONYBEARE, Frederick Cornwallis, M.A., University College, Oxford.
- 1901 *§COOK, Stanley A., 26 Lensfield Road, Cambridge.
- 1906 *†COOMARASWAMY, Ananda K., D.Sc., F.G.S., F.L.S., 39 Brookfield, West Hill, Highgate, N.
- HON. 1893 CORDIER, Prof. Henri, 8 Rue de Siam, Paris, XVI^e, France.
- 1888 COUSENS, Henry, Late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 17 Bushey Park Gardens, Hampton Road, Teddington, Middlesex.
- 1879 *CRAIG, W., Brisbane, Queensland, Australia.
- 130 1912 *CRESWELL, K. A. C., 12 Regent's Park Road, N.W.
- 1905 *CREWDSON, Wilson, J.P., F.S.A., Order of the Rising Sun, Chairman Japan Society of London, Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.
- 1909 CURZON OF KEDLESTON, The Right Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants.
- 1908 *DAICHES, Dr. Samuel, Professor, Jews' College, London; 2 Summerfield Avenue, Kilburn, N.W.
- 1891 *†D'ALVIELLA, M. le Comte Goblet, Rue Faider 10, Brussels, Belgium.
- 1884 §DAMES, M. Longworth, I.C.S. (ret.), Cricshire, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.
- 1909 *DANDY, Rev. G., S.J., St. Mary's, Kurseong, India.
- 1899 *DAS, Babu Ram Saran, Rai Bahadur, M.A., Manager, Oudh Commercial Bank, Fyzabad, India.

- 1904 *DAVAR, M. B., M.A., Ph.D., 89 *Gilder Street, Grant Road, Bombay, India.*
- 1894 *†DAVIES, Rev. T. Witton, B.A., Ph.D., D.D., *Professor of Semitic Languages, University College of North Wales, Bryn Haul, Bangor, N. Wales.*
- 140 1910 *DAVIS, Lady, 20 *Basil Mansions, Knightsbridge, S.W.*
- 1912 *DÉ, Pulinkrishna, *Bar Library, Calcutta, India.*
- 1912 *DEANE, Jonathan David, F.Ph., *University Union, Edinburgh, N.B.*
- HON. 1908 DELITZSCH, Dr. Friedrich, *Professor of Oriental Philology, University of Berlin ; 135 Kurfürstendamm, Halensee, Berlin, Germany.*
- 1908 *DESIKA-CHARI, T., *High Court Fakil, Cantonment, Trichinopoly, Madras, South India.*
- 1896 *DEUSSEN, Professor P., 39 *Beseler-allee, Kiel, Germany.*
- 1912 *DEVA, Professor Rama, *The Gurukula, Mahavidyala, Kangri, P. O. Shampur, Dist. Bijnor, U.P., India.*
- 1904 *DEWHURST, Robert Paget, M.A., I.C.S., *Gonda, Oudh, U.P., India.*
- 1908 *DHANINIVAT, Mom Chow, *Sanghi Nok Road, Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1882 †§DICKINS, F. V., C.B., *Seend Lodge, Seend, Melksham, Wilts.*
- 150 1908 *†DIN, Malik Muhammad, *Irrigation Officer, Bahawalpur State, Panjab, India.*
- 1912 *DIN, Moulvi Muhammad, *Judge, Chief Court, Bahawalpur State, Panjab, India.*
- 1904 DOBRÉE, Alfred, 11 *Palace Street, Buckingham Gate, S.W.*
- 1894 *D'OLDENBURG, Serge, Ph.D., *Professor of Sanskrit, The University, St. Petersburg, Russia.*
- 1910 *DOMINGO, Alfred W., *Indian Finance Department, Ranchi Secretariat P.O., Bihar and Orissa, India.*
- 1874 *§DOUGLAS, Sir R. K., HON. VICE-PRESIDENT, *Emeritus Professor of Chinese, King's College, London ; Acton Turville, Chippenham.*
- 1910 *DRAKE-BROCKMAN, D. L., I.C.S., *Allahabad, U.P. ; c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Bombay, India.*
- 1896 *DUFF, Miss C. M. (Mrs. W. R. Rickmers), *Alpines Museum, Isarlust, Munich, Bavaria.*

- 1907 §DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer,
G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., DIRECTOR, 42 *Montagu*
Square, W.
- 1905 *EDWARDS, E., *Oriental Books and Manuscripts Department, British Museum, W.C.*
- 160 HON. 1907 EGGELING, Professor Julius, *The University, Edinburgh, N.B.*
- 1905 *ELIAS, Colonel Robert, *late 59th Regiment, Rendham Barnes, Saxmundham, Suffolk.*
- 1905 *ELIOT, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., *Chancellor, The University, Hong-Kong, China.*
- 1897 §ELLIS, Alexander George, *Assistant Librarian, India Office, S.W.*
- 1907 *ENTHOVEN, R. E., I.C.S., *Yacht Club, Bombay, India.*
- 1904 *ETTINGHAUSEN, Dr. Maurice L., *Possartsstrasse 2, Munich, Bavaria.*
- 1911 *FANOUS, L. A., *Assiout, Egypt.*
- 1902 FANSHAWE, Herbert Charles, C.S.I., 72 *Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W.*
- 1881 *†FARGUES, J., 81 *Rue de Paris, Montmorency, Seine et Oise, France.*
- 1880 *†FARIDUNJI JAMSHEDJI, C.S.I., C.I.E., *Political Secretary to H.H. the Nizam of Haidarabad, Dekkan, India.*
- 170 1909 *FAZLUL-KARIM, Muhammad, *Subdivisional Magistrate, Patuakhali, Bakarganj, Eastern Bengal, India.*
- 1877 *†FERGUSON, A. M., *Frognaal House, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1901 *FERGUSON, J. C., I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1907 *FERRAR, Captain M. L., *Lyallpur, Panjab, India.*
- 1887 FINN, Mrs., *The Elms, Brook Green, W.*
- 1893 *FINOT, Louis, *Directeur adjoint à l'école des Hautes Études, 11 Rue Poussin, Paris, XVI^e, France.*
- 1877 §FLEET, J. F., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (ret.), HON. SECRETARY, 8 *Leopold Road, Ealing, W.*
- 1912 *FOLBY, Miss Mary C., 51 *Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, Chelsea, S.W.*

- 1909 FOSTER, William, C.I.E., *Registrar and Superintendent of Records, India Office, S.W.*
- 1910 *†FRAMURZ JUNG, Nawab Bahadur, *Revenue Commissioner, H.H. the Nizam's Service, Haidarabad, Deccan, India.*
- 180 1907 *FRASER, Charles I., *2 Foremount Terrace, Dowanhill, Glasgow.*
- 1907 FRASER, Lovat George, *The White House, Slough.*
- 1886 §FRAZER, R. W., LL.B., I.C.S.(ret.), *28 Harvard Court, West Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1909 *FRIEND-PEREIRA, J. E., *Extra Assistant Commissioner and Subdivisional Magistrate, Goalpara, Assam, India.*
- 1912 FULTON, Alexander Strathern, *45 Denning Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1899 *GAIT, Edmund Albert, C.S.I., C.I.E., *Census Commissioner for India, Simla, India.*
- 1912 *GANGULY, Babu Manomohan, *District Engineer, 50 Raja Rajbullub's Street, Calcutta, India.*
- 1910 *GANGULY, Rai Bahadur Priya Lal, *Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Barisal, East Bengal, India.*
- 1881 *GARDNER, Christopher T., *H.B.M. Consul, Amoy, China.*
- 1890 §GASTER, M., Ph.D., *Vice-President, 193 Maida Vale, W.*
- 190 1865 †GAYNER, C., M.D.
- 1912 *GEDEN, Rev. A. S., *Wesleyan College, Richmond, Surrey.*
- 1906 *†GEIL, William Edgar, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., *Doylestown, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*
- 1895 *GERINI, Colonel G. E., *Albenga, Cisano sul Nera, Italy.*
- 1908 *GHOSH, Wopendranath, *Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Cuttack, Orissa, Bengal, India.*
- 1893 *†GIBSON, Mrs. J. Young, LL.D., *Castlebrae, Cambridge.*
- 1910 GILLESPIE, J., *The Homestead, Elsworth Road, South Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1912 *GIPPERICH, H., *30 Taku Road, Tientsin, China (via Siberia).*

- HON. 1893 GOLDZIEHER, Professor Ignaz, vii *Holló-utza 4, Budapest, Hungary.*
- 1900 *GONDAL, H.H. the Thakur Sahib, G.C.I.E., *Gondal, Kathiawar, India.*
- 200 1884 *GORPARSHAD, Thakur, *Talukdar of Baiswar, Aligarh, India.*
- 1912 *GOUGH, Rev. Percival, M.A., *Heptonstall Vicarage, Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire.*
- 1909 *GOVINDACHARYA, Śrīmān Alkondavilli, Svāmi, 1050 *Viceroy Road, "Veda Griham," Mysore, India.*
- 1910 *GRAHAM, W. A., *Adviser to the Ministry of Agriculture, Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1893 *GREENUP, Rev. Albert W., D.D., *The Principal's Lodge, St. John's Hall, Highbury, N.*
- 1884 §GRIERSON, Sir George A., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (ret.), *Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.*
- HON. 1890 GUBERNATIS, Conte Comm. Angelo De, 11 *Via San Martino, Rome, Italy.*
- 1897 §GUEST, A. Rhuvon, 14 *Bedford Square, W.C.*
- HON. 1898 GUIDI, Professor Ignace, 24 *Botteghe Oscure, Rome, Italy.*
- 1910 *GUNAWARDHANA, W. F., *Department of Public Instruction, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 210 1912 *GUPTA, Babu Jogendra Nath, *Vill. Mulchar. P.O. Mulchar, Dist. Dacca, Bengal, India.*
- 1901 *GUPTA, Rājani Kanta Das, *Assistant Surgeon, General Hospital, Chittagong, Eastern Bengal, India.*
- 1912 *GUPTA, Suresh Chandra, M.A., *Superintendent of Post Offices, G.P. O., Calcutta, India.*
- 1894 *GURDON, Lieut.-Colonel Philip R. T., C.S.I., I.S.C., *Commissioner Assam Valley District, Gauhati, Assam, India.*
- 1910 *GYI, Maung Maung, *Resident Excise Officer, Tapun, Burma.*
- 1883 *HAGGARD, Sir W. H. D., K.C.B., *H.B.M. Minister Resident and Consul-General to the Republic of the Equator.*
- 1902 *HAGOPIAN, Professor G., 25 *Chesilton Road, Fulham, S. W.*

- 1910 *HAIG, Rev. J. S., 12 *Warrender Park Terrace, Edinburgh.*
- 1911 HAIG, Kerest, *National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
- 1898 *HAIG, Lieut.-Col. T. Wolseley, C.S.I., I.S.C., *H.B.M.'s Consulate, Kerman, Persia.*
- 220 1909 *HALLIDAY, Robert, *Christian Mission, Phrapaton, Siam.*
- 1904 *HANSON, Rev. O., *Kachin Mission, Namkham, via Bhamo, Upper Burma.*
- 1906 *HARCOURT, Henry, I.C.S., *Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot, Panjab, India.*
- 1902 HARDCASTLE, Miss A. L. B., *Waterloo Hotel, Wellington College, Berks.*
- 1912 *HARDING, Newton Henry, F.S.A. (Scot.), 110 *North Pine Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.*
- 1910 *HARLEY, A. H., M.A., *Principal, Madrasah College, Calcutta, India.*
- 1907 *HASAN, Khan Bahadur Sayid Aulad, *Inspector of Registration, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Dacca, Eastern Bengal, India.*
- *†HEMING, Lieut.-Col. Dempster.
- 1907 HERRINGHAM, Mrs., 40 *Wimpole Street, W.*
- 1911 *HERTEL, Professor Johannes, *Leisnigerstrasse 24, Grossbauchlitz bei Döbeln, Saxony.*
- 230 1900 HERTZ, Miss H., 20 *Avenue Road, N.W.*
- 1908 *HIBATULLAH AZIMABADI, M., *Lower Bazar, Ranchi, Bengal, India.*
- 1912 *HILDITCH, John, *Beech Villa, Warwick Road, Chorlton cum Hardy, Manchester.*
- 1901 *HILL, Rev. J. R., *S.P.G. Mission, Banda, U.P., India.*
- 1911 *HILLAS, Harry G., *c/o Ministry of Finance, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1885 *†HIPPISELY, Alfred E., *late Commissioner of Chinese Customs, 8 Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.*
- 1891 *HIRSCHFELD, H., Ph.D., *Lecturer on Semitics at the Jewish College, Tavistock Square; 14 Randolph Gardens, Maidu Vale, W.*
- 1909 *HLA, Maung Po, A.T.M., *Extra Assistant Commissioner, Bassein, Burma.*

- 1907 *HOBART, R. C., I.C.S., *Acting Joint Magistrate, Rai Bareli, Oudh, U.P., India.*
- 1900 *§HOERNLE, Dr. A. F. Rudolf, C.I.E., *Vice-President, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford.*
- 240 1881 *§HORY, William, M.A., D.Litt., *Daneholme, 137 Banbury Road, Oxford.*
- 1906 *HOLM, Frits von, Ph.D., *c/o Danish Consulate, New York City, U.S.A.*
- 1865 *†HOLROYD, Colonel W. R. M., *c/o National Bank of Scotland, 37 Nicholas Lane, E.C.*
- 1911 *HOPKINS, E. Washburn, *Professor of Sanskrit, Yale University, 299 Lawrence Street, Newhaven, Conn., U.S.A.*
- 1889 §HOPKINS, Lionel Charles, I.S.O., *The Garth, Haslemere.*
- 1908 HORNELL, William Woodward, *Indian Educational Service, Carlton Lodge, 36 Larkhall Rise, S.W.*
- 1912 *HOSAIN, Moulvi Wahed, *Vakil, High Court, 9 Halsi Bagan Road, P.O. Simla, Calcutta, India.*
- 1892 *HOUGHTON, Bernard, *Commissioner, Irrawaddy District, Burma.*
- HON. 1902 HOUTSMA, Professor, *The University, Utrecht, Holland.*
- 1870 *HOUTUM-SCHINDLER, General Sir Albert, K.C.I.E., *Petersfield, Fenstanton, Hunts.*
- 250 1909 *HUMPHRIES, Edgar de Montfort, I.C.S., *United Provinces, India.*
- 1911 *HUQ, Wali ul, *Sub-Inspector of Schools, Daud Nagar, District Gaya, Bengal, India.*
- 1907 *HUSAIN, Qazi Talammuz, M.A., *Principal, Arabic College, Lucknow, India.*
- 1908 *†HYDE, James H., *11 East Fortieth Street, New York City, U.S.A.; 18 Rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France.*
- 1893 *INNES, John R., *Straits Civil Service, Singapore.*
- 1911 *IYER, N. P. Subramania, *Journalist, Tutor to the grandson of H.H. the late Raja of Tanjore, West Main Street, Tanjore, South India.*

- 1906 *JACKSON, A. V. Williams, LL.D., Litt. D., *Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages, Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.*
- 1901 *§JACOB, Colonel G. A., *Oakridge, Redhill, Surrey.*
- HON. 1912 JACOBI, Dr. Hermann, Geh. Regierungsrat, *Sanskrit Professor, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany.*
- 1878 *JARDINE, Sir John, K.C.I.E., M.P., *34 Lancaster Gate, W.*
- 260 1901 *JARDINE, W. E., C.I.E., *The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.*
- 1883 *†JAYAMOHUN, Thakur Singh, *Magistrate and Tahsildar of Seori Narayan, Bilaspur, Central Provinces, India.*
- 1906 *JAYASWAL, Kashi Prasad, *Barrister-at-Law, Bar Library, Calcutta, India.*
- 1911 *†JHALAWAR, H.H. the Maharaj Rana Sir Bhawani Singh, Sahib Bahadur, K.C.S.I. of, *Jhalrapatan, Rajputana, India.*
- 1910 *JHAVERI, Hirachand L., *Principal, Evening College of Commerce, 130 Kika Street, Post No. 4, Bombay, India.*
- 1900 *JINARAJADASA, C., *10 East Parade, Harrogate, Yorks.*
- 1882 *†JINAVARAVANSA, Rev. P. C., *Buddhist Bhikshu (formerly His Excellency Prince Prisdang), Dipaduttama Ārāma, Kotahena, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1909 *JOHNSTON, Edward Hamilton, *Terlings, Harlow.*
- 1904 *JOHNSTON, Reginald Fleming, *Secretary to Government, Wei-hai-wei, China.*
- HON. 1904 JOLLY, Professor Julius, *The University, Würzburg, Bavaria.*
- 270 1912 *JONES, Rev. B. Milton, *27 Creek Street, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1908 *JOPP, Charles Henry Keith, M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Reader in Marathi, 16 Linton Road, Oxford.*
- 1911 *JOWETT, Rev. Hardy, *Ping Kiang, Hunan, China.*
- 1907 *KANJIKA, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of, *Kanika, Orissa, Bengal, India.*
- HON. 1899 KARABACEK, K. u. K. Hofrat, Professor J. Ritter von, *Vienna, Austria.*

- 1900 *KARKARIA, R. P., *Tardeo, Bombay, India.*
- 1909 *KEITH, Alan Davidson, *Professor of English, Rangoon College, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1900 §KEITH, Arthur Berriedale, M.A., D.C.L., 107 *Albert Bridge Road, S.W.; Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.*
- 1891 §KENNEDY, James, I.C.S. (ret.), HON. TREASURER, *51 Palace Gardens Terrace, W.*
- 1895 *KENNEDY, Miss Louise, *Fairaere, Concord, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 280 1909 *KENNEDY, Pringle, M.A., *Muzaffarpur, Bengal, India.*
- 1890 *KERALA VARMA, His Highness, C.S.I., *Valiya Koil Tampuran, Tricandrum, Travancore State, Madras, India.*
- HON. 1878 KERN, Heinrich, *Professor of Sanskrit, Utrecht, Holland.*
- 1908 *KESTEVEN, C. H., *Bengal Club, Calcutta, India.*
- 1911 *KHAN, Mahomed Hasan, *Superintendent Financial Department, Government of India, Simla, India.*
- 1908 *KIN, Maung Ba, (2), *Provincial Civil Service, Pauk, Upper Burma.*
- 1909 *KINCAID, C. A., I.C.S., C.V.O., *Secretary to Government of Bombay, Political, Special, and Judicial Departments; c/o Messrs. Alex. Fletcher & Co., 39 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1884 *KING, Lucas White, C.S.I., LL.D., F.S.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani, Dublin University; Roebuck Hall, Co. Dublin, Ireland.*
- 1884 *KIRTS, Eustace John, *Eversleigh, Heene, West Worthing, Sussex.*
- 1908 *KLIPPEL, Ernest.
- 290 1894 KLUHT, Rev. A., *Thorshill, Hind Head, Haslemere.*
- 1904 *KOLASKER, Mangesh Bal, *Barrister, Jagannath Bungalow, Gurgaon, Bombay, India.*
- 1910 *KONG, T'ien Cheng, *World's Chinese Students Federation, E 562 Burkill Road, Shanghai, China.*
- 1906 *KRENKOW, Fritz, *20 Dulverton Road, Leicester.*
- 1911 *KROM, N. J., Ph.D., *Director of Archæology in Netherlands India, 14 Gang Trivelli, Batavia.*

- HON. 1909 KUHN, Geheimer Rat Professor Ernst, Ph.D.,
Hess-strasse 5, Munich, Bavaria.
- 1909 *KULANDAI SWAMI, R. P., *Head Master, St. Joseph's High School, Trivandrum, Travancore, South India.*
- 1912 *LABBERTON, Dr. D. van Hinloopen, *Lecturer in Javanese, Government College, Batavia, Buitenzorg, Java, Dutch Indies.*
- 1910 *LADDU, Pandit T. K., *Wilhelmstrasse 49II, Halle, Saale, Germany.*
- 1904 *LAL, Hira, *Extra Assistant Commissioner, and Assistant to Superintendent Imperial Gazetteer, Central Provinces, Jabalpur, C.P., India.*
- 300 1908 *LAL, Rai Brij Behari, *Provincial C.S., Munsif and Judge, Small Cause Court, Kairana, Muzaffernagar District, U.P., India.*
- 1904 *LAL, Raja Madho, C.S.I., *Chowkhumba, Benares, India.*
- 1910 *LAL, Shyam, M.A., LL.B., *Deputy Collector, P.C.S., Agra, U.P., India.*
- 1902 *LANDBERG, Count C., *Rue du Congrès 6, Nice, Italy.*
1880. HON. 1902. LANMAN, Charles R., *Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard University, 9 Farrar Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 1884 *|LANSDELL, Rev. H. H., D.D., *Dimsdale, 4 Pond Road, Blackheath Park, S.E.*
- 1911 *LAUFER, Dr. Berthold, *Field Museum, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.*
- 1874 LAWRENCE, F. W., *Hillcote, Lansdown, Bath.*
- 1901 *LEADBEATER, C. W., *c/o The Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras, India.*
- 1900 §LEE-WARNER, Sir W., G.C.S.I., *Glencairn, Bickley, Kent.*
- 310 1907 LEECHMAN, George Barclay, *50 Campden House Court, Kensington, W.*
- 1899 §LEGGE, F., F.S.A., *6 Gray's Inn Square, W.C.*
- 1896 *LEIGH, Colonel H. P. P., C.I.E., *Grosvenor House, Bath.*
- 1878 *|LEPPER, C. H.

- 1910 *LESNÝ, Dr. V., *Ujézd 595, Prag^{na}, Bohemia.*
- 1880 †LE STRANGE, Guy, 5 *Bene't Place, Lensfield Road, Cambridge.*
- 1890 *LEVESON, Henry G. A., I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1912 *LEVONIAN, Professor Lootfy, *Central Turkey College, Aintab, Aleppo, Turkey in Asia.*
- 1885 †LEWIS, Mrs. A. S., LL.D., *Castlebrae, Cambridge.*
- 1897 *LINDSAY, Rev. James, M.A., D.D., B.Sc., *Annick Lodge, Irvine, Ayrshire, N.B.*
- 320 1912 *LIPSHYTZ, Rev. C. T., *Gorringe Park House, Mitcham, Surrey.*
- 1879 *LOCKHART, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G., *Commissioner, Wei-hai-wei, China.*
- 1906 *LOWBER, James William, Ph.D., Litt.D., 113 *East Eighteenth Street, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.*
- 1895 *†LOWELL, P., 53 *State Street, Boston, U.S.A.*
- 1904 *LUARD, Major C. Eckford, M.A., *Indian Army, Superintendent of Gazetteer, Indore, Central India; c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome & Co., Bombay, India.*
- 1909 *LÜDERS, Professor Dr. H., 20 *Sybelstrasse, Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany.*
- 1899 §LYALL, Sir Charles James, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., *VICE-PRESIDENT, 82 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*
- 1910 *MACARTNEY, C. H. H., *Foxhold, Crookham, near Newbury, Berks.*
- 1898 *MACAULIFFE, M., I.C.S. (ret.), 10 *Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, W.*
- 1906 *McCARRISON, David Lawlor, *Madras Club, Madras, South India.*
- 330 1908 *MACCORMICK, Rev. Frederick, F.S.A. (Scot.), F.R.S.A.I., *Wrockwardine Wood Rectory, Wellington, Salop.*
- 1900 *MACDONALD, Duncan B., *Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.*
- 1882 *§MACDONELL, Arthur A., M.A., F.B.A., Ph.D., *Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol; 107 Banbury Road, Oxford.*

- 1887 *McDOUALL, William, *British Consulate, Kermanshah, Persia, via Russia.*
- 1901 *MACKENZIE, Alastair S., M.A., LL.D., *Professor of English and Comparative Literature, State University of Kentucky, Lexington, U.S.A.*
- 1894 *MACLAGAN, The Hon. Sir E. D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *Secretary to Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, Simla, India.*
- 1909 MACLEOD, Roderick H., I.C.S. (ret.), *Barrister-at-Law, 34 Longridge Road, Earl's Court, S.W.*
- 1906 *McMAHON, Colonel Sir A. Henry, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *Foreign Department, Government of India, Calcutta.*
- 1907 *McMINN, Charles W., I.C.S. (ret.), *Bhim Tal, Kumaon, U.P., India.*
- 1912 *MAHAPATRA, Rai Sahib Srikrishna, *Deputy Superintendent of Police, 10/1 St. James's Square, Calcutta, India.*
- 40 1908 *MAHESHWARY, Girdhari Lal, *Barrister-at-Law, Chief Court, Amritsar, Panjab, India.*
- 1909 *MAJUMDAR, Dr. Binoy Lal, *Assistant Surgeon Teacher, Government Medical School, 21 Armenian Street, Dacca, Bengal, India.*
- 1906 *MANN, Fairman Rackham, *Staff Surgeon, R.N., H.M.S. *Æolus*, West Indies.*
- 1889 §*MARGOLIOUTH, Rev. D. S., M.A., D.Litt., *Professor of Arabic, 88 Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
- 1902 *MARKS, Rev. John E., D.D., "*Burma*," *Ashburton Road, Croydon.*
- 1904 *MARSDEN, E., *Indian Educational Service, 12 Ellerdale Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1901 §*MARSHALL, J. H., C.I.E., *Director - General of Archaeology, Ridgewood Place, Simla, India.*
- 1911 *MARTIN, Dr. F. R., *Piazza di Bellosguardo, Firenze, Italy.*
- Hon. 1908 MASPERO, Professor Gaston, *24 Avenue de l'Observatoire, Paris, France.*
- 1888 MASTER, John Henry, *Montrose House, Petersham.*
- 50 1904 *†MAWJEE, Purshotam Vishram, *14 Hummam Street, Fort, Bombay, India.*

- 1898 *MAXWELL, W. George, *Straits Civil Service, Singapore.*
 1905 *MAZUMDAR, Babu Bijaya Chandra, *Pleader, Sambalpur, C.P., India.*
 1894 MEAD, G. R. S., 16 *Selwood Place, Onslow Gardens, S.W.*
 1912 *MEAD, John P., jun., *Forest Department, Federated Malay States.*
 1907 *MEADEN, Rev. H. Anderson, *St. Peter's Parsonage, Stornoway, N.B.*
 1910 *MEHR-UD-DIN, Qazi Muhammad, *Public Works Minister, Bahawalpur, India.*
 1906 *MEHTA, Bhaskarrao Vithaldas, M.A., *c/o Lalubhai Samaldas, Esq., 99 Apollo Street, Bombay, India.*
 1913 *MENON, Kolatheri Sankara, M.A., *Ernakulam College, Ernakulam, Cochin, South India.*
 1899 *MESTON, Sir James Scorgie, K.C.S.I., *Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad, India.*
 360 1898 MIESEGAES, Herman, 37 *Porchester Terrace, W.*
 1863 *MILES, Colonel Samuel B., *Homewood, Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, Somerset.*
 1911 *MILLER, A. B., *late Official Trustee of Bengal, 8 Kensington Park Gardens, W.*
 1897 *MILLS, Laurence Heyworth, M.A., D.D., *Professor of Zend Philology, 218 Iffley Road, Oxford.*
 1909 *MILNE, Mrs. Leslie, *c/o The Post Office, Mandalay, Burma.*
 1903 MITRA, S. M., 47 *Warrington Crescent, Maida Vale, W.*
 1909 *MITTER, Muralidhar, 43 *Banchharam Okwi's Lane, Calcutta, India.*
 1905 *MODI, E. M., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., *Meher Buildings, 3 Bellasis Bridge Road, Tardeo, Bombay, India.*
 1882 *|MOHANLAL VISNULAL PANDIA, Pandit, *Gorepārā Mohallā, Muttra, U.P., India.*
 1908 *MONAHAN, F. J., I.C.S., *Commissioner Assam Valley Districts, E. B. & A., c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W.*
 370 1901 MONTFIORE, Claude, 12 *Portman Square, W.*
 1912 *MOOKERJI, Radhakumud, 26 *Sukea's Street, Calcutta, India.*

- 1909 *MORRIS, Thomas Walter, I.C.S., *Bulandshahr, U.P., India.*
- 1881 MORRISON, Walter, 77 *Cromwell Road, S.W.; Malham Tarn, Bell Busk, Leeds, Yorks.*
- 1882 *MORSE, H. Ballou, 16 *Wiedenmeyerstrasse, Munich, Bavaria.*
- 1907 *MORTON, Major S., 24th *Panjabis, Bannu, N.W.F.P., India.*
- 1890 *MOSS, R. Waddy, *Didsbury College, Manchester.*
- 1912 *MUIN-UD-DIN, Munshi Mohammad, *General Superintendent, Collectorate, Fatehgarh, U.P., India.*
- 1911 *MUKERJEA, Babu Manmatha Nath, M.A., *Deputy-Magistrate and Collector, Ulubaria, Howrah, Bengal, India.*
- 1911 *MUKERJEA, Manmatha Nath, *District Engineer, Hazaribagh, Chota-Nagpur Division, Behar and Orissa, India.*
- 380 1882 *MUKERJI, Phanibhusan, *Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, Bengal; 57 Jhowtolah Road, Ballygunje, Calcutta, India.*
- 1895 *MÜLLER-HESS, Dr. E., *Professor of Sanskrit at the University, Berne; 47 Effingerstrasse, Berne, Switzerland.*
- 1906 *MUNRO, Neil Gordon, M.B. and C.M. (Edin.), 70c *Settlement, Yokohama, Japan.*
- 1908 MURRAY, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50a *Albemarle Street, W.*
- 1912 *MUSHRAN, Pandit Sundar Narayan, *Old Kotha Parcha Street, Farrukhabad, U.P., India.*
- 1898 *MYSORE, H.H. the Maharaja Sri, Sir Krishnaraja Wadiar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., *The Palace, Bangalore, South India.*
- 1910 NAIRN, Rev. J. Arbuthnot, *Head Master, Merchant Taylors' School, E.C.*
- 1911 *NAMAZI, Mirza Kazim, *Chudderghat, Haidarabad, Deccan, India.*
- 1912 *NANDI, Rajani Nath, *Pleader, Judge's Court, Comilla, Tipperah, E. Bengal, India.*

- 1907 *NARASIMHACHAR, R., M.A., *Officer in Charge of Archaeology in Mysore; Mallesaram, Bangalore, India.*
- 390 1906 *NARASIMHIENGAR, M. T., *East Park Road, Mallesaram, Bangalore, India.*
- 1909 *NARIMAN, G. K., *Chief Interpreter, Chief Court, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1898 *NARTSOFF, Alexis de, *Tambov, Russia.*
- EXT. 1910 NASIR-UL-MULK, H.E. Sir Abul Kasim Khan, G.C.M.G., *Regent of Persia, Teheran, Persia.*
- 1911 *NATHAN, J. E., *District Officer, Raub, Pahang, Federated Malay States.*
1877. HON. 1895. NAVILLE, Edouard, D.C.L., *Professor of Egyptology, Geneva University; Malaguy, near Geneva, Switzerland.*
- 1901 NEILL, J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), *Professor of Indian Law, University College, London; 4 Campden House Chambers, Kensington, W.*
- 1900 *NEVILL, Henry Rivers, *Joint Magistrate, Benares, U.P., India.*
- 1895 *NICHOLSON, R. A., Litt.D., *12 Harvey Road, Cambridge.*
- HON. 1890 NÖLDEKE, Professor Theodor, *Strassburg, Germany.*
- 400 1910 *NOMANI, Ahmed Hosein, B.A., *Deputy-Collector, P.O. Chapra, Bengal, India.*
- 1906 *NORMAN, H. C., *Professor of English Literature, Queen's College, Benares, India.*
- 1903 *NOYCE, W. F., K.-i-H., *Barrister-at-Law, 65 Park Road, Pazundaung, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1906 *O'CONNOR, Major W. F., R.A., C.I.E., *H.B.M.'s Consul-General, Seistan, c/o The Foreign Office, Calcutta, India.*
- 1910 O'CONOR, J. E., C.I.E., *Francesco, Church Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.*
- 1900 *OERTEL, F. O., *Superintending Engineer, Cawnpore, U.P., India.*
- 1908 *OH, Maung Ba, A.T.M., *Judicial E.A.C., 67 Crisp Street, Rangoon, Burma.*

- 1901 *OHTANI, E. H., *Kikokutei, Higashi Rokujō, Simogio, Kyoto, Japan.*
- HON. 1908 OLDENBERG, Professor Hermann, *Nikolausberger Weg 27-29, Göttingen, Germany.*
- 1888 OLDHAM, Brigade-Surgeon Charles Frederick, *The Lodge, Great Bealings, Woodbridge, Suffolk.*
- 410 1912 *OLDHAM, Joseph Houldsworth, M.A., *Editor, International Review of Missions, 100 Princes Street, Edinburgh, N.B.*
- 1900 *OSTROROG, Count Léon, *Rue de Suède, Constantinople, Turkey.*
- 1907 *OUNG, Moung May, *Elgin House, 1 Pagoda Road, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1909 *PAIRA-MALL, M. D., *c/o National Bank of India, Amritsar, India.*
- 1902 *PARASNIS, Dattatraya B., *Happy Vale, Satara, Bombay Presidency, India.*
- 1893 *PARGITER, F.E., I.C.S.(ret.), *12 Charlbury Road, Oxford.*
- 1905 *PARKER, The Hon. Mr. Justice Frederick Hardyman, *Roseau, Dominica, Leeward Islands, West Indies.*
- 1900 *PARLA KIMEDI, The Raja of, *Parla Kimedi, Ganjam, Madras Presidency, India.*
- 1909 *PARLETT, Harold G., *H.B.M. Consul, Dairen, Japan.*
- 1911 *PATIALA, H.H. Maharaja Dhiraj Sir Bupindar Singh, Mahindra Bahadur, K.C.I.E., *Chief of Patiala State, India.*
- 420 1909 PENNY, Rev. Frank, *Madras Chaplain (ret.), 3 Park Hill, Ealing, W.*
- 1912 *PERRY, William James, *Pocklington School, East Yorkshire.*
- 1912 *PETERS, A. P., *Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Gaibanda, District Rungpur, East Bengal, India.*
- 1905 *PETERSEN, F. G., *Abbildsgaardsgade, Copenhagen, Denmark.*
- 1909 *PHILBY, Harry St. John Bridger, I.C.S., *Panjab, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay, India.*
- 1912 *PHILLIPS, Rev. Godfrey Edward, M.A., *United Theological College, Bangalore, India.*

- 1906 *PHILLOTT, Lieut.-Colonel D. C., *United Service Club Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1909 *PILLAI, Perumana Narayana, *Kayangulam, Travancore, South India.*
- 1909 *PILLAI, Rao Sahib S. Bavanandam, *Officer in Charge, Intelligence Department, Madras City Police; Saravana Vilas, Chapel Road, Vepery, Madras, South India.*
- 1911 *PILLAY, P. M. Madooray, Rai Bahadur, *Hon. Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, 2 Phayre Street, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 430 1911 *PIM, Alan William, I.C.S., 11 *Muir Road, Allahabad, U.P., India.*
- 1881 §PINCHES, Theophilus G., LL.D., *Sippara, 10 Oxford Road, Kilburn, N.W.*
- 1895 *PITT, St. George Lane Fox, *Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1893 *§PLUNKETT, Lieut.-Colonel G. T., R.E., C.B., *Belvedere Lodge, St. Mary's Road, Wimbledon.*
- 1893 *POUSSIN, Professor Louis de la Vallée, *Professeur à l'Université de Gand, 66 Avenue Molière, Uccle, Bruxelles, Belgium.*
- 1907 *PRASAD, The Hon. Mr. Narsingh, M.A., *Vakil, High Court, Gorakhpur, U.P., India.*
- 1909 *PRASAD, Pandit Ganga, M.A., *Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Deoria, Gorakhpur District, U.P., India.*
- 1909 *PRASAD, Rai Debi, *High Court Vakil, Cawnpur, U.P., India.*
- 1909 *PRENDERGAST, W. J., *Professor of Oriental Languages, Nizam's College, Haidarabad, Deccan, India.*
- 1912 *PRITCHARD, Captain B. E. A., 83rd *Wallajahabad Infantry, United Service Club, Simla, India.*
- 440 1905 *PROCTOR, Henry, *H.M. Stationery Office, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1910 *PRU, Saw Hla, *Sanitary Inspector, Health Department, Rangoon Municipality, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1909 *PURI, Mukand Lal, *Exeter College, Oxford.*
- 1912 *PURSER, Rev. W. C. B., M.A., *St. Michael's, S.P.G., Kemendine, Burma.*

- 1909 *PYARAI Lal, *Zamindar of Barotha, Viddyasagar Dépôt, Aligarh, U.P., India.*
- HON. 1901 RADLOFF, Professor Dr. V., *The University, St. Petersburg, Russia.*
- 1909 *RAI, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Banke, *Naval Goswami, Katra-Nil, Delhi, India.*
- 1909 *RAJA, Kodungallore Rama Varma, *Special Palace Officer, Trippunithura, Cochin State, India.*
- 1874 *†RAJANATTAYANUHAR, His Excellency Phya, *Private Secretary to the King of Siam.*
- 1899 *RAM, Lāl Sita, F.A.U., *Deputy Collector (ret.), 203 Muthiganj, Allahabad, U.P., India.*
- 450 1909 *RAMANATHAN, P., *Manonmathi Vilas, Chintadripet, Madras, India.*
- 1874 *†RAMASVAMI, Iyengar B., *Bangalore, Madras, India.*
- 1869 †RANSOM, Edwin, *24 Ashburnham Road, Bedford.*
- 1888 §RAPSON, E. J., *Professor of Sanskrit, 8 Mortimer Road, Cambridge.*
- 1908 *RASHAD, A. M., M.A., *Deputy Magistrate, Daltonganj, E.I. Railway, Bengal, India.*
- 1907 *RAY, Mallinath, B.Sc., *Subordinate Civil Service, Sub-Deputy Magistrate, 12 Holwell Lane, Calcutta, India.*
- 1912 *RAY, Sarat Kumar, M.A., *Kumar of Dighapatiya, Dayarampur, Rajshahi, Bengal, India.*
- 1892 §REAY, The Right Hon. the Lord, K.T., P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., *PRESIDENT, Carolside, Earlsdon, Berwickshire; 6 Great Stanhope Street, Mayfair, W.*
- 1897 *REUTER, J. N., Ph.D., *21 Fabriksgatan, Helsingfors, Finland.*
- 1879 RICE, Benjamin Lewis, C.I.E., *Greenhalgh, Maxted Park, Harrow.*
- 460 1910 *RICHARDS, F. J., M.A., I.C.S., *Collector and Magistrate, Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, S. India.*
- 1910 *RICHMOND, E. T., *Ministry of Public Works, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1892 †RIDDING, Miss C. Mary, *c/o The University Library, Cambridge.*
- 1893 *†RIDDING, Rev. W. Caldecott, *4 Clifton Terrace, Chapel Ash, Wolverhampton.*

- 1902 *RIVERS, W. H. R., *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
- 1872 *†RIVETT-CARNAC, Colonel J. H., C.I.E., F.S.A., I.C.S.
(ret.), *Schloss Rothberg, Rougemont, Switzerland.*
- 1907 *ROBB, George, *Egyptian Civil Service, Turf Club, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1910 *ROBERTSON, Rev. Alexander, M.A., *United Free Church Mission, 1 Staveley Road, Poona, India.*
- 1882 *ROCKHILL, H.E. the Hon. W. W., *United States Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey.*
- 1905 *ROSE, H. A., I.C.S., *Ludhiana, Panjab, India.*
- 470 1894 *ROSS, E. D., C.I.E., Ph.D., *Ex-officio Assistant Secretary, Education Department, Government of India.*
- 1912 *ROSS, G. R. T., M.A., I.E.S., *Professor of Philosophy, Rangoon College, Burma.*
- 1891 *†ROUSE, W. H. D., Litt.D., *Head Master of Perse School, Cambridge.*
- 1912 *ROY, Dr. Ashutosh, *Hazaribagh, Bengal, India.*
- 1910 *ROY, Parames Prasanna, P.C.S., *Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Mymensingh, E. B. & A., India.*
- 1891 †ROY, Robert, *2 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.*
- 1911 *ROY, Surendra Narayan, *Zemindar, Nistarini Lodge, Meherpur P.O., District Nadia, India.*
- 1900 *RÜFFER, M. A., M.D., C.M.G., *President of the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt, Minival, Ramleh, Egypt.*
- 1908 RUSSELL, R. V., I.C.S., *Superintendent, Gazetteer of Central Provinces, Mandla, C.P., India.*
- 1872 *†RUSTOMJI, C., *Jaunpur, India.*
-
- 480 HON. 1887 SACHAU, Kgl. Geheimer Regierungsrath, Professor Eduard, *Director of the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, Germany.*
- 1909 *SAGGU, Muhammad Khairuddin, D.C.L., *Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.*
- 1904 *SAID-RUETE, Rudolph, *39 Bramham Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*
- HON. 1908 SALEMANN, Professor C., *Director, Asiatic Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia.*

- 1912 *SAMADDAR, Jotindranath, *Head Master, Edward-George Institution, Madhupur, E.I.Ry., India.*
- 1912 *SAMADDAR, R. N., 167/5 *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, India.*
- 1899 *SANDHURST, The Right Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.F., 60 *Eaton Square, S.W.*
- 1892 *SANKARANĀRĀYANA, P., 34 *Broadway, Madras, India.*
- 1912 *SANYAL, Babu Girija Prasanna, M.A., *Fakil, High Court, 12/1 Nanda Kumar Choudhary's Lane, Calcutta, India.*
- 1895 *SARAWAK, H.H. the Rancee of, *Grey Friars, Ascot.*
- 490 1891 *†SARDA, Har Bilas, B.A., *Guardian to H.H. the Maharawal of Jaisalmer, Ajmere, India.*
- 1908 *SARKAR, Supesa Chandra, M.A., *Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Muzaffarpur, Behar, India.*
- 1904 *SARRUF, Dr. Y., *Editor of al-Muktataf, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1902 *†SASSOON, David, *Malabar Hill, Bombay, India; 32 Bruton Street, W.*
- 1910 *SASTRI, C. N. Ananta Ramaiya, M.A., *Malayalam Pandit, H.H. the Maharāja's College, Trivandrum, S. India.*
1880. Hon. 1906. §SATOW, The Right Hon. Sir Ernest M., G.C.M.G., Ph.D., *Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary, Devon.*
- 1874 †§SAYCE, Rev. A. H., *Professor of Assyriology, Queen's College, Oxford; 8 Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh, N.B.*
- 1905 *SCHRADER, Friedrich Otto, Ph.D., *Director, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, India.*
- 1910 SCOTT, Edward J. L., Litt.D., 24 *Terrapin Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.*
- 1885 §SCOTT, Sir James George, K.C.I.E., *Late Superintendent, Southern Shan States, 53 Marlborough Hill, St. John's Wood, N.W.*
- 500 1903 *SEATON, E. A., 3 *Northmoor Road, Oxford.*
- 1903 *SEDDON, Charles Norman, *c/o Messrs. King, King & Co., Bombay, India.*
- 1906 *SEDGWICK, Leonard John, I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome & Co., Bombay, India.*
- 1867 *†SELIM, Faris Effendi, *Constantinople, Turkey.*

- 1887 *SELL, Rev. Canon E., K.-i.-H., *Church Mission House, Egmore, Madras, India.*
- HON. 1892 SENART, Émile, 18 *Rue François 1^{er}, Paris, France.*
- 1898 *SESHACHARRI, V. C., *High Court Vakil, "Vasanta Vilās," Mylapore, India.*
- 1911 SETON, M. C., 13 *Clarendon Road, Holland Park, W.*
- 1877 §SEWELL, R., I.C.S. (ret.), *Mansfield Lodge, 4 Bristol Gardens, Putney Heath, S.W.*
- 1909 *SHAMASAstry, R., *Principal, Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore, India.*
- 510 1909 *SHARMA, Pandit Goswami Brajanath, 7827 *Shilla Street, Agra, U.P., India.*
- 1905 *SHARPE, James William, *Woodroffe, Portarlington Road, Bournemouth.*
- 1912 *SHASTRI, Mahamahopadhyaya Goswami Pandit Han Narain, *Professor, Hindu College, Nil-Ka-Katra, Delhi, India.*
- 1912 *SHERRATT, Rev. W., *British and Foreign Bible Society, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1910 *SIMON, Professor Dr. Richard, *Siegfriedstrasse 10, Munich, Bavaria.*
- 1910 SIMPSON, Mrs. Alicia, *of Sir C. R. McGrigor & Co., 25 Charles Street, S.W.*
- 1906 *SINGAL, Thakur Shiam Sarup, *Rais; and Agent to Messrs. Ford & Macdonald, Amritsar, Panjab, India.*
- 1912 *SINGH, Arjan Sirdar, *Revenue Minister, Kapurthala State, India.*
- 1912 *SINGH, Darshan Sirdar, *Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester; Vahali, District Jhelum, Panjab, India.*
- 1907 *SINGH, Kahan Sirdar, *The Best, Delhi, Panjab, India.*
- 520 1911 *SINGH, Labh Sardar, *Block No. 3, Sargodha, Panjab, India.*
- 1911 *†SINGH, H.H. Maharaja Ripudaman, *Nabha, Panjab, India.*
- 1911 *SINGH, Nihal Sardar, 82 *Upper Tollington Park, N.*
- 1902 *†SINGH, Raja Pertab Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., *of Tiraul, Partabgarh, Oudh, India.*
- 1909 *SINGH, Udharn Sardar, *Asa Multani Lane, Gujranwala, Panjab, India.*

- 1908 *SINHA, Gur Prasad, *Barrister-at-Law, Partabgarh, U.P., India.*
- 1895 *SINHA, Kunwar Keshal Pal, *Raio Kotla, P.O. Narki, Agra, U.P., India.*
- 1907 *SINHA, Vishwanath Sahay, *Barrister-at-Law, Orderly Bazar, Benares Cantonment, India.*
- 1900 *SKEAT, W. W., *Romeland Cottage, St. Albans, Herts.*
- 1904 *SMITH, Miss A. A., *22 Harley Road, South Hampstead, N.W.*
- 530 1883 *SMITH, Vincent A., M.A., I.C.S., *116 Banbury Road, Oxford.*
- HON. 1909 SNOUCK HURGRONJE, Professor C., *Witte Singel 84a, Leiden, Holland.*
- 1907 *SOANE, E. B., *Muhammerah, Persian Gulf; c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1912 *SOOD, Babu Hira Lal, *Sub-Judge, Kotah, Rajputana, India.*
- 1910 *SOVANI, V. V., M.A., *Professor of Sanskrit, Meerut College, U.P., India.*
- 1910 *SPOONER, D. B., Ph.D., *Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, Bankipur, Behar, India.*
- 1908 *SPOONER, Mrs. D. B., *Bankipur, Behar, India.*
- 1910 *STAEL-HOLSTEIN, Baron A. von, *4 Tučkova Naberezhnaya, St. Petersburg, Russia.*
- 1907 *STAPLETON, H. E., *Indian Educational Service, The Club, Dacca, Eastern Bengal, India.*
- 1909 *STARK, Herbert A., *Additional Assistant Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, India.*
- 540 1904 *STEEL, Mrs., *23 Homer Street, Athens, Greece.*
- 1887 *§STEIN, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., *Superintendent, Archæological Survey Frontier Circle, Peshawar, India.*
- 1906 *STEPHENSON, Major John, I.M.S., *Government College, Lahore, India.*
- 1905 *STEVENS, George F. A., *Tabriz, Persia.*
- 1901 *STEVENSON, Malcolm, *Ceylon Civil Service, Mannar, Ceylon.*
- 1906 *STOKES, H. G., C.I.E., I.C.S., *Deputy Secretary, Financial Department, Government of India.*

- 1912 *STRAUSS, Dr. Otto, *Reventlou Allee 12, Kiel, Germany.*
- 1904 *STRONG, Mrs. S. A., 58 *New Cavendish Street, Portland Place, W.*
- 1900 *STURGE, P. H., M.A., *Principal and Professor of History, Nizam's College, Haidarabad, India.*
- 1909 *SUBBAIYA, K. V., M.A., *Lecturer in English, Government College, Rajamundry, Madras Presidency, India.*
- 550 1909 *SUBHAN, Nawabzada A.K.M. Abdus, Khan Bahadur, *Senior Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Faridpur, Eastern Bengal, India.*
- 1912 *SUD, Babu Lal, *c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E. C.*
- 1893 *†SVASTI SOBHANA, H.R.H. Prince, *Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1895 *†SYKES, Major Percy Molesworth, C.M.G., C.I.E., *H.B.M. Consul-General and Agent to Government of India in Khorasan, Meshed, via Askhabad, Transcaspia, Russia.*
- 1910 *TABARD, Rev. Father A. M., *The Cathedral, Shoolay, Bangalore, S. India.*
- 1911 *TABOR, Francis Samuel, I.C.S., *District and Sessions Judge, Shahjahanpur, U.P., India.*
- 1875 *†TAGORE, Rajah Bahadur Sir Sourendro Mohun, C.I.E., *Mus.D., Calcutta, India.*
- 1912 *TAHOOR, Gholam, *Interpreter and Translator, High Court, 28/2A Police Hospital Road, Calcutta, India.*
- 1896 *TAKAKUSU, Jyan, Ph.D., 207 *Motomachi, Kobe, Japan.*
- 1897 *TALBOT, Walter Stanley, C.I.E., *Srinagar, Kashmir, India.*
- 560 HON. 1910 TALLQVIST, K. L., *Professor of Oriental Literatures Fabriksgasse 21, Helsingfors, Finland.*
- 1909 *TANCOCK, Captain A. C., *Indian Army, 31st Panjabis, Parachinar, Kurram Valley, N.W.F.P., India.*
- 1912 *TANNAN, Mohan Lal, *Barrister-at-Law, Gujrat, Panjab, India.*
- 1897 *TATE, George P., *Indian Survey Department, Tara Hall, Mussoorie, U.P., India.*

- 1893 *TAW SEIN KO, K.-i-H., *West Moat Road, Mandalay, Burma.*
- 1883 TAWNEY, C. H., C.I.E., *Outlands Grange, Weybridge, Surrey.*
- 1911 *|TEAPE, Rev. William Marshall, M.A., *South Hylton Vicarage, Sunderland.*
- 1879 *§TEMPLE, Colonel Sir R. C., Bart., C.I.E., *The Nash, Worcester.*
- 1898 *THATCHER, G. W., M.A., *Camden College, Sydney, N.S.W.*
- 1905 *THIRTLE, James William, LL.D., *23 Borthwick Road, Stratford, E.*
- 570 1898 §THOMAS, F. W., Ph.D., *Librarian, India Office, S.W.*
- 1906 *THOMAS, Mrs. F. W., *Filston, Shoreham, Kent.*
- 1907 *THOMPSON, J. Perronet, I.C.S., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54 Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.*
- HON. 1909 THOMSEN, Professor Dr. Vilhelm, *St. Knuds Vej 36, Copenhagen, Denmark.*
- 1889 |§THOMSON, H. Lyon, F.S.A., *34 St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1880 *|THORBURN, S. S., *Bracknell House, Bracknell, Berks.*
- 1912 *THORNTON, H. A., *Superintendent, Northern Shan States, Lashio, Burma.*
- 1881 §THORNTON, T. H., C.S.I., D.C.L., Hon. VICE-PRESIDENT, *16 Brock Road, Bath.*
- 1859 *|TIEN, Rev. Anton, D.D., Ph.D., *Professor of Arabic and Turkish, King's College (London University), 22 Chesterford Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1903 *TILBE, Rev. H. H., Ph.D., *Upper Alton, Illinois, U.S.A.; American Baptist Mission, Riverview, Aklone, Burma.*
- 580 1895 *|TRAVANCORE, H.H. Maharaj Raja Sir Bala Rama Varma Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
- 1884 TROTTER, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., C.B., *18 Eaton Place, S.W.*
- 1912 *TROUP, James, *3 Queen's Gardens, Aberdeen, N.B.*
- 1902 *TSAIN, MOHNG, *Pegu, Burma.*
- 1900 *TUCKWELL, Rev. John, *1 Onslow Gardens, Muswell Hill, N.*
- 1912 *TURNER, R. L., *63 Bateman Street, Cambridge.*

- 1909 *U, Maung Ba, *Township Judge, Pa-an, Thaton District, Burma.*
- 1908 *Ū, Maung Mya, *Barrister-at-Law, Bassein, Burma.*
- 1882 *U DAI PUR, H.H. Maharaja Dhiraja Maharana Sir Fateh Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., *Rajputana, India.*
- 1902 *VAIDYA, Visvanath P., *18 Cathedral Street, Fort, Bombay, India.*
- 590 HON. 1898 VAJIRANĀNA, H.R.H. Prince, *Pavaranivesa Vihāra, Bangkok, Siam.*
- 1901 *VARMA, A. R. Rajaraja, M.A., *Professor of Sanskrit and Dravidian Languages, H.H. the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, S. India.*
- 1910 *VASU, Babu Nogendra Nath, *Prachyavidyamaharnava, 20 Kantapukur Lane, Bagh Bazar, Calcutta, India.*
- 1884 *†VASUDEV, Mādhav Samarth, R. R., B.A.
- 1912 *VENKETASWAMI, M. N., *The Retreat, Haidarabad, Deccan, India.*
- 1883 VERNY, F. W., M.P., *12 Connaught Place, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1899 *VIDYĀBHŪṢANA, Satis Chandra Āchārya, M.A., Ph.D., *Principal, Sanskrit College, College Square, Calcutta, India.*
- 1907 *VIDYARATNA, Pandit Krishna Pada, *Professor of Sanskrit, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, Orissa, Bengal, India.*
- 1905 *VOGEL, J. P., Ph.D., *Archæological Surveyor for Panjab and United Provinces, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Amsterdam, Holland.*
- 1899 *VOST, Lieut.-Colonel W., I.M.S., *Fyzabad, U.P., India.*
- 600 1908 *WACKERNAGEL, Dr. Jakob, *Professor of Comparative Philology, Göttingen University; Hoher Weg 12, Göttingen, Germany.*
- 1892 *†WADDELL, Lieut.-Colonel L. A., C.B., C.I.E., LL.D., I.M.S., *The Deodars, Park Drive, Hampstead, N. W.*

- 1912 *WAHSHAT, Raza Ali, Sahib-i-Diwan, 14 *Karraya Road, P.O. Ballygunge, Calcutta, India.*
- 1909 *WALI, Maulavi Abdul, *Sub-Registrar of Calcutta, 23 European Asylum Lane, Calcutta, Bengal, India.*
- 1912 *WALKER, Rev. C. T. H., M.A., 38 *Warnborough Road, Oxford.*
- 1908 *WALLESER, Professor Dr. Max, *Mannheim, C. 7. 14, Germany.*
- 1907 *WALSH, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S., *Commissioner, Bhagalpur, Bengal, India.*
- 1912 *WAR OFFICE. *Officer in Charge, Far Eastern Sub-section, Whitehall, S.W. (Major C. A. L. Yate, General Staff).*
- 1908 *WARREN, William Fairfield, 131 *Davis Avenue, Brookline Station, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 1907 *WATSON, H. D., I.C.S., *Lahore, U.P., India.*
- 610 1900 *WEIR, T. H., B.D., 64 *Partick Hill Road, Glasgow, N.B.*
- 1912 *WESTHARP, Alfred, Mus. Doc.
- 1882 WHINFIELD, E. H., *St. Margaret's, Beulah Hill, S.E.*
- 1906 *WHITEHEAD, R. B., I.C.S., *Assistant Commissioner, Civil Lines, Delhi, India.*
- 1911 *WHITTICK, Fred. G., *British P.O. Box 304, Shaughai, China.*
- 1905 WHITWORTH, G. C., *East India United Service Club, St. James's Square, S.W.*
- 1899 *WICKREMasinghe, Don M. de Zilva, *Indian Institute, Oxford.*
- 1911 *WIJewardene, Don Richard, *c/o Messrs. Richardson and Co., 25 Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1912 *WILSON, Major Horace Hayman, *King's Own Regiment, Lebong, Bengal, India.*
- 1909 *WIN, Maung Tun, E.A.C., *Twante, Hanthawaddy District, Burma.*
- 620 Hon. 1896 WINDISCH, Geh. Rat Prof. E., 15 *Universitätsstrasse, Leipzig, Germany.*
- 1912 *WINSTEDT, R. O., *District Officer, Kudla Pilah, Negri Sembilan, Federated Malay States.*
- 1876 †§WOLLASTON, Sir Arthur N., K.C.I.E., *Glen Hill, Walmer, Kent.*

- 1896 *WOOD, J. Elmsley, 4 *Glenista Gardens, Edinburgh, N.B.*
 1907 *WOODLEY, Rev. Edward Carruthers, *American Mission Seminary, Marash, Turkey in Asia.*
 1909 *WOODS, Professor James H., Ph.D., *Harvard University, 179 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
 1906 *WOOLNER, A. C., M.A., *Principal, Oriental College and Registrar, Panjab University, Lahore, India.*
 1900 *WORKMAN, Mrs. Bullock, *c/o Messrs. Brown, Shipley and Co., 123 Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1902 *WRENSHALL, Mrs. John C., *1037 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*
 1894 *WRIGHT, The Hon. Mr. H. Nelson, I.C.S., *Allahabad, India.*
- 630 1911 *YAZDANI, MASUDI, Professor Ghulam, *Government College, Rajshahi, Eastern Bengal; Chosri Walan Street, Delhi, India.*
 1910 YETTS, W. Perceval, *British Legation, Peking, China.*
 1912 *YEW, Tan Tiang.
 1899 *YULE, Miss Amy Frances, *Tarradale House, Tarradale, Ross-shire.*
 1895 *YUSUF-ALI, Abdullah ibn, I.C.S., M.A., LL.M., *c/o Messrs. King, King & Co., Bombay, India.*
- 1908 *ZAN, Maung Aung, K.S.M., *District Judge, Myaungmya, Burma.*
 1909 *ZAW, Maung Kyaw, *Drawing Master, Government High School for Europeans, Maymyo, Upper Burma.*
 637 1910 *ZEKI PASHA, Ahmed, *Secretary, Council of Ministers, Cairo, Egypt.*

Honorary Members

- 1895 Mous. A. Barth, *Paris*.
 1906 Professor René Basset, *Algiers*.
 1885 Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Poona, Bombay.
 1893 Professor Henri Cordier, *Paris*.
 5 1908 Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, *Berlin*.
 1907 Professor Julius Eggeling, *Edinburgh*.
 1893 Professor Ignaz Goldziher, *Budapest*.
 1890 Conte Comm. Angelo De Gubernatis, *Rome*.
 1898 Professor Ignace Guidi, *Rome*.
 10 1902 Professor Houtsma, *Utrecht*.
 1912 Professor Hermann Jacobi, *Bonn*.
 1904 Professor Julius Jolly, *Würzburg*.
 1899 Professor J. Ritter von Karabacek, *Vienna*.
 1878 Professor H. Kern, *Leiden*.
 15 1909 Professor Ernst Kuhn, *Munich*.
 1902 Professor Lanman, *Cambridge, Mass.*
 1908 Professor Gaston Maspéro, *Paris*.
 1895 Professor Ed. Naville, *Geneva*.
 1890 Professor T. Nöldeke, *Strassburg*.
 20 1908 Professor Hermann Oldenberg, *Göttingen*.
 1901 Professor Dr. V. Radloff, *St. Petersburg*.
 1887 Professor Eduard Sachau, *Berlin*.
 1908 Professor Carl Salemann, *St. Petersburg*.
 1906 Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G.
 25 1892 M. Émile Senart, *Paris*.
 1909 Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Leiden*.
 1910 Professor K. L. Tallqvist, *Helsingfors*.
 1909 Professor Vilhelm Thomsen, *Copenhagen*.
 1898 H.R.H. Prince Vajirañāna, *Bangkok*.
 30 1896 Professor Windisch, *Leipzig*.

Extraordinary Member

- 1910 H.E. Sir Abul Kasim Khan, G.C.M.G., *Nasir-ul-Mulk*.

Note. The number of Honorary Members is limited by Rule 9 to thirty.

LIST OF LIBRARIES AND NON-MEMBERS
SUBSCRIBING TO THE
JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

- ABERDEEN. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 ABERYSTWITH. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES.
 ADELAIDE. PUBLIC LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.
 ADYAR LIBRARY, Adyar, Madras.
 ALIGARH. LYTTON LIBRARY, M.A.O. College.
 ASTOR LIBRARY, New York.
 ATHENÆUM CLUB.
 BANGKOK. VAJIRANĀNA NATIONAL LIBRARY.
 BENARES. QUEEN'S COLLEGE.
 10 BENARES. SANSKRIT COLLEGE.
 BENARES CITY. SRI YASHO VIJAYA JAINA PATHASHALA.
 BERKELEY. CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 BERLIN. ROYAL LIBRARY.
 BIRMINGHAM. CENTRAL FREE LIBRARY.
 BLOOMINGTON. INDIANA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 BOLOGNA. ROYAL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 BOSTON. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 Breslau. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 BRIGHTON. PUBLIC LIBRARY. (H. D. Roberts, Chief Librarian.)
 20 BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.
 BURMA. D.A.A.G., Burma Division, Maymyo.
 CAIRO. INSPECTION LIBRARY OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION.
 CAIRO. KHEDIVIAL LIBRARY.
 CAIRO. KHEDIVIAL TRAINING COLLEGE.
 CALCUTTA. IMPERIAL LIBRARY.
 CALCUTTA. INDIA MUSEUM, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.
 CALCUTTA. MADRASAH.
 CALCUTTA. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL.
 CALCUTTA. PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.
 30 CALCUTTA. SANSKRIT COLLEGE.
 CHESTER, PA. BUCKNELL LIBRARY.
 CHICAGO. HIBBARD EGYPTIAN LIBRARY, Western Theological Seminary.
 CHICAGO. JOHN CRERAR LIBRARY.

- CHICAGO. NEWBERRY LIBRARY.
CHICAGO. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. ,
CHRISTIANIA. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
CINCINNATI. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
CLEVELAND. ADELBERT COLLEGE LIBRARY.
CLEVELAND. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
40 COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, New York.
CONNEMARA PUBLIC LIBRARY, Madras.
CONSTITUTIONAL CLUB.
COPENHAGEN. ROYAL LIBRARY.
COPENHAGEN. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
CORNELL UNIVERSITY, Ithaca, New York.
DARMSTADT. HESSISCHE GROSSHERZOGLICHE HOF-BIBLIOTHEK.
DETROIT. PUBLIC LIBRARY, Michigan.
EAST INDIA UNITED SERVICE CLUB.
EDINBURGH. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
50 EDINBURGH. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
ERLANGEN. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
FLORENCE. BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE.
FOUCK, Rev. Dr., Instituto Biblico Pontificio, Rome.
GAUHATI. COTTON COLLEGE.
GENEVA. BIBLIOTHÈQUE PUBLIQUE.
GIESSEN. GROSSE HESS. UNIVERSITÄTS-BIBLIOTHEK.
GLASGOW. MITCHELL LIBRARY.
GLASGOW. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
GÖTTINGEN. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
60 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT.
GOWAN, Rev. H. H., Trinity Parish Church, Seattle,
Washington.
HAGUE. ROYAL LIBRARY.
HAIDARABAD. STATE LIBRARY.
HALLE. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
HAMBURG. KOLONIALINSTITUT ZENTRALSTELLE.
HAMBURG. STADTBIBLIOTHEK.
HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY.
ISHIHAMA, J., Esq., Osaka.
JABALPUR. GOVERNMENT COLLEGE.
70 JENA. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Manchester.
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, Baltimore.
JOLY, Percy B., Esq., Tengyueh.

- JUNAGADH COLLEGE, Kathiawad.
 KHARTOUM. DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, SUDAN GOVERNMENT.
 KIEF. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 KOLHAPUR. NATIVE LIBRARY.
 KYOTO. INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.
 LAHORE. CENTRAL MUSEUM.
 80 LAHORE. DAYANAND ANGLO-VEDIC COLLEGE.
 LAHORE. PANJAB PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 LEIPZIG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 LIVERPOOL. INSTITUTE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.
 LONDON LIBRARY.
 LUCKNOW. PROVINCIAL MUSEUM.
 LUCKNOW. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 LUND. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MADISON. WISCONSIN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MADRAS. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.
 90 MADRAS. PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.
 MADRID. BIBLIOTECA DEL ATENEO.
 MANCHESTER. FREE REFERENCE LIBRARY.
 MANDALAY. BURMA ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.
 MANILA. BUREAU OF SCIENCE.
 MARBURG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MARIELLE, Madame S., Cannes.
 MARSOVAN. ARCHÆOLOGICAL CLUB.
 MEADVILLE. THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL LIBRARY.
 MELBOURNE. VICTORIA PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 100 MILAN. R. BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE DI BRERA.
 MINNEAPOLIS. ATHENÆUM LIBRARY.
 MUNICH. KON. HOF- UND STAATSBIBLIOTHEK.
 MUNICH. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL OFFICE, Bangalore.
 MYSORE. MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE UNION.
 NAPLES. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.
 NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY, Albany.
 110 NEW YORK CITY. GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY.
 NEW YORK CITY. LIBRARY OF THE TANTRIK ORDER IN AMERICA.
 NEW YORK CITY. UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
 OXFORD. THE INDIAN INSTITUTE.
 OXFORD. QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

- PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ART ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE.
 PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.
 PARIS. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.
 PARIS. INSTITUT DE FRANCE.
 PEABODY INSTITUTE, Baltimore.
- 120 PESHAWAR. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, FRONTIER CIRCLE.
 PHILADELPHIA. LIBRARY COMPANY.
 PHILADELPHIA. UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARY.
 PITTSBURG. CARNEGIE LIBRARY.
 PITTSBURG. WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
 POONA. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, WESTERN CIRCLE.
 PRAG. DEUTSCHE UNIVERSITÄT.
 PRATAP SINGH MUSEUM, Srinagar, Kashmir.
 PRINCETON. THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
 ROSTOCK. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
- 130 ST. PETERSBURG. IMPERIAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.
 SAN FRANCISCO. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 SEATTLE. UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON LIBRARY.
 SHILLONG. PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASSAM.
 SIMLA. DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.
 SOUTH KENSINGTON. SCIENCE MUSEUM.
 STOCKHOLM. ROYAL LIBRARY.
 STOCKHOLM. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 STRASBURG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 SYDNEY. PUBLIC LIBRARY.
- 140 TOKYO. IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LITERATURE.
 TOKYO. INSTITUTE OF HISTORY. IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY.
 TOKYO. Kōyō Kyokwai.
 TOKYO. SHŪKYO-DAIGAKU LIBRARY, Omotecho, Koishikawa.
 TRIVANDRUM. MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE.
 TÜBINGEN. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 URBANA. ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 VARARIDDHI, H.R.H. Prince Nates, Bangkok.
 VIZAGAPATAM. MRS. A. V. NARASINGA RAO COLLEGE.
 VLADIVOSTOCK. ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
- 150 WASHINGTON. CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
 WASHINGTON. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.
 WÜRZBURG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
- 153 ZURICH. STADT BIBLIOTHEK.

Note. There are other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending him their names to be added to the above list.

SUMMARY OF MEMBERS

	Resident Members.	Resident Compounders.	Non-resident Members.	Non-resident Compounders.	Library Members.	Honorary and Extraordinary Members.	Subscribing Libraries.	Total.
1908 ...	94	16	326	67	4	30	85	622
1909 ..	90	15	367	66	1	30	88	657
1910 ...	92	14	395	62	1	30	96	690
1911 ...	90	12	426	64	1	31	105	729
1912 ...	85	12	433	65	1	31	123	750
Deaths ...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	10
Resignations	2	...	46	...	...	...	...	48
Elected since	78 1	12 <i>(160)</i>	382 66	65 ...	1 ...	31 ...	123 31	692 98
Transfers ...	79 -5 +1	12	448 -2 +6	65 ... +1	1	31	154 -1 ...	790 -8 +8
Jan. 20, 1913	75	12	452	66	1	31	153	790